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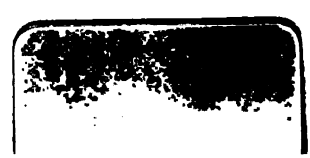

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

JANUARY, 1864. . . . . APRIL, 1864.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. CXIX.

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, AND GREEN, LONDON.
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK,
EDINBURGH.

1864.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO
NEW-STREET SQUARE

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1864.

No. CCXLIII.

ART. I.—1. *Heat considered as a Mode of Motion; being a Course of Twelve Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in the Season of* 1862. By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. London: 1863.

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3. *On Celestial Dynamics.* By Dr. J. R. MAYER, of Heilbronn. 'Philosophical Magazine,' 4th Series, Vol. XXV. p. 241. London, Dublin and Edinburgh.

MR. SMILES relates, in his Lives of the Engineers, that George Stephenson one day said to Dr. Buckland, as a train passed in front of Tapton House, 'Now, Buckland, I have 'a poser for you. Can you tell me what is the power that is 'driving that train?' 'Well,' said the other, 'I suppose it is 'one of your big engines.' 'But what drives the engine?' 'Oh, 'very likely a canny Newcastle driver.' 'What do you say to 'the light of the sun?' 'How can that be?' asked the doctor. 'It is nothing else,' said the engineer; 'it is light bottled up in 'the earth for tens of thousands of years—light absorbed by 'plants and vegetables, being necessary for the condensation of 'carbon during the process of their growth; and now, after 'being buried in the earth for long ages in fields of coal, that 'latent light is again brought forth and liberated, made to 'work, as in that locomotive, for great human purposes.' This observation, made by the father of the railroad system, strange though it may at first sight appear, is literally accurate; it is

an ingenious deduction from a grand expression of Nature's truth lately perceived by scientific men, and now known under the name of the 'Mechanical or Dynamical Theory of Heat.' This theory is not merely valuable as giving us correct views of the nature of this all-pervading and life-sustaining principle of heat, it likewise leads to the discovery of a far wider and more important set of truths, all tending to the conclusion that the great agencies Heat, Light, Electricity, Magnetism—which uphold life and produce such colossal changes on our globe—are but the expressions in different languages of one great power; that these various forms of energy are mutually convertible; that we can express any one of them in the terms of any other; and, therefore, that a certain quantity of the one form is equivalent to or may be made to produce a given quantity of another form. The mechanical theory of heat declares that heat has no existence independently of matter—that what we call heat is only a peculiar condition of matter, viz., 'a vibration of its ultimate 'particles;' so that, as heat is nothing but motion, we can measure heat, as we measure common mechanical energy, by a weight falling through a given space. Nor is this all that this 'New Philosophy,' as Professor Tyndall rightly calls it, teaches us; for it further shows by virtue of the convertibility of these 'imponderables,' as they have been termed, and owing to the possibility of expressing each of these in terms of common mechanics, that the destruction or creation of energy in the world is just as impossible as the creation or destruction of matter itself.

In the history of physical science, as in the history of nations, sudden revolutions mark great events, which stand out conspicuous above the ordinary quiet progress of the day. Such a revolution was effected in the world of science by Lavoisier's introduction of the balance into chemistry, for it thereby became evident that man can neither create nor destroy matter; so that, for instance, when a candle burns, the substance of the candle is not lost or destroyed, but has simply become insensible to our powers of vision. A second and equally important revolution in science has recently been effected by the adoption of the New Philosophy of the Mechanical Theory of Heat, experimentally founded, as we shall see, by Dr. Joule of Manchester, on the leading principle of the 'Conservation and Indestructibility of Energy.'

In order that we may understand the full meaning and appreciate the wide scope of this grand principle, we must proceed to consider some of the fundamental experiments upon which this most recent of the brilliant results of modern science is based;

remembering that it is only from 'questions thus put to Nature' that we can hope to gain any knowledge of her secrets.

The first branch of science in which the principle of the conservation of energy became apparent is mechanics; and it has long been well known that labour cannot be effected without a corresponding expenditure of mechanical energy. The 'mechanical powers,' as they are termed, are simply means for transferring labour into any wished-for channel. No *augmentation* of labour can be effected by them; for, although by means of a small weight at the long end of a lever we can raise a heavier weight, say a weight ten times as large, placed at the other end, the space through which the small weight must pass is at least ten times as great as that through which the heavy weight is raised; and hence there is clearly no augmentation of power. The true expression of the power exerted is invariably the weight multiplied into the distance through which it falls. This is called the 'labouring force'—the force which produces results, which overcomes resistance; and the great principle in mechanics is expressed in the maintenance of this law—that by means of any machine no effects can be produced which exceed the labouring force of the motive power. This, then, is the true measure for mechanical work. To raise ten pounds through the space of one foot requires a given expenditure of power; twice that amount of power must be expended in raising it through two feet, and the same amount of power will be required to raise ten pounds through one foot as will be needed to raise one pound through ten feet. Every kind of mechanical work, whether done by machine or animal power, can be represented and measured by weights raised through given spaces; and the unit of measurement and mechanical work is taken to be the weight of one pound raised through the space of one foot. The quantity of mechanical power necessary to effect this work is termed a 'foot-pound.'* The principle of the conservation of energy as regards ordinary mechanics was completely and mathematically stated by Newton, and a proof was thus given of the absurdity of the long-sought-for *perpetuum mobile* at least in mechanical contrivances.

However apparent it may be that action and reaction are

* In almost all scientific works the French standards of weight and length are now employed; and as these units will probably before long come into general use in England, it may be well to remember that the French standard of a kilogramme-metre—viz., the weight of a kilogramme raised through the space of one metre—is equal to 7·23 foot-pounds.

equal and opposite in the domain of strictly mechanical forces, the wider application of the same law to the manifestation of the other powers of nature seems by no means so clear. Could we not, it may be asked, by help of heat, electricity, or some such occult force, construct a machine which will produce mechanical effect without any corresponding or equivalent expenditure of labour, and thus attain the greatly desired end of making something out of nothing? In fact, have we not such a machine in the steam-engine? Where are we to find in this machine the expenditure of labour equivalent to the work done? In the water-wheel we have, in the descending water, an evident mechanical equivalent for the work done; but in the steam-engine, if the condensation were perfect, we may imagine that the position of all parts of the machine, and of the water used for the production of steam, is precisely the same at the end as it was at the beginning of the stroke of the piston.

To questions such as these the new philosophy gives a definite and satisfactory answer, proving, as clearly as Newton did in mechanics, that by the employment of *none* of the powers of nature can work be done without a corresponding supply of energy of some kind. Thus in the steam-engine we find the source of necessary power in the heat which disappears in the cylinder; the amount of heat which the waste steam conveys into the condenser not being nearly as much as that which enters the cylinder, the difference between the two amounts is converted into mechanical action. So that at last we come to the conclusion that, with whatsoever forces of nature we operate, a *perpetuum mobile* cannot be constructed—that we cannot by any means whatever produce an effect without a consumption of some kind of power. What follows from this important conclusion? What do we mean when we say that a *perpetuum mobile* is impossible? We mean that there is no such thing in nature as a creation of force; that all the changes which we see going on around us are produced solely by the transference of force; and hence force cannot be destroyed any more than matter. We may sum up these results in the words of Mr. Grove, an early and able expounder of these views: 'In all phenomena, the more closely they are investigated, the 'more we are convinced that, humanly speaking, neither matter 'nor force can be created or annihilated, and that an essential 'cause is unattainable. Causation is the will, creation the act 'of God.'

Although the idea that heat is nothing more than motion has frequently been expressed by various writers even in remote times, opinions to the contrary have been upheld by

some men of science within a recent period, and it is only during the last few years that the dynamical theory of heat, in opposition to the material or emission theory, has received the universal assent of the scientific world. Aristotle seems to have held the belief that heat was motion, and Locke expressed the same view concisely as follows: 'Heat is a very brisk 'agitation of the insensible parts of the object, which produce 'in us that sensation from whence we denominate the object 'hot; so that what in our sensation is heat in the object is 'nothing but motion.' Bacon, too, held similar views, and in the 2nd Book of the 'Novum Organum' he writes, 'heat 'itself, its essence and quiddity, is motion and nothing else.' Lavoisier and Laplace, in their memoir on heat published in 1780, express the modern doctrine most exactly: 'D'autres 'physiciens,' say they, 'pensent que la chaleur n'est que le 'résultat des vibrations insensibles de la matière. . . . Dans 'le système que nous examinons, la chaleur est la force vive 'qui résulte des mouvements insensibles des molécules d'un 'corps; elle est la somme des produits de la masse de chaque 'molécule par le carré de sa vitesse.'

The expression of these views, however near the truth they may have been subsequently found to be, exerted but little influence on the progress of science, because they were totally unsupported by experimental evidence, without which such views must remain all but valueless speculations. Building upon a more secure foundation than the older philosophers, the modern man of science carefully collects and employs even the smallest fact regarding the subject which he is investigating; and, not content with the mere observation of the phenomena under the conditions in which they occur in nature, he endeavours to attain a more intimate knowledge of his subject by examining what takes place under other conditions over which he has control—he has, in short, recourse to experiment.

Let us, then, follow Dr. Tyndall in the description of the experimental evidence which he brought forward at the Royal Institution two years ago, to impress upon the minds of his hearers the truth of the mechanical theory of heat; the result will enable us to judge of the success of his attempt 'to bring 'the rudiments of a new philosophy within the reach of a person 'of ordinary intelligence and culture.' The first part of the work consists in a lucid exposition of the facts upon which the mechanical theory of heat is founded; in describing these, and the consequences derived from them, Dr. Tyndall claims simply to be heard as an expounder of the results obtained by other

philosophers; in the later portion of the work he describes the results of his own researches as an original investigator in the regions of physical science. The readers of the book will see that in both these capacities the author shows his power, and we regret that our space does not permit us to enter more fully upon the discussion of those portions of the lectures in which he brings forward his own discoveries.

'My desire,' says Dr. Tyndall, in his first lecture, 'now is to connect heat with the more familiar forms of force; and I will therefore, in the first place, try to furnish you with a store of facts illustrative of the generation of heat by mechanical processes. I have placed some pieces of wood in the next room, which my assistant will now hand to me. Why have I placed them there? Simply that I may perform my experiments with that sincerity of mind and act which science demands from her cultivators. I know that the temperature of that room is slightly lower than the temperature of this one, and that hence the wood which is now before me must be slightly colder than the face of the pile * with which I intend to test the temperature of the wood. Let us prove this. I place the face of the pile against this piece of wood; the red end of the needle moves from you towards me, thus showing that the contact has chilled the pile. I now carefully rub the face of the pile along the surface of the wood: mark what occurs. The prompt and energetic motion of the needle towards you declares that the face of the pile has been heated by this small amount of friction. These experiments, which illustrate the development of heat by mechanical means, must be to us what a boy's school exercises are to him. In order to fix them in our minds, and obtain due mastery over them, we must repeat and vary them in many ways. In this task I must ask you to accompany me. Here is a flat piece of brass with a stem attached to it; I take the stem in my fingers, preserving the brass from all contact with my warm hand by enveloping the stem in cold flannel. I place the brass in contact with the face of my pile; the needle moves, showing that the brass is cold. I now rub the brass against the surface of this cold piece of wood, and lay it once more against my pile. I withdraw it instantly, for it is so hot that if I allowed it to remain in contact with the instrument, the current generated would dash my needle violently against its stops, and probably derange its magnetism. You see the strong deflection which even an instant's contact can produce. Here also is a razor, cooled by contact with ice; and here is a hone without oil, along which I rub my cool razor as if to sharpen it. I now place the razor against the face of the pile, and you see that the steel which a minute ago was cold is now hot . . . . . These are the simplest

* An instrument called a thermo-electric pile or battery, which serves as a very delicate indicator and measure of change of temperature, and was used by Dr. Tyndall to render the results of the experiment apparent to a large audience.

and most commonplace examples of the generation of heat by friction, and I choose them for this reason. Mean as they appear, they will lead us by degrees into the secret recesses of nature, and lay open to our view the polity of the material universe.' (*Tyndall*, p. 5, 6.)

Dr. Tyndall then illustrates the production of heat by compression and percussion; he shows that a piece of wood squeezed forcibly in an hydraulic press becomes hot, and that a leaden bullet is heated when flattened by a cold sledge hammer.

'The sledge,' he continues, 'descends with a certain mechanical force, and its motion is suddenly destroyed by the bullet and anvil. But let us examine the lead; you see it is heated, and could we gather up all the heat generated by the shock of the sledge, and apply it without loss mechanically, we should be able by means of it to lift this hammer to the height from which it fell. When a hammer strikes a bell the motion of the hammer is arrested, but its force is not destroyed; it has thrown the bell into vibrations which affect the auditory nerve as sound. So, also, when our sledge hammer descended upon our lead bullet, the descending motion of the sledge is arrested; but it was not destroyed. *Its motion was transferred to the atoms of the lead*, and announced itself to the proper nerves as heat.' (*Tyndall*, p. 7.)

Heat is not merely produced by the friction of solid bodies, the friction or motion of liquids likewise generates heat; whenever, in fact, the motion of matter is retarded or stopped, heat is developed. Thus, if water be agitated it becomes warmer; every drop of rain having fallen is warmer than it was before; and the water at the bottom of a cataract is of a higher temperature than the water above the fall: so that, as Dr. Tyndall remarks, the sailor's tradition is theoretically correct, that the sea is rendered warmer through the agitation produced by a storm, the mechanical dash of the billows being ultimately converted into heat. The increase of temperature thus effected is but very slight, and requires delicate thermometers for its recognition; nevertheless the amount is perfectly definite, and can be exactly foretold if we know the weight of falling water and the distance through which it falls. The fact that heat is developed by falling liquids may be rendered evident by pouring mercury several times backwards and forwards from two cups; at the end of the operation the temperature of the mercury is seen to be higher than it was before.

'Whenever friction is overcome, heat is produced, and the heat produced is the measure of the force expended in overcoming the friction. The heat is simply the primitive force in another form, and if we wish to avoid this conversion we must abolish the heat. We usually put oil upon the surface of a hone, we grease a saw, and are

careful to lubricate the axles of our railway carriages. What are we really doing in these cases ? Let us get general notions first, we shall come to particulars afterwards. It is the object of a railway engineer to urge his train bodily from one place to another ; he wishes to apply the force of his steam, or of his furnace which gives tension to his steam, to this particular purpose. It is not his interest to allow any portion of that force to be converted into another form of force which would not further the attainment of his object. He does not want his axles heated, for, for every degree of temperature generated by the friction of his axles, a definite amount would be withdrawn from the urging force of his engine. There is no force lost absolutely. Could we gather up all the heat generated by the friction, and could we apply it all mechanically, we should by it be able to impart to the train the precise amount of speed which it had lost by the friction. Thus, every one of those railway porters whom you see moving about with his can of yellow grease, and opening the little boxes which surround the carriage axles, is, without knowing it, illustrating a principle which forms the very solder of nature. In so doing, he is unconsciously affirming both the convertibility and the indestructibility of force. He is practically asserting that mechanical energy may be converted into heat, and that when so converted it cannot still exist as mechanical energy, but that for every degree of heat developed, a strict and proportional equivalent of the locomotive force of the engine disappears. A station is approached, say at the rate of thirty or forty miles an hour ; the brake is applied, and smoke and sparks issue from the wheel on which it presses. The train is brought to rest. How ? Simply by converting the entire moving force which it possessed at the moment the brake was applied into heat.' (P. 8–10.)

The first person who made definite experiments upon the conversion of mechanical energy, or motion of the masses, into heat, or motion of the particles, was Count Rumford *, a very remarkable man, more generally known as the inventor of cheap wholesome food for soldiers than as an investigator of natural science—for thus it often happens that the chief labours of a man's life remain long or for ever unknown, his fame resting upon an achievement which he himself considered trivial, and to which he at the time gave no concern.

Rumford, being engaged at Munich in boring cannon, was so forcibly struck with the great amount of heat generated by the process, that he constructed an apparatus for the special

* Rumford was by birth an Anglo-American, his family name being Benjamin Thompson ; he served in the war of independence on the British side ; he then became minister of war to the Elector of Bavaria, by whom he was ennobled, and afterwards settled as a man of science in Paris, having married the widow of the great Lavoisier.

purpose of examining the development of heat by friction, and, in a most interesting paper, he presented the results of his experiments to the Royal Society in the year 1798. In this paper he proposes to himself to answer the following questions:—Whence comes the heat actually produced in the mechanical operation above alluded to? Is it furnished by the metallic chips which are separated from the metal? The production of heat by friction or percussion was always a difficulty with the upholders of the material theory of heat. They got over it, however, by saying that the 'capacity for heat' of the hammered bullet, or metallic chip, is less than that of the metal before it was submitted to these mechanical actions, and therefore, as it was unable to contain so much heat, its temperature was raised. This difference between bodies as regards their 'capacities for heat' has indeed a real existence; thus, for example, if we take the two liquids, water and mercury, and warm a pound of each of these, from 50° to 60° Fahrenheit, by pouring in boiling water, we shall find that the quantity of hot water which we have to add to the pound of cold water is fully thirty times as great as that which must be added to the pound of cold mercury, in order to effect a change of ten degrees in the temperature of each of these liquids. Hence the water is said to have a greater 'capacity' for heat than mercury: a given quantity of heat does not go so far in heating the water as the mercury. Rumford, however, showed that the chips cut from his cannon did not change their capacity for heat, and further asks if it is conceivable that all the heat he obtained by his boring could be squeezed out of so inconsiderable a quantity of metallic dust. The description which this philosopher gives of his experiment is an agreeable change for the reader of the usually heavy science of the 'Philosophical Transactions.' Having stated that he placed 18¾ lbs. of water having the temperature of 60° Fahrenheit round his gun, into which he bored a hole by means of horse power, he informs us that after the boring had continued for two hours and twenty minutes the water attained the temperature of 200°, and in ten minutes afterwards 'it actually boiled!' He then goes on to say—

'It would be difficult to describe the surprise and astonishment expressed by the bystanders on seeing so large a quantity of water heated, and actually made to boil, without any fire. Though there was nothing that could be considered very surprising in this matter, yet I acknowledge fairly that it afforded me a degree of childish pleasure which, were I ambitious of the reputation of a grave philosopher, I ought most certainly rather to hide than to discover.'

And here we would most heartily endorse Dr. Tyndall's

remark, that the application of any philosophy which should stifle such emotion as Rumford avowed may indeed well be dispensed with; for surely one of the highest of intellectual gratifications is that which the man of science enjoys when, as the result of laborious experiment, a new unperceived truth flashes across his mind, rendering the path through which he has been perhaps long and darkly wandering as clear as noonday.

An interesting experiment made by Sir Humphry Davy in the year 1799 may now be cited, as it has frequently been regarded as the first proof of the immateriality of heat. Davy took two pieces of ice, and placing them in a room the temperature of which was below the freezing point (32° Fahrenheit), he rubbed one piece of ice upon the other, arranging his apparatus so that no external heat could reach the ice. He found that by the friction of the two pieces on each other the ice was melted, the temperature of the melted water rising to 35°. Now ice is simply solid water, and, as it possesses only half the capacity for heat of liquid water, the quantity of heat which raises one pound of liquid water one degree, will raise the temperature of a pound of ice two degrees. Besides, water in passing from the solid to the liquid state takes up a vast quantity of heat, which becomes so hidden or latent as to be imperceptible to the thermometer; so that, as liquid water at 32° contains much more heat than solid water (ice) at the same temperature, it is clear that, when the ice was melted by friction, a generation and not a transference of heat must have occurred, for it cannot be said that the heat hidden in the ice is merely rendered sensible, inasmuch as the quantity is only a small fraction of the heat contained in the water. Hence Davy concludes that 'the immediate cause of the phenomenon of heat is motion, and 'the laws of its communication are precisely the same as the 'laws of the communication of motion.' If, as it would appear, heat be nothing more than motion, either of the ultimate particles of matter or of the so-called 'luminiferous ether' (and it matters not for our present purpose which of these proves to be the case), it must be possible to produce the effect of cold by bringing together two rays of heat, just as the vibrations of the ether producing light may be made to interfere and neutralise each other and two rays of light thus produce darkness, or as two balls of clay when moving with equal velocity in opposite directions, on meeting remain at rest. The experimental proof of this deduction was given by two French philosophers, MM. Fizeau and Foucault, and thus the chain of evidence of the immateriality of heat was riveted more firmly than ever.

Having convinced ourselves of the truth of the mutual convertibility of mechanical energy and heat, we now pass to quantitative considerations, and ask what relation exists between a given quantity of heat and the mechanical energy which will produce it? How much labour can we get out of a certain quantity of heat, or *vice versâ?* It is obvious that this must be a fixed quantity. We cannot make a given amount of friction produce more than a certain amount of heat, otherwise we should admit the possibility of a *perpetuum mobile;* and the invariable character of the great laws of nature would lead us to predict that this amount is always constant, and that a given quantity of heat, neither more nor less, is always produced by a certain amount of mechanical energy, from what source soever that energy may be derived. The first person who clearly saw that the only mode of proving the truth of this great principle must be by a direct appeal to exact and extended experiments, and had at the same time the power successfully to grapple with so intricate and laborious a subject, was Dr. Joule of Manchester. It is to Joule that science will ever remain indebted for the numerical determination of the *mechanical equivalent of heat;* and although other philosophers have, as we shall see, done much to extend and develope the subject, yet without Joule's practical labours the theory would have been destitute of any firm experimental basis, and therefore unworthy of our acceptance as a sound addition to science. The magnitude and importance of his investigations cannot, therefore, be over-estimated; nor can we refrain from expressing our admiration for the man who could unaided, for seven years, devote his whole energies to the establishment of this important principle, in spite of difficulties and discouragements of no ordinary kind. Dr. Joule determined experimentally the quantity of heat which was evolved by the friction of various substances produced by measurable forces, such as given weights falling through a given space. He measured the heat evolved in water by stirring it with paddles, by the expenditure of a known amount of labour; he did the same with sperm-oil and mercury: he then measured the heat produced when two discs of iron were rubbed against one another, and he likewise determined the heat evolved in the passage of liquids through capillary tubes by friction against the walls of the tubes. These experiments, repeated and controlled in a variety of ways, proved that in every case the *absolute quantity of heat* generated by a given quantity of mechanical energy is definite and invariable, whether that energy be used to stir water, to rub iron, or to do any other kind of work. The numerical

results of Joule's most refined experiments showed that, if the weight of one pound fall through a space of 772 feet, exactly sufficient heat is generated to raise the temperature of one pound of water one degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer; and that if, conversely, we change heat into mechanical power, the quantity of heat capable of raising the temperature of one pound of water one degree is exactly able to produce mechanical energy sufficient to raise a weight of one pound through the space of 772 feet. This number then is called the *mechanical equivalent of heat;* and it constitutes the foundation stone of the science of thermo-dynamics. Previously to these discoveries, Joule had ascertained that this same quantity of heat was evolved by the expenditure of the above amount of mechanical energy applied to work a magneto-electric engine, in which the electricity was changed to heat, and also when the same labour is employed in compressing air; thus proving that the same equivalent holds good for the most diverse forms of mechanical action.

A knowledge of the mechanical equivalent of heat enables us to calculate the temperature which a cannon ball will attain if, when moving with a given velocity, its course is suddenly stopped by a target, as well as the heat which would be liberated by the arrest of the earth in her orbit. This latter calculation has been made, and we learn from it that the quantity of heat liberated by the shock of the stoppage would not only be sufficient to melt the whole earth, but to reduce the greater portion to the state of vapour; and that to develope the same amount of heat by combustion, it would be necessary to burn fourteen globes of coal each as large as the earth; whilst, if the earth were then to fall into the sun, the heat generated by the gigantic blow would be equal to that given off by the burning of 5,600 worlds of pure carbon! So enormous indeed is the amount of heat generated by the stoppage of rapidly falling bodies, that it has caused many scientific men, as originally proposed by Dr. Joule of Manchester, to speculate upon the 'grand 'secret,' as Sir W. Herschel calls it, of the power supporting the vivifying radiation of light and heat which the sun continually pours out upon the universe. The amount of this heat and light which emanates from the sun is so enormous that the mind fails altogether to grasp the idea. It has, however, been calculated that out of 2,300 millions of parts of light and heat emitted by the sun, the earth only receives one part; whilst the whole heat radiated from the sun in one minute has been found by Sir John Herschel to be sufficient to boil 12,000 million cubic miles of ice-cold water! How, we

may ask with Dr. Tyndall, is this enormous loss made good? Whence is the sun's heat derived and by what means is it maintained? It cannot be kept up by ordinary combustion, for if the sun were a solid lump of coal it would be burnt out in 4,600 years; whereas geology teaches us in every page that the sun shone on our earth hundreds of thousands of years ago as it does at the present day. The philosophers who have speculated upon this great question show, that if a meteorite or asteroid were to fall into the sun with the greatest velocity which it is capable of acquiring, it would, on falling, engender a quantity of heat nearly 10,000 times as great as that which would be developed by the combustion of an equal weight of coal. These meteorites are known to fall upon the earth in certain seasons in large numbers, but the heat developed by them is small, owing to the comparatively slight velocity which they attain before reaching so small an attracting mass as that of the earth. Now astronomers seem to think it probable that the lens-shaped mass, termed by us the zodiacal light, which surrounds the sun, consists of a vast collection of such asteroids; these moving, like the planets, in a resisting medium must approach the sun, and on showering down upon the sun's surface transfer their motion into heat; thus maintaining the temperature of the sun, and therefore sustaining life on our planet. The quantity of matter which would thus have to be added to the sun's body, in order to replace the heat lost by radiation, is so insignificant in comparison to its bulk that it would not have altered the apparent size of the sun during the historical period. If our moon fell into the sun, it would only develope heat enough to make good one or two years' loss; and were the earth to fall into the sun, the necessary heat would be supplied for nearly a century.

It is a question, however, if the augmentation in the sun's attraction which this theory presupposes would not have been observed by astronomers even after the lapse of some few years. Whether this will turn out to be the true explanation of the maintenance of solar heat, we know not; but, at any rate, a sun might thus be formed, and the theory serves as an illustration of the application of thermo-dynamics to cosmical phenomena.

That the general progress of scientific discovery is to a great extent independent of the labours of particular individuals, is rapidly becoming an accepted axiom. At any given period of the world's history, many of the foremost minds become independently imbued with the same or similar ideas, and these find expression through one or more of these gifted persons, who,

owing to some special qualifications, are adapted to be the mouthpiece of the time, and clearly put forward views more or less imperfectly shadowed forth by others. This aspect of scientific progress by no means lowers the dignity or value of individual effort. We do not prize the results of Newton's genius less because we feel that, even if he had never lived, science, through the labours of others, would probably in course of time have attained its present position; nor shall we undervalue the great additions to knowledge granted to us by the investigations of Dr. Joule, because other philosophers have expressed views similar to those the correctness of which he has so successfully proved by a direct appeal to experiment. Almost every great discovery has been independently arrived at by several persons—one investigator works out his subject more fully and carefully than another—but the idea generally starts into several minds at once. In illustration of this fact, we need only mention the simultaneous discovery of the differential calculus by Newton and Leibnitz, or the great controversy respecting the discovery of the composition of water by Cavendish, Watt, and Lavoisier; or, again, that concerning the discovery of the safety lamp by Davy and George Stephenson. Hence arises a difficulty which the historian of science will always have to contend with, the difficulty, namely, of rightly adjudging the questions of scientific priority. An interesting, though unnecessarily acrimonious, discussion of this kind has lately taken place in the pages of the 'Philosophical Magazine,' between Dr. Tyndall and Professors William Thomson and Tait of Glasgow and Edinburgh, respecting the merit to be ascribed to the several founders of the mechanical theory of heat. The first incentive to this discussion was given in a lecture 'On Force,' delivered by Dr. Tyndall before the audience of the Royal Institution, on June 6th, 1862, an abstract of which is found in the work whose title is placed at the head of this article. In this lecture Dr. Tyndall briefly, but clearly, places before his audience some of the grander conclusions to which the mechanical theory of heat gives rise. He first explains how mechanical energy is measured, how heat is thereby always generated; he defines the mechanical equivalent of heat, and shows the evolution of heat by the impact of bodies. He tells his hearers that whenever work is done by heat, heat disappears; and, in confirmation of this, he quotes an observation of Rumford's, that a gun when firing ball becomes less heated than when blank cartridge only is fired. He then dilates upon the enormous store of energy contained in our coal fields. A pound of coal produces

by its combustion an amount of heat such as would raise, if all were applied to do mechanical work, the weight of one hundred pounds to a height of twenty miles above the earth's surface; the quantity of coal annually raised in Great Britain amounts, according to Professor Smyth, to eighty-four millions of tons: the mechanical labour which this amount of coal is capable of producing is perfectly fabulous. If one hundred and eight millions of horses were working day and night with unimpaired strength for one year, they would only accomplish as much work as we could effect by the conversion of the heat of combustion of the above quantity of coal into mechanical energy; or, in other words, we in England can do as much work by means of our coal as we could effect if each inhabitant of our islands had a gang of one hundred slaves ready to do his behests! Dr. Tyndall then passes on to the consideration of cosmical phenomena as explained by the principles of the dynamical theory of heat, such as the maintenance of the sun's heat by the collision of asteroids, the retardation of the velocity of the earth's rotation by the friction caused by the tides, and the heat which would be developed by the stoppage of the earth's orbital motion. He then proceeds to consider the important influence exerted by the solar radiations on the phenomena of life. Each drop of rain or flake of snow, each mountain streamlet or brimming river, owes its existence to the sun's heat. It is by the power of the sun's rays that the waters of the ocean are lifted in the form of vapour into the air, and it is by the condensation of this atmospheric moisture that every drop of running water on the earth's surface is formed. The balmy summer breeze and the devastating tornado are alike the products of change of atmospheric temperature caused by the solar heat; whilst the gradual crumbling of the 'everlasting hills,' and the consequent formation of stratified rocks, are sublime records of the might of the actions which, during geological ages, the sun has poured out upon the earth. Nor is this influence of solar radiation confined to the inorganic world; no plant can grow, and therefore no animal can exist, without the vivifying action of the sunbeam. The animal derives the store of energy necessary for the maintenance of life from the force locked up in the vegetable or animal organism upon which it feeds; the food of the animal undergoes combustion or oxidation in the body, and the heat thereby evolved is converted into mechanical energy; so that the labour of the animal is subject to the same laws which regulate the work done by a steam-engine supplied with vegetable fuel. We see that the animal draws its store of energy from the

plant: where does the plant obtain the supply of energy necessary for its growth? The animal world cannot continually gain power from the vegetable unless the latter has as continual a supply. The source of power in the plant is found in the sun's rays; it is the sun's rays alone which enable the plant to grow, for the growth of a plant consists chemically of a decomposition or splitting up of the carbonic acid gas which exists in the air into its simple constituents—the carbon assimilated for building up the vegetable tissues, and the oxygen being sent back into the atmosphere for the subsequent use of animals. To effect this separation of the particles of carbon and oxygen a very large expenditure of energy is necessary, and this energy is supplied by the sun. The rapidly vibrating solar rays are absorbed by the plant, and their energy used up in doing the work of tearing the particles of carbon and oxygen asunder. When the vegetable tissue burns, the carbon again unites with oxygen, forming carbonic acid, and the heat which was originally needed to effect the separation of the elements is liberated; so that the motion of the railway train is in reality due to the energy of the same rays which shone ages ago during the growth of the coal plants. It is true, as Professor Helmholtz remarks, not only in a poetical but in a purely mechanical sense, that we are children of the sun; and the warmth of our bodies, and every mechanical energy which we exert, trace their lineage directly to the sun. Without food we should soon oxidise our bodies. A man weighing one hundred and fifty pounds has sixty-four pounds of muscles; but these are reduced when dried to fifteen pounds. Doing an ordinary day's work for eighty days, this mass of muscle would be wholly oxidised. Special organs which do more work would be more quickly oxidised; the heart, for example, if entirely unsustained, would be oxidised in about a week. Dr. Tyndall having explained these and other conclusions drawn from thermo-dynamic principles, into which our space will not permit us to enter, concludes his picture with the following words:—

'To whom, then, are we indebted for the striking generalisations in this evening's discourse? All that I have laid before you is the work of a man of whom you have scarcely ever heard. All that I have brought before you has been taken from the labours of a German physician named Mayer. Without external stimulus, and pursuing his profession as town physician in Heilbronn, this man was the first to raise the conception of the interaction of natural forces to clearness in his own mind. And yet he is scarcely ever heard of in scientific lectures; and even to scientific men his merits are but partially known. Led by his own beautiful researches, and quite inde-

pendent of Mayer, Mr. Joule published his first paper on "the Mechanical Value of Heat," in 1843; but in 1842 Mayer had actually calculated the mechanical equivalent of heat from data which a man of rare originality alone could turn to account. From the velocity of sound in air Mayer determined the mechanical equivalent of heat. In 1845 he published his memoir on "organised motion," and applied the mechanical theory of heat in the most fearless and precise manner to vital processes. He also embraced the other natural agents in his chain of conservation. In 1853 Mr. Waterston proposed, independently, the meteoric theory of the sun's heat, and in 1854 Professor William Thomson applied his admirable mathematical powers to the development of the theory: but six years previously the subject had been handled in a masterly manner by Mayer, and all that I have said on this subject has been derived from him.'

These bold assertions concerning Mayer's claims to the first position amongst the founders of the mechanical theory of heat naturally called forth some remarks on the history of the subject from Dr. Joule. This philosopher states that, according to his views, Mayer's merit, and this no small one, consists in having announced, apparently without knowledge of what had been done before, the true theory of heat; but to give to Mayer, or any other single individual, the undivided praise of having propounded the dynamical theory of heat is manifestly unjust to the numerous contributors to that great step in physical science. Dr. Joule recalls the statements and experiments made by Locke and Davy upon this subject, and quotes a remarkable passage from a work published in 1839 by M. Séguin, called 'De l'Influence des Chemins de Fer.' This French writer shows that the theory of heat generally adopted would lead to the absurd conclusion that a finite quantity of heat can produce an indefinite quantity of mechanical action; and he remarks, 'Il me paraît plus naturel de supposer qu'une 'certaine quantité de calorique disparaît dans l'acte même de 'la production de la force ou puissance mécanique et réci-'proquement;' and further, 'La force mécanique qui apparaît 'pendant l'abaissement de température d'un gaz, comme de tout 'autre corps qui se dilate, est la mesure et la représentation de 'cette diminution de chaleur.' Séguin likewise calculated the mechanical equivalent of heat from the mechanical effect produced by a loss of temperature in steam when expanding, and he thus obtained a number with which the equivalent afterwards calculated by Mayer most closely agrees. 'Hence,' says Dr. Joule, 'it will be seen that a great advance had been made before 'Mayer wrote his first paper, in 1842. Mayer discourses to 'the same effect as Séguin, but at greater length, with greater

'perspicuity, and with more copiousness of illustration. He 'adopts the same hypothesis as the latter philosopher, that the 'heat evolved on compressing an elastic fluid is exactly the 'equivalent of the compressing force, and they thus both arrive 'at the same equivalent.' Dr. Joule then goes on to state that, in his opinion, there were no facts to warrant the hypothesis thus adopted, that the heat evolved by compressing air was the equivalent of the compressing force, or even anything approaching to it; that the dynamical theory of heat certainly was not established by Séguin and Mayer; that to do this required experiment; and he fearlessly asserts his own right to the position, which has been generally accorded to him by his fellow physicists, as having been the first to give a decisive proof of the correctness of this theory. In answer to this letter, Dr. Tyndall replies that, in his previous course of morning lectures on heat (which were, however, delivered, according to his own showing, at a time when he was unacquainted with the extent of Mayer's labours), he had done full justice to Joule's investigations, and that, still adhering to the views he there expressed, he gives Joule the honour of being the experimental demonstrator of the equivalence of work and heat. At the same time, he says that he believes that the method of calculation adopted by Mayer for the determination of the mechanical equivalent is correct, and does not need any experimental verification; but he makes no remark whatever respecting Séguin's discovery. He likewise states that his object in the lecture in question was not to give a history of the dynamical theory, 'but simply to 'place a man of genius, to whom the fates had been singularly 'unkind, in a position in some measure worthy of him.' From the above extracts it is, however, clear that the merit of having first employed this method, whether it be right or wrong, is to be given to Séguin, and not to Mayer. This important point does not seem to be admitted by Dr. Tyndall, as in a subsequent letter to Professor Thomson he gives an extract from an interesting lecture on the mechanical equivalent of heat, delivered by M. Verdet, of Paris, in which the labours of Séguin are but slightingly acknowledged; and Dr. Tyndall then adds, 'I 'should deem it probable that M. Verdet knows as much about 'the labours of Séguin as you (Thomson) do. He certainly 'knows more about those of Mayer. But he does not see in 'the former the annihilation of the latter.'

These remarks are certainly beside the question raised by Professors Thomson and Tait, who simply stated the fact 'that 'even on this point (that of the calculation of the mechanical 'equivalent) Mayer had been anticipated by Séguin, who, three

'years before the appearance of Mayer's paper, had obtained and 'published the same numerical result from the same hypothesis.' Dr. Tyndall does, however, in a subsequent communication, come directly to this point by stating that he did not know, nor is he yet aware, that Séguin had anticipated Mayer's discovery.

Professors Thomson and Tait go still further, and, whilst admitting that 'Mayer's later papers are extremely remarkable 'and excessively interesting, and certainly deserve high credit, 'and though they are greatly superior to the earliest cosmical 'speculations of Joule, are certainly subsequent to them in 'point of publication,' give it as their opinion that 'Mayer's 'first paper has no claims to novelty or correctness at all, saving 'this, that by a lucky chance he got an approximation to a true 'result from an utterly false analogy.'

In order to enable us to judge how far this sweeping assertion is correct, we must investigate somewhat more closely than we have yet done the effects produced by the compression or percussion of bodies. If we examine a rifle bullet immediately after it has hit the target, we not only observe that it is hot, but likewise that it is flattened; in this case, supposing that none of the heat produced by the blow were communicated to the target, we should find that the bullet would not be heated as much as it should be if all the mechanical energy were changed into heat. A portion of the energy has been used up in flattening the bullet, in altering the molecular arrangement of the lead, and this is therefore lost as heat; so that if, from an experiment of this kind, we were to calculate the mechanical equivalent of the heat, we should necessarily obtain a wrong result. The heat which thus disappears is said to be used in doing *internal* work, whilst that which is set free serves to effect *external* work; and whenever we wish to get the real mechanical equivalent for the total heat produced, we must be sure that none of it is swallowed up in thus changing the molecular condition of the body; for, as M. Verdet says, in the lecture above referred to, 'C'est donc commettre la plus grave des erreurs que 'd'établir, comme on l'a fait quelquefois, la relation d'équivalence 'entre la quantité de chaleur absorbée par un corps et le travail 'extérieur.' Now, in almost every case of the compression of bodies, the amount of internal work which is effected is very considerable; and 'Mayer's statements imply the indiscriminate 'application of the equivalence of heat and external work to all 'bodies, whether gaseous, liquid, or solid, and show no reason 'for choosing air for the application of the proposed principle to 'calculation but that, at the time he wrote, air was the only 'body for which the requisite numerical data were known with

'any approximation to accuracy.' The foregoing remark of Professors Thomson and Tait may be undoubtedly true, and the method adopted by Séguin and Mayer may, therefore, not be scientifically accurate; but still we must admit that Mayer's first paper certainly constitutes a very remarkable addition to our previous knowledge of the equivalence of the physical forces. Thus, for instance, he distinctly enunciates the mode of experimentation adopted by Joule, by which the mechanical equivalent can be exactly determined. 'We must find out,' says Mayer, in his paper published in 1842, 'how high a certain 'weight must be raised above the earth's surface, in order that 'the force developed by its fall shall be equivalent to the heating 'of an equal weight of water from 0° to 1° centigrade.' If, therefore, Dr. Tyndall has not fairly estimated the true claims of Joule, Séguin, and Mayer, as regards the establishment of the mechanical equivalent of heat, we cannot help feeling that Professors Thomson and Tait have not done justice to Mayer, as regards his wonderfully clear insight into the dependence of cosmical phenomena upon the mechanical theory of heat.

The paper published by these gentlemen, with 'a view of 'correcting the erroneous information on this subject stealing in 'through the medium of the popular journals,' appeared in a periodical termed 'Good Words;' and in this paper the authors, having laid down the principles of the theory, proceed to ask, Whence comes the supply of energy which drives our water-wheels and forms our coal? What produces the power which is locked up in a beef-steak or in a loaf? These grand questions, as Dr. Tyndall remarks, were all answered by Mayer (and, we may add, by Stephenson, Herschel and others) seventeen years before the appearance of this paper, and yet the authors scarcely mention his name. M. Verdet, on the other hand, acknowledges a portion of Mayer's labours in the following words:—'Ces idées, introduites pour la première fois par Jules 'Robert Mayer, font faire à la physiologie générale un progrès 'assurément égal au progrès qui est résulté, vers la fin du 'siècle dernier, des découvertes de Lavoisier et de Senebier 'sur la respiration.'

It is, however, well to remember that long before Mayer published his papers on the subject, the dependence of terrestrial energy upon the sun's rays was clearly stated by Sir John Herschel in 1833. The words of this model of a thoroughly educated man of science are so striking that we cannot forbear quoting the passage in the 'Outlines of Astronomy' referring to this subject:—

'The sun's rays are the ultimate source of almost every motion

which takes place on the surface of the earth. By their heat are produced all winds, and those disturbances in the electric equilibrium of the atmosphere which give rise to the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism. By their vivifying action vegetables are elaborated from inorganic matter, and become in their turn the support of animals and of man, and the sources of those great deposits of dynamical efficiency which are laid up for human use in our coal strata. By them the waters of the sea are made to circulate in vapour through the air, and irrigate the land, producing springs and rivers. By them are produced all disturbances of the chemical equilibrium of the elements of nature which, by a series of compositions and decompositions, give rise to new products, and originate a transfer of materials. Even the slow degradation of the solid constituents of the surface, in which its chief geological changes consist, and their diffusion among the waters of the ocean, are entirely due to the abrasion of the wind, rain, and tides, which latter, however, are only in part the effect of solar influence and the alternate action of the seasons.'

In thus considering the main points of this discussion, it appears that when Dr. Tyndall delivered his lecture 'On Force,' in June 1862, he was unacquainted with Séguin's calculation of the mechanical equivalent, and that he then brought Mayer's claims more exclusively forward than he was justified in doing: it seems also probable that when Professors Thomson and Tait wrote their article in 'Good Words,' they had not seen Mayer's later papers (which being published separately as pamphlets had only become known to Dr. Tyndall a few months previously), and, therefore, did not then give him the credit to which, as they afterwards confess, his labours entitle him.

It is a difficult and somewhat delicate, though a necessary, task to endeavour justly to mark out to each labourer in the field of science the exact position which he can fairly claim; and in impartially summing up the evidence in the case before us, and remembering that 'la science n'a pas de patrie,' we find that we must agree with a recent French writer who terms the paper by Dr. Joule, published in the 'Philosophical Transactions for 1850,' 'the manifesto of the new philosophy of 'thermo-dynamics;' but we must not, at the same time, forget that the labours of Mayer, Helmholtz, Clausius, Rankine, Hirn and others, and especially the accurate investigations of William Thomson, have greatly helped to extend and complete our knowledge of the subject.

It is not only the changes of heat into mechanical action, which the theory of thermo-dynamics explains; this theory also furnishes a solution to many of the most complex phenomena in nature. Thus the questions of latent heat, and the heat of chemical combination, are rendered intelligible. If we

warm a pound of ice having a temperature of 32° Fahrenheit, we find that when all the ice is melted the water exhibits no augmentation of temperature, the thermometer still standing at 32°, although heat enough has been added to have heated one pound of water at 32° to 143° Fahrenheit. If, again, we continue to heat the melted ice, the temperature rises until the thermometer stands at 212°, when the water begins to boil. The thermometer now remains stationary, and the water gives off steam of the same temperature until it is all boiled away; and to convert this pound of water at 212° into a pound of steam at the same temperature, 967 times as much heat is required as is needed to raise 1 lb. of water 1° Fahrenheit. Hence the *latent* heat of water is said to be 143°, that of steam 967° Fahrenheit; so named by those who first observed these phenomena, because the heat thus employed to melt the ice or evaporate the water was hidden, and not sensible to the thermometer. The mechanical theory of heat, however, explains what has become of this hidden heat. It declares that the heat thus expanded is consumed in doing internal work; it separates the particles of the ice to form water, or of the water to form steam, and it is again given off whenever the water is frozen or the steam condensed. The quantity of heat which is evolved in these changes of state is but very small compared to that set free when the constituent chemical elements of the water undergo combination. Chemists have shown that 1 lb. of hydrogen combines with 8 lbs. of oxygen to form 9 lbs. of water, and that in this act of combination heat enough is evolved to raise the temperature of 61,200 lbs. of water 1° Fahrenheit. Now, as 772 foot-pounds is the mechanical equivalent for the heat which will raise 1 lb. of water 1° Fahrenheit, we see that the chemical union of oxygen and hydrogen to form 9 lbs. of water evolves heat enough to raise a weight of more than 47,000,000 lbs. one foot high. In passing from the state of steam to that of water, the heat evolved by this same weight of water represents a mechanical force of 6,718,716 foot-pounds, whilst in passing from the liquid to the solid state a mechanical effect is produced equal to 993,564 foot-pounds.

'Thus,' says Dr. Tyndall, 'our nine pounds of water, in its origin and progress, falls down three great precipices: the first fall is equivalent to the descent of a ton urged by gravity down a precipice 22,230 feet high; the second fall is equal to that of a ton down a precipice 2,900 feet high; and the third is equal to the descent of a ton down a precipice 433 feet high . . . . I think I did not overrate matters when I said that the force of gravity, as exerted near the earth, was almost a vanishing quantity, in comparison with these

molecular forces; and bear in mind the distances which separate the atoms before combination—distances so small as to be utterly immeasurable: still it is in passing over these distances that the atoms acquire a velocity sufficient to cause them to clash with the tremendous energy indicated in the above numbers.'

Passing over Dr. Tyndall's descriptions of his own interesting researches upon radiant heat, together with much important matter concerning the results of investigations of other experimentalists on kindred subjects, forming a store of interest for the perusal of which we must refer the reader to the book itself, we proceed to notice a few of the wider cosmical relations interpreted by the mechanical theory of heat, and treated of by Dr. Tyndall in his last lecture. We have already remarked that the heat of gravitation of the earth (that produced by the earth falling into the sun) would supply the sun with heat for nearly a century; we now learn from the researches of Professor William Thomson that the heat of gravitation of all the planets is equal to that radiated by the sun in 45,589 years, whilst the heat which would be developed by stopping the rotation of all the planets on their axes is equal to that emitted by the sun in 134 years. Helmholtz, in a valuable memoir on the conservation of force, has shown that, if the solar system has ever been a nebulous mass of extreme tenuity, the mechanical force equivalent to the mutual gravitation of the particles of such a mass would be 454 times the quantity of mechanical force which we now possess in our system; $\frac{453}{454}$ths of the gravitating tendency has been already satisfied and wasted as heat. The $\frac{1}{454}$th that remains to us would, however, if converted into heat, raise the temperature of a mass of water equal to the sun and planets in weight 28,000,000° centigrade. The heat of the lime light, Dr. Tyndall remarks, is estimated at 2,000° C.: of a temperature of 28,000,000° C. we can, therefore, form no conception. If our entire system were pure coal, by the combustion of the whole of it only $\frac{1}{3500}$ths of the above enormous amount of heat would be generated.

'But,' to quote the eloquent words of Helmholtz, 'though the store of our planetary system is so immense as not to be sensibly diminished by the incessant emission which has gone on during the period of man's history, and though the time which must elapse before a sensible change in the condition of our planetary system can occur is totally incapable of measurement, the inexorable laws of mechanics show that this store, which can only suffer loss and not gain, must finally be exhausted. Shall we terrify ourselves by this thought? Men are apt to measure the greatness of the universe, and the wisdom displayed in it, by the duration and profit

which it promises to their own race; but the past history of the earth shows the insignificance of the interval during which man has had his dwelling here. What the museums of Europe show us of the remains of Egypt and Assyria we gaze upon with silent wonder, and despair of being able to carry back our thoughts to a period so remote. Still the human race must have existed and multiplied for ages before the pyramids could have been erected. We estimate the duration of human history at 6,000 years; but, vast as this time may appear to us, what is it in comparison with the periods during which the earth bore successive series of rank plants and mighty animals, but no men?—periods, during which, in our own neighbourhood (Königsberg), the amber tree bloomed, and dropped its costly gum on the earth and in the sea; when in Europe and North America groves of tropical palms flourished, in which gigantic lizards, and after them elephants, whose mighty remains are still buried in the earth, found a home? Different geologists, proceeding from different premises, have sought to estimate the length of the above period, and they set it down from one to nine millions of years. The time during which the earth has generated organic beings is again small, compared with the ages during which the world was a mass of molten rocks. The experiments of Bischof upon Basalt show, that for our globe to cool down from 2000° to 200° C. would require 350 million of years. And with regard to the period during which the first nebulous masses condensed, so as to form our planetary system, conjecture must entirely cease. The history of man, therefore, is but a minute ripple in the infinite ocean of time. For a much longer period than that during which he has already occupied this world the existence of a state of inorganic nature favourable to man's continuance seems to be secured, so that for ourselves, and for long generations after us, we have nothing to fear. But the same forces of air and water, and of the volcanic interior, which produced former geologic convulsions, and buried one series of living forms after another, still act upon the earth's crust. They, rather than those distant cosmical changes of which we have spoken, will end the human race, and perhaps compel us to make way for new and more complete forms of life, as the lizard and the mammoth have given way to us and our contemporaries.' (P. 428.)

In speaking of the universal character of the sun's actions upon the earth, Dr. Tyndall tells us that, leaving out of account the eruption of volcanoes and the ebb and flow of the tides, every mechanical action on the earth's surface, every manifestation of power, organic and inorganic, vital and physical, is produced by the sun's rays. He then proceeds:—

'His (the sun's) warmth keeps the sea liquid and the atmosphere a gas, and all the storms which agitate both are blown by the mechanical force of the sun. He lifts the rivers and the glaciers up the mountains; and thus the cataract and the avalanche shoot with an energy derived immediately from him. Thunder and lightning are,

also his transmuted strength. . . . He rears, as I have said, the whole vegetable world, and through it the animal; the lilies of the field are his workmanship, the verdure of the meadows, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. He forms the muscle, he urges the blood, he builds the brain. His fleetness is in the lion's foot; he springs in the panther, he soars in the eagle, he glides in the snake. . . . His energy is poured freely into space, but our world is a halting space where this energy is conditioned. Here the Proteus works his spells; the self-same essence takes a million shapes and hues, and finally dissolves into its primitive and almost formless form. The sun comes to us as heat; he quits us as heat; and between his entrance and departure the multiform powers of our globe appear. They are all special forms of solar power—the moulds into which his strength is temporarily poured, in passing from its source through infinitude. Presented rightly to the mind, the discoveries and generalisations of modern science constitute a poem more sublime than has ever yet been addressed to the intellect and imagination of man. The natural philosopher of to-day may dwell amid conceptions which beggar those of Milton.' (P. 432.)

Grand as are the truths which this peroration is intended to set forth, we cannot read them without regret that these somewhat inflated expressions should have been put forward as a complete statement of the facts of the case. If that were Dr. Tyndall's intention, we should object to the very partial view of nature which he would appear to set before his audience. On hearing words such as those we have quoted, the half-educated scientific enthusiast would be inclined, and so far as these words go entitled, to believe that this influence of the sun's rays explains all terrestrial actions—all life, all nature; that henceforward a complete knowledge of nature would be gained from this transcendent element; that, as the solar ray 'forms the 'muscle and builds the brain,' the secrets of life are exhausted, and mental as well as physical action is easily referable to a material standard. Yet how far is this from really being the true state of things! and how completely would such a thinker be misled! Dr. Tyndall knows this as well as any man, and yet, for the sake of making his point clear, and in order to avoid distracting the attention of his audience from his subject, he, no doubt purposely, omitted to refer to those unknown and unexplored depths met with on every side in the great mine of nature—depths which the glimmering lamp of our present imperfect knowledge only serves to render more apparent. One of the difficulties with which popular scientific lecturers have to contend is that of presenting a subject in such a form as to come home to the audience in its true relations not liable to be misunderstood, and of painting one side of the picture forcibly

without losing the harmony of the whole. It would, in our opinion, have been well if Dr. Tyndall had in conclusion reminded his audience that, much as Science can do, it never can explain everything; that, although the body is built up and sustained by solar power, there are mysteries connected with life towards the explanation of which Science offers no clue whatsoever. If he had only hinted at our complete ignorance of the nature of the silent power which bids the oak spring from the acorn, or builds up from the simplest cell the widely differing forms of animal life, he would have done much to present to his hearers' minds the truer view of Nature's infinitude and man's littleness expressed by Newton in his noble words: 'To myself I seem to 'have been as a child playing on the sea-shore, whilst the great 'ocean of truth lay unexplored before me.'

ART. II.—*A History of the Romans under the Empire.* By CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D. Vol. VII. London: 1862.

WE regret to find from Mr. Merivale's preface that his present intention is to terminate the 'History of the 'Romans under the Empire' with the seventh volume now before us. He has abandoned his original purpose of carrying down his narrative to the transfer of the seat of empire 'from the sacred circle of the Seven Hills to a village on 'the Bosporus,' and he now lays down his pen at the moment when Gibbon's history begins. We doubt not that he has duly weighed his reasons for curtailing his plan; yet we cannot affect to be quite satisfied with his decision. The curtailment is, in our opinion, the more to be lamented, first, because Gibbon's account of the rise and progress of Christianity, admirable as it is for condensed learning and picturesque power, admits of re-telling, and, in the second place, because Mr. Merivale stands alone, at the present moment, as an impartial chronicler of the Cæsars. There are many works by French and German scholars upon this imperial theme; but most of them, and especially the more recent, commit the grievous error of disguising modern politics under an ancient garb. From this mistake Mr. Merivale is exempt: while writing of Julius or Trajan, he does not glance at the Cæsars of Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg, or Paris. Again, for his celebrated fifteenth and sixteenth chapters Gibbon has received a full measure of blame; but it has not been remarked that he has also done scanty justice to the latter phases and

supporters of pagandom. His negative temper excluded any strong expression of feeling, even on the side he seems at times to embrace; and if in his account of Julian he departs from his usual equanimity, his admiration comes too late, since the struggle between the old and new creeds was decided before the fanatical apostate entered on his reactionary course. To Mr. Merivale we had looked for a spirited and just record of the great dogmatic revolution that severed the ancient from the modern world. Wanting such a crown and conclusion, we cannot but feel that his work is still to a certain extent incomplete. We trust he may be induced to reconsider his present decision: in the meantime we owe to him by far the most complete history of the rise, progress, and confirmation of the Roman Empire that has ever been written.

We need not, on this occasion, to dwell further on Mr. Merivale's merits as an historian. Twice before we have expressed our opinion of them in this Journal: and his seventh volume affords no reasons for doubting the soundness of our former verdict. That judgment has been confirmed by the public; and Mr. Merivale is already accepted by it as the classical historian of the Cæsars of the first and second centuries. The seventh volume of 'The Romans under the Empire' opens with the accession of Vespasian, and closes with the death of Marcus Aurelius. In this period of one hundred and ten years the Empire assumed its fairest aspect, enjoyed its largest measure of prosperity, and attained its final limits. It is some drawback from our satisfaction in perusing Gibbon's volumes that they are, as their title imports, a record of decline and disintegration. Slowly, yet surely, the august structure cemented by so much blood, reared by so much toil, sustained with such fortitude, instinct apparently with an extraordinary power of self-renovation, the 'glorious *Semper Eadem*' of the civilised world, betrays, in every chapter of that matchless narrative, the symptoms of weariness, decrepitude, decay. The old capital of Romulus is tenanted only by mighty shadows. Her senators are to the Fabii and Pauli of the Commonwealth what the Great Council of Venice in 1780 was to the Great Council of Venice in 1380. The new capital of Constantine becomes a stage for evil kings and yet more evil priests to tread: Phocas and Andronicus sit in the seat of the first Christian Cæsar; and the pulpit of Chrysostom is profaned by bishops whom he would have accounted priests of Baal. The frontiers of the empire contract themselves; shameful wars are concluded by a more shameful peace; whatsoever things make a nation great, depart; whatsoever things make a nation vile, increase and multiply;

until at length the historian, 'dipping his pencil in the gloom of 'earthquake and eclipse,' proclaims 'Great Babylon fallen,' and the earth delivered from her sorceries and oppressions. Mr. Merivale is more fortunate in the course and tenor of his narrative. His earlier volumes, indeed, relate the first undulations, the hurrying advance, the wide and sweeping fury of the political earthquake that prepared the soil for the imperium of the Cæsars. It is for a while occupied with the crimes or follies of the unworthy successors of the merciful Julius and the politic Augustus. Yet even these gloomy periods are relieved by great names and signal virtues; and after Domitian's death to the close of the work, the prospect brightens, and five good emperors in succession leave us little occasion to regret the ruin or the memory of the Commonwealth.

This period of substantial prosperity and unexampled peace is usually termed the Age of the Antonines. But this is a lax and inaccurate designation. 'If we are to speak of an Antonine 'period at all,' Mr. Merivale remarks, 'we ought to extend it 'to the death of Alexander Severus.' The combined virtues of *seven*, and not *five* Cæsars—Domitian is the only blot on their escutcheon—caused the prosperity implied in the name; and it is unfair to exclude from this era of good government its real founder, Titus Flavius Vespasian. The system inaugurated by that ruler, which remained in force above a century, might more justly and intelligibly be styled the Flavian æra; and we have therefore not scrupled to prefix that title to this article. An era marked by virtue in the highest places, and by content and sobriety in the ranks beneath them, is naturally deficient in incidents — in such incidents, at least, as historians delight to portray. Tranquillity at home, and vigour or vigilance abroad, afford little that is stirring or conspicuous in the human character, and our attention is diverted from the actors on the scene to the sound and smooth progress of the drama. Accident, or the gradual decay of literature, has nearly deprived us of the materials for narrative. Time has made fatal inroads on that portion of the 'History' of Tacitus in which he describes the reigns of his early patrons; and the work he reserved for his later years, the Annals or Biography of Trajan, he either did not live to accomplish, or promised without intending to perform. Suetonius abandons us with the death of Domitian; and since his 'Lives of the Cæsars' after Nero's fall become more and more meagre, we are perhaps no great losers by his silence. Dion, besides living long afterwards, is, for this period, reduced to a mere abbreviator, and Herodian does not commence his brief, but spirited narrative,

until Marcus Aurelius rested from his labours. The swarm of historians who described Trajan's campaigns, the progresses of Hadrian, or the acts of Pius and Aurelius, hardly survived their own age, and, if we may credit Lucian, did not deserve to survive it; and the materials for Mr. Merivale's seventh volume are gathered principally from indirect sources—from letters, panegyrics, satirists and philosophers; from scattered anecdotes; from coins and inscriptions; from vague and unfaithful compilations of later times, or, lastly, from the Augustan historians, the Oldmixons, Cooks, the Guthries and Echards, of the second century. In the absence therefore of even such documents as exist for the reigns of the Julian Cæsars, Mr. Merivale is constrained, after Domitian's fall, to expatiate in episodes on the literature, manners, arts, morals, and religion of the time; and since the wars were without interest, and the state-machine was worked by a single hand, we have some, and indeed much, compensation for what we have lost. The Dacian campaigns of Trajan might have added little to our knowledge of the art of war; but a faithful and lively account by an eye-witness of Hadrian's journeys would have been an invaluable possession for ever. That vigilant or restless emperor visited every part of his vast dominions, and doubtless made, or directed to be made, full reports of his inspection. If 'history has never sustained a greater or more 'irreparable injury than in the loss of the curious register be-'queathed by Augustus to the Senate, in which he had balanced 'the revenues and expenses of the Roman Empire,'* we may place next to this injury the loss or absence of record, except in a long series of commemorative medals, of these imperial visitations. Wanting it, the historian is compelled to collect, from almost innumerable sources, the fragments of a mirror that unbroken would have reflected an image of the greatest of earthly empires, at the moment when its fairest proportions were most conspicuous. In the reigns of Nerva and his four immediate successors, the hopes or projects of the first two Cæsars were fully, perhaps more than fully, realised. The provinces were at length living members of the Empire: Rome was no longer the 'dura noverca,' but the cherishing mother of her subjects; her authority was maintained by the display, rather than by the exertion, of military force. Wars there were, indeed, since no vast empire can ever expect to be exempt from them, whether their seat be the Rhine or the Euphrates, New Zealand or Japan. But if Trajan invaded Parthia from ambition, he

* Decline and Fall, ch. vi.

conquered Dacia for security, and his successors strictly observed the precepts of Augustus in confining their camps within the limits which nature or prudence had marked out. Peace produced its usual fruits: the scars and ravages of conquest or civil strife were healed and repaired: if the laws were strict and the taxes heavy, they were at least uniformly enforced and collected; the swarms of senatorian locusts were for ever dispersed; and both the enervate East and the semi-civilised West acknowledged the sway of a single Cæsar to be more tolerable than that of their native despots, their feeble and jarring oligarchies, their indolent or cruel kings, or the yet more oppressive yoke of priestly rulers.

A shattered and a bankrupt empire it was that Vespasian wrested from his competitors Otho and Vitellius. The revenue impaired by Caius and the Claudian freedmen was plunged by Nero into deeper insolvency. The army was demoralised; the senate was helpless; some of the fairest provinces had been ravaged; two of the noblest cities of Italy were charred heaps; the coasts were swept by pirates; the Capitol itself was a ruin. The prestige of Rome was destroyed; the fatal secret had been revealed that an emperor might be elected hundreds of leagues beyond the sacred bounds of the *pomœrium*. The times were even darker than when Sulla erected his throne in front of the blackened walls of the Capitol, or when Cæsar profaned the majesty of its benches by crowding them with Gaulish and Spanish centurions. There could be no doubt that either of these great dictators was master of the hour and the position, but who would venture to say as much of Vespasian? Victory, indeed, rested for the moment with the Proconsul of Syria, but would it ensure him quiet possession of the laurel crown? He had rivals at his table and in his council-chamber; he had foes in the broken Othonians and Vitellians. Augustus had found it no easy task to keep in obedience an army devoted to him. But the position of the first Flavian emperor was yet more critical. *He* did not succeed to the darling of the legions and the people; *he* had no hereditary pretensions; *he* bore no time-honoured name; his military rank was that of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius: he had not even won the battles which had raised him; they had been fought by Antonius Primus, an unscrupulous partisan, and confirmed by Mucianus, a possible and formidable rival for the throne. The position of him who comes in at the end of a civil war is generally more precarious than the position of him who commences it. *Bellum magis desierat quam pax cœperat* is the pregnant phrase by which Tacitus indicates the peril of Vespasian in the first

weeks or months of his reign. That he stood firm on an eminence from which four Cæsars in succession had fallen within two years, constitutes his claim to be regarded as the fittest and the foremost man of that time. He contented the army, both the Syrian and the German legions, since he closed the Temple of Janus as soon as his son Titus returned from the waste where lately stood Jerusalem. His conservative, or rather restorative, policy is fully traced by Mr. Merivale. He stanched the wounds of civil war, replenished the treasury, calmed the agitation of the provinces, reassured Rome and Italy by his modest demeanour; and if he was never popular, he was at least respected. It was scarcely possible to counteract the prodigality of the late reign without incurring odium. The idle and greedy populace missed the Neronian largesse; the bankrupt and dissolute nobles mourned for lost opportunities of peculation. In the pasquinades of the day Vespasian was represented as an imperial Harpagon; and his public frugality was stigmatised as private avarice. Mr. Merivale, however, assigns good reasons for our regarding this imputation as merely the passing murmur of disappointment. Suetonius, an arrant gossip, set it down among his anecdotes, just as Sir Nathaniel Wraxall set down similar rumours of his time. We should probably have heard nothing of Vespasian's parsimony from Tacitus, had the sixteen books of his History come down to us. Indeed, as Mr. Merivale remarks:—

'The temper of the Romans had undergone a great and sudden change. The voluptuous luxury of the early empire had reached its climax under Nero, and the nation was suffering from the effects of its indulgence. It was sick at heart, debilitated, and remorseful. The rash attempt to follow their sovereign in the race of extravagance had overwhelmed the fortunes of his wealthiest courtiers; his tyranny had crushed the most powerful nobles; the conflagration of the city had destroyed the palaces and accumulated treasures of many of the chief families; disturbances in the provinces had dried up the sources of opulence, which had been wont to flow with unbroken current to Rome and Italy. The vulgar magnificence of upstart freedmen had outraged the national dignity and put prodigality out of fashion. When Vespasian by his firmness in redressing extortion abroad, and his vigilance in checking peculation at home, enforced the moderation recommended by his own conspicuous example, he found his subjects well inclined to hail the new era, and accept with satisfaction the restrictions he might place on display and expenditure.' (Vol. vii. p. 13.)

At the accession of Vespasian, all things, to ordinary vision, remained as they had been at the time of Nero's death. The senate, the soldiers, the people, the provinces, and the Cæsar

himself, with his multifarious functions, went by the same names, and stood apparently in unchanged relations one to the other. But a change had stolen upon each of these members of the empire, which before long became obvious. For Vespasian represented a secret as well as an open revolution — open inasmuch as it proclaimed universal indignation at imperial enormities — secret because it proved the prejudice in favour of Cæsarian lineage extinct. Scarcely a drop of the divine ichor that had flowed in the veins of Julius circulated in those of Nero, and of his four predecessors two only, Augustus and Caius, had any pretensions to descend from Anchises and Aphroditè. The prejudice, however, survived the adoption of Tiberius and the almost burlesque election of Claudius. Caligula was hailed as '*Augusti sanguis, unicum* '*antiquitatis specimen,*' and the blood of Agrippina was admitted to qualify the plebeian Domitius for empire. Had Nero treated the hapless Octavia with decent respect, had he not trailed the purple on the boards of a theatre, this superstition might have survived. But his crimes, and especially the sordid circumstances of his last hours, made further delusion impossible, and it was an affront to the gods and the nation at once to assert any longer the divine origin of a matricide and a player.

Again, the Julian line owed some of its popularity to personal beauty and accomplishments. In the first three Cæsars the Romans admired features and forms which artists delighted to copy and poets to describe, and which were readily idealised in portraits or statues of Jupiter and Apollo. The type, indeed, was faint in Nero, and disturbed in the truculent lineaments of Caius; yet the female members of the house still vindicated their claim to descend from the goddess of beauty. Nor was any one of the first six Cæsars devoid of literary accomplishments. Nero, though no orator and an abominable poet, was by no means indifferent to eloquence or art. But of these personal advantages and acquirements the restorer of peace and order was devoid. In the common-place features and stout ungraceful figure of Vespasian flattery itself could not trace a line in common with a bearded Jupiter or an unshorn Apollo. Had he made verses they would have been worse, if possible, than Nero's; and his eloquence, unbacked by thirty legions, would not have gained for him a single vote in the senate or a single cause in the courts. Even his birth was considered mean in a city ranking among its good families the scions of Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans, no less than the unquestioned descendants of Alban kings.

Yet the plain uncomely Sabine burgher, though he had not

waxen images in his hall, nor the names of sire or grandsire inscribed on the consular Fasti, had done the state service, and had personal recommendations besides. To the legions he was known as a brave and successful general, tried in many a stricken field against the fierce Celts of Britain and the yet fiercer rabble of Judæa. To the senate he was welcome, since he had never shared in the 'noctes cœnæque Neronis,' and because of his civil demeanour—civil, that is to say, in the Roman sense of the word, for his senatorian gown decently hid the imperatorial breast-plate. He was a man of the people and a man of the provinces also, for he belonged to that frugal class whose mode of life offered a constant protest against the profusion of the city nobles. His parsimony, though it was made latterly a subject of reproach, was long accounted in him a virtue, since it aggrieved no class of men except the harpies of the late dynasty, or the mob that battened on the treasury. Vespasian, in short, was one of that order of men who neither inaugurate revolutions nor direct their course, but who, when the whirlwind subsides, are accepted as the impersonation of the compromise for which all the sufferers, if not all the actors in them, are hungering.

Nor was this all. Rumours accompanied Vespasian that seemed to mark him as the elect of the gods. If not under his immediate guidance, yet under his auspices, the temple of a faith malignant in its aspects to Rome had been destroyed, and a sullen unsocial race that blasphemed Jupiter and Cæsar had ceased to be a nation. The general dispersion of the Jews —a dispersion long preceding the fall of their capital—throughout the Empire had wrought a potent, though a silent influence upon the Roman world. Magistrates, satirists and philosophers might abhor or despise these stubborn aliens; yet their ideas and even their creed had insinuated themselves widely among the polytheists of heathendom. Among the most cherished hopes of the Jewish race at this epoch was that of a deliverer from the East; and that hope had reached also the oppressed nationalities of the Gentile world. One of the circumstances that smoothed Vespasian's ascent to the Capitol was this oriental dream. He came from the cradle of that hope; he actually delivered Rome from Gaulish and German spoilers; his approach had been heralded by miracles wrought by his own hands. He had healed a lame man and a blind man at Alexandria; and in the same city he had been vouchsafed a vision of good omen. Such portents, or, what was as good for his purposes, the report of them, impressed the credulous multitude with the belief that Vespasian was called to the Empire by the

Fates; and such belief made up for the blemishes in his pedigree, demeanour and personal gifts. What if he did move without grace, and talk like a Sabine yeoman? what if he could not tell whether Pylades sang in tune, or Bathyllus danced in time, or never made a verse in his life? Such graces the gods had lavished on fools, lunatics, and murderers, and had grown sick of bestowing them so unprofitably. Rome had paid dear enough for handsome and well-born rulers, and could well put up with a plain good man who would be useful, although he might not be agreeable to them. The Marius who was seven times consul, and who had twice saved Rome, was a rough ungainly soldier; the Numa who had given repose and good laws to the city of Romulus was a Sabine; once again a Sabine soldier might save Rome, restore her laws, and save her temples from pollution. Every hope that had been formed of him was realised by the first of the Flavian Cæsars. Not only does the elder Pliny describe 'the august Vespasian as the 'greatest of all rulers in every age and realm,' but poets also caught up the note of praise, and enthusiastically applauded the civil and military virtues of the son of an obscure money-changer.

In his brief reign of two years and two months, Titus belied the fears which his earlier career had awakened. The license of his youth had led men to expect in him a Nero, or at least an Otho, on the throne. His passion for the beautiful Jewess Berenice revived unpleasant memories of Marcus Antonius and his Egyptian siren. But although, on becoming aware of the strength of popular prejudice—the stronger perhaps because its object was the daughter of a hateful race—he dismissed her, *invitus invitam*, as Suetonius writes with Taciteau conciseness—although he showed himself dutiful both as a son and a subject, and earned the rare praise of having, as a sovereign, committed not a single fault, neither left undone a single duty—yet an uneasy suspicion as to his real character lurked in the minds of his countrymen. That Titus was fortunate in having so brief a reign settled into a maxim with later ages. Men in mature years looked back to the *quinquennium Neronis*, and rejoiced that Titus did not live long enough to forfeit the appellation of the 'Delight of Mankind.' He inherited from his prudent parent a stable throne and a full treasury. He might have lived to exhaust the one—for providence was not among his virtues—and to shake the other by acts prompted by fear or caprice. The temper of the Romans had changed: neither the Cæsar nor his freedmen were any longer independent and irresponsible; and the wild excess of Nero or the sad and

solitary tyrant at Capreæ were alike things of the past. No new checks or safeguards, indeed, were introduced into what we may term by courtesy the Roman Constitution. But public opinion combined with public calamity made itself felt, and the personal character of the Cæsar was henceforward weighed and measured by stricter rules.

Of the Flavian reforms we can judge only by their results. We know that the army was kept in order; but we can merely presume that Vespasian recurred to the policy of Augustus in dispersing the legions over a wider surface, in enforcing ancient discipline, and carefully selecting and vigilantly superintending their prefects. We know also that the people were content, although they were not indulged with Neronian profusion of games and banquets. The Flavian Cæsars were great builders; we may therefore infer that employment was found for portions at least of the idle city-paupers, who may have been inclined to work since they could no longer eat at the expense of the treasury. One anecdote has been preserved which leads to this conclusion. 'It was remarked, as an instance of his considera-'tion for deserving industry, that he rejected a proposal to 'move the materials for his buildings by improved machinery, 'declaring that *he must be suffered to feed his people.*' The economist may smile at such primitive notions, but he must also admit the well-meant scruple of the Cæsar. The finances, so far as they were expended on the poor, were relieved by the restoration of many decayed colonies; and the names of the places so restored and replenished reveal a decrease of population even in the heart of Italy. 'Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, Nola 'and Puteoli, in the wealthiest region of Campania, Forum 'Populi, Reate, and other places in the districts round the 'capital, were thus recruited with a new stock.' We have here the first hint of a decay that will assume a weighty and even tragic import in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Of the remoulding of the Senate we have better information. That once august, but long degenerate assembly had shrunk, it is said, to 200 members. The civil wars and the fears or jealousy of Nero had decimated its benches; and the survivors in many instances owed their lives to base compliances and abject adulation. Compared with this feeble remnant of bravos and parasites, Barebone's parliament was noble and Walpole's placemen were pure. 'Both senators and knights,' says Mr. Merivale, 'had been impoverished, degraded by ignominious 'compliances, blasted by popular odium. Illegitimate pre-'tenders had stept into the places left vacant by death and ruin.' An opportunity was now afforded not only for recruiting

the numbers of the Great Council, but also for administering to it a kind of 'Pride's Purge.' 'Vespasian set about 'the revision of the lists after ancient precedent, and asso- 'ciated his son Titus with him in the task.' We are reminded of a similar purgation by Augustus and Agrippa; but in their time the duty was only to weed the senatorian register, then inscribed with a thousand names, of unworthy tenants of seats. The Flavian princes were compelled both to weed and to plant; from its efficiency during their reigns we may infer that the process was successful; and that the assembly was redeemed from its recent scandals, and restored, so far as the times permitted, to decent, if not to pristine dignity.

Under the Commonwealth the censors determined the senatorian roll. But in the latter days of at least oligarchal freedom, that high office had been very laxly administered, since he should have been a hardy reviser who had dared to expel a partisan of the triumvirate. Julius added not only his own creatures, but Gauls and Spaniards also to the list, and inspired Cicero with more than one bitter jest at the expense of the intruders. The censor's office involved Augustus in many feuds and some danger. 'Tiberius had been too cynical; 'Caius too reckless; Nero too self-indulgent to accept an 'invidious responsibility for the sake of the public weal.' The office accordingly had fallen almost into desuetude when Vespasian revived it. He took a plain soldier's view of this, and of every other duty he discharged. To him it bore the form of an act of military discipline. He seems, indeed, to have conducted himself in this difficult and delicate task with more temper than his younger colleague: for it was against the son rather than the father that the murmurs of the expelled were directed. In the age of Augustus the ancient patriciate of Rome had sunk down to a few houses; in the age of Vespasian the secondary noblesse—those whom wealth, or services to the state, or imperial favour had raised to the curia—were also reduced; and Vespasian, by introducing into the vacant seats the provincial burghers and landowners, provided for the security, if not for the heraldic dignity, of the senatorian order.

The provinces had perhaps more reason to complain of Vespasian's government than either Rome or Italy; yet that they acquiesced in its necessity, and eventually benefited by its justice, may be inferred from the apparent absence of murmurs or resistance. Beset by arrears of the past, demands of the present, and provision for the future, he is said to have declared that 'the sum of forty millions of sesterces was required to main- 'tain the commonwealth.' To meet this enormous demand—the

weight of which will be most evident to those who are best aware of the real poverty of the ancient world—he brought several new provinces within the sphere of direct taxation. He revived various imposts which Galba in the first fervour of his triumph had prematurely abolished; and in some cases he even doubled them. He rigidly inquired about strips of public domain still unassigned but illegitimately occupied, in Italy; and indeed his perquisitions were carried so far as to provoke commotions so serious as to cause this portion of his plan to be dropped. Scandal was busy with his name. He was accused of selling offices to candidates and pardons to criminals; of selling prefectures to the highest bidders, in order that he might compel them to disgorge their gains; and even of being a huckster, rather than an economist in finance. Yet such are the contradictions in the story, that Suetonius, who rakes up every petty tale of the time to Vespasian's discredit, admits his liberality to all classes of men; to impoverished senators and consulars; to afflicted communities, and generally to the professors of arts and sciences. Perhaps the best testimony to his financial schemes is that, while he maintained peace, he left to his heirs a well-filled treasury.

Mr. Merivale, both in his earlier volumes and in that now before us, has had occasion to applaud the practical character of Roman education—to point out with what ease the gown and the sword were exchanged, and the readiness with which a leader of the forum became a leader in the camp. The all-accomplished Julius may, perhaps, be regarded as an exception to ordinary rules. On him Nature had bestowed the most opposite gifts, and, had he not been the first soldier, he would have been, Quintilian assures us, the first orator of the time. But the great consular himself, the immortal king of eloquence, the expounder of the wisdom of Greece to the unspeculative mind of Latium—the man for whom no intellectual toil was excessive, to whom every intellectual path except the poets was open—he whose life was centered in Rome, who regarded a provincial government as exile—he acquits himself so well as a soldier as to claim, without exciting surprise or reproach, a triumph. The book-worm, the elder Pliny, commanded a fleet, and was an efficient procurator to Cæsar: the younger Pliny, although there is a savour of dilettanteism in his writings, was a wise and strenuous governor of a province: the studies to which he was inclined in youth did not spoil Agricola for a soldier; and M. Aurelius, though his heart was *inter Academi silvas*, and who, could he have chosen his lot, would have preferred Athens to Rome for a residence, bestrode his charger,

and conducted war on a large scale with the skill and coolness of a Gustavus Adolphus or a William of Nassau.

In the age of Vespasian education, if not literature, required the support of the state. It had become expedient, if not absolutely necessary, to find employment for the middle class of citizens, just as it had become necessary to find labour for the class below them. So long as the legions were recruited from Italy, and so long indeed as the prætorian guards were for the most part natives of the peninsula, the middle class of citizens retained a kind of depôt for their youthful energies, and the owner of a few acres of land or a few hundred sesterces might profitably invest his better days in military service, with the prospect of a colonial grant of land, and perhaps some savings from pay or plunder for his declining years. But when in all levies a preference was given to the hardy natives of Spain, Gaul, and Germany, and when even for the body-guards of the Cæsar physical qualities were thought of more importance than Italian birth, the middle order of citizens, disdaining mechanical labour or trade as fit only for freedmen and slaves, and excluded from the business of the forum by the suppression of republican freedom, had no longer the means of filling their pockets, and must have sunk without aid from the government into the mass of paupers costly to feed and dangerous to keep hungry. To these causes, more than to anxiety to promote education or learning, we ascribe Vespasian's endowments of what Mr. Merivale terms 'a salaried hierarchy of teachers.' It may be true that the quarterly wages he paid to 'rhetoricians 'and grammarians, poets and artists, both Greek and Latin, 'in the provinces as well as the capital,' afforded a very scanty relief to the myriads of the poor and idle. But as these pensions were conferred on merit—such at least was the theory of them —they inspired hope and supplied motives for exertion. Mr. Merivale detects in the innovation a political as well as a social purpose.

'Destitute himself of learning and polite accomplishments, Vespasian cannot have been instigated to this indulgence by any just appreciation of the claims of literary merit. Nevertheless the measure he adopted was systematic, munificent, and permanent. For such extensive liberality, so new to the policy of Rome, there must have been a strong public motive. Amidst all the brilliancy of the late reigns, the solid education of the upper ranks, in the alarm or reckless profusion of the times, had been grievously neglected, and the encouragement given by Nero to trivial accomplishments had weakened the foundation of the Roman character. The new system may be interpreted as an attempt to restore the tone of society, to infuse into the national mind healthier sentiments and aspirations, in

harmony with its sobered view of material enjoyments. At the same time the emperor was not blind to the importance of attaching the Roman youth to his government, and gaining the direction of their thoughts. Hence, perhaps, the jealousy and aversion with which the new mode of public instruction was regarded by such a writer as Tacitus, the depositary of pre-imperial traditions. It was not the publicity of education itself, but the influence assumed over it by the government that really excited the odium of the old aristocracy. They felt, too, that the professors, the men of phrases and arguments, would soon work their way into the place of governors and magistrates, and supplant the proud but indolent magnates in their immemorial privileges. The rhetorician might be raised into the consul's seat, or the consul might descend to the rhetorician's; either alternative was equally distasteful to the adherents of antique prejudice and custom. Moreover the grammarians were for the most part philosophers, and the teachers of wisdom and morality, the avowed critics of political authority, were soothed by the same measures which converted the professors of literature into instruments of government. A lasting alliance was effected between the preachers of ethics and the guardians of the public peace; the absence of which had caused many collisions in the reigns of earlier emperors. At Rome, at Athens, at Antioch, and other centres of intellectual activity, ideas were generally enlisted on the side of government. The experiment of the Greek sovereigns of Egypt was applied with like results throughout the empire. At Alexandria Vespasian had observed and meditated on the policy of the Ptolemies; he appreciated the caresses and flatteries he there received from grammarians and sophists; and possibly the consciousness of his own deficiency in the learning of the schools enhanced his notion of its political importance.' (Vol. vii. p. 28.)

But there was one class of the learned whom Vespasian could not win, and on whom his generally moderate hand sometimes lay heavy. In Greece philosophy as a speculative science rarely clashed with the state. Anaxagoras was banished, not for doubting the majesty of Zeus, nor for affirming the moon to be many times bigger than a hoplite's shield, but because his friend Pericles was to be mortified. Socrates would have died in his bed for anything he might say of the Thirty-nine Articles of his day, had he not also let his tongue wag against Critias. Callisthenes was tortured because he kindled or kept alive in the Macedonian colonels jealousy of the Persians, and thus crossed Alexander's plan for amalgamating his Greek with his barbarian subjects. But at Rome, throughout the first century of the Empire, philosophy was a school of political opposition. Its professors could not reconcile the authority of one man, sustained by the fleshly arm of the sword and the police, with their ideas of the just predominancy of the wise. They could not, these speculative *doctrinaires*, be brought to see

that a mild autocrat, like Augustus, was the only barrier against anarchy and barbarism. They lived, as Cato had lived, in Plato's republic. They cherished the memories of the *Epicurean* Cassius and the *Stoic* Brutus. By their speeches or their silence in the Senate they censured the public or private conduct of Cæsar. They would not rejoice on his birthday; they would not even affect to weep at his funeral. They shunned his service; they were indifferent whether he smiled or frowned on them: they made their schools ring with praises of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

The later years of Nero were a reign of terror in Rome, and philosophy prudently, if not very consistently, kept silence. We do not find that it protested when Nero outraged nature, nor when 'he yearned,' as Tacitus writes, 'to destroy Virtue 'itself in the persons of Pætus Thrasea and Barea Soranus.' The clamour of the civil wars drowned the murmurs of the schools; but the milder rule of Vespasian warmed the professors of wisdom till they hissed and stung. For the instances of provocation we refer to Mr. Merivale; that the Cæsar was not irritated without reason there is no doubt; and that, although there may have been more than one *Epictetus* among them, the philosophers generally were a degraded and dangerous body of men we have the authority of Juvenal and his scholiasts, of Plutarch and Lucian. Of two sects, at least, it was determined to sweep Rome—the Stoics and Cynics. Mucianus recommended, and popular feeling concurred in their expulsion. 'All professors of the obnoxious dogmas'—tyrannicide and communism, be it remembered, were among them—'were re-'quired to leave the city; and two of the most noted, Hostilius 'and the Cynic Demetrius, were deported to islands.' But the justice or vigilance of Vespasian was tempered with mercy. 'I 'will not kill,' he said, when urged to put to silence these untameable revilers, 'a dog that barks at me,' while for many the sentence of exile did not extend beyond removal from Rome, or a few miles from its gates. If we may accept the elder Seneca's rhetorical exercises as a sample of the real language of philosophical invective in the Flavian era, No. 45. of 'the North Briton' or Junius's Letter to the Duke of Grafton were feeble utterances of party-wrath in comparison with the diatribes of Helvidius.

We must notice one more feature of Vespasian's reign, because it reveals a silent, yet not a less certain, change in the public opinion of the time. The Romans were justly proud of their imperial city; and hailed with satisfaction every effort to render it more commodious, more splendid, more likely to

combine the comfort of its inhabitants with the wonder and applause of strangers. That he found it brick and left it marble was no mean element in the popularity of Augustus; that he grudged money for erection or improvement was one of the grounds of complaint against Tiberius. The Baths and Pantheon of Agrippa conferred on him no less fame than his victories; and if a Lepidus or Scaurus of the Augustan age desired to wipe out the records of private vices or public peculation, and to command the *vivats* of the Forum 'frequent and 'full,' the readiest road to this end was through a new market-place, a new theatre, a temple, or a triumphal arch. The smile of the gods was believed to attend on such works of man. Civil wars and civil strife had led to neglect of the temples, or had marked them with unseemly scars of the axe and the torch.* 'The Romans,' said Cicero, 'owed their greatness to their 'piety,' and a temple rebuilt or renovated would cover a multitude of sins committed in the times of anarchy. But they had learned to draw a just and wholesome distinction between works undertaken for the public, and works dedicated to individual pomp and prodigality. Nothing rendered Caligula more absurd in the eyes of Rome than his insane bridge of boats across the Baian Gulf; nothing made Nero more odious than his Golden Palace.† 'It had risen,' Mr. Merivale says, 'like 'an exhalation, and like an exhalation it disappeared.' So much of this gigantic and usurping edifice as rested on the Esquiline Hill was demolished and converted by Titus into public baths. 'The erection of these palaces,' says the historian, 'marks an 'era in our history. It indicates the necessity which the 'government began to feel of strengthening its intrinsic weak-'ness by pauperising an indolent but restless multitude. The 'monuments of the Flavian and Antonine period show how 'much the emperors now leaned upon their favour with the mass 'of the citizens, and how great were the sacrifices they made 'to content and amuse them.' Sentences pregnant with meaning, which the subsequent history of the undivided and divided empire alike corroborate and illustrate.

The Flavian house presented the Roman world with the first

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* 'Delicta majorum immeritus lues
Romane, donec templa refeceris
Ædesque labentes Deorum et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.'
(*Horace, Odes*, iii. 6.)

† 'Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites,
Si non et Veios occupat ista domus.'

instance of hereditary succession to the empire; yet of its three Cæsars, one is held up to reprobation by history, satire, and contemporary opinion. From his first appearance on the scene, Domitian displayed some of the qualities that had rendered Caius and Nero odious, and the only death-bed sorrow of Titus is said to have been that it was then too late to exclude his unworthy brother from the throne. His vices and follies are unquestionable; yet Mr. Merivale thinks they are painted in darker hues than they deserve. He made two enemies whom he little suspected; from each of them he had an ill report while he lived, and a bad epitaph after his death. They were the historian Tacitus and the satirist Juvenal. The one certainly, the other apparently, had cause for hatred; nor do the fulsome eulogies he demanded or invited mend by any means Domitian's evil repute. Yet exorbitant as his personal vices may have been, he was no *roi fainéant*, and for fifteen years the helm of empire was firmly, if not always judiciously, held by him. The complex system of administration was conducted by his single hand—the hand of an impulsive and luxurious child of fortune, who became heir presumptive to the kingdoms of the world before he had passed the term of tutelage. To all appearance his ministers were merely his secretaries of state, and his freedmen were not his masters.

Early danger had disciplined the young Augustus; Tiberius and Claudius were of mature age when choice or accident raised them to the purple; the youth and inexperience of Nero were, for a time, guided by the age and prudence of Burrus and Seneca; and even Caius had imbibed some lessons in statecraft at the feet of Tiberius. But Domitian had served no apprenticeship: during his father's and brother's lifetime he was allowed to pursue his pleasures and never admitted to their councils; and his only public appearances were limited to a seat in the royal box at the amphitheatre, or occasional presidency at the games. His abilities are considered by Mr. Merivale to have been of a higher order than they are given credit for. A competent critic—probably Trajan—observed that Domitian was well served by his ministers, and all we know of him shows that of all the Cæsars hitherto, he was the least submissive to dictation. He seems to have been a kind of imperial pedant, learned in the letter but not in the spirit of antiquity, applying to Rome in her ninth century what fitted her well in the fifth. Archbishop Laud was a sort of Domitian without his vices. His Grace could never see when matters were well enough, but was always for mending them after some crotchet in his own head. So said King James of the Primate, and so we may perhaps say of the

third Flavian emperor. The sphere of his cruelties was a narrow one; its principal radius was between Rome and his Alban villa. His crimes affected the capital more than the provinces; the senate rather than the people; but they were precisely of a kind to draw upon him the censure of an aristocratical historian and a satirical democrat. His private vices admit of no extenuation; yet that Domitian did not seriously impair or dislocate the forces of the empire, is shown by its instantaneous recovery from alarm or depression as soon as Trajan took the reins in his hand.

Gibbon remarks that 'Arrian, with the true partiality of a 'Greek, rather chose to describe the phalanx of which he had 'read than the legions which he had commanded.' It may seem ungracious to lament, considering our debt to their author, that so much of the *Annals* and so little of the *History* of Tacitus has been preserved. In the account of his own times we might still have had occasion to deplore the bias of the writer, but we should at least have possessed the testimony of an eye-witness, and of one actively employed in the Flavian period. To Vespasian, who gave this consummate painter of men and manners his first preferment, Tacitus would have been more favourably disposed than he shows himself towards the earlier Cæsars. Vespasian found a revolution ready made; but he had not subverted senatorian government, neither did he regard the conscript fathers with fear or suspicion. Tiberius, Caius, and Nero, on the contrary, warred with neither small nor great, but only with the heads of Roman houses; and if Claudius were more leniently disposed, he was the servant of his freedmen and the slave of his wives. Even Augustus found little favour with the historian. There was apparently no good reason why the 'Annals' should not commence with the settlement of the Empire, after Alexandria had opened its vacant halls to the last triumvir. But there was a motive that perhaps induced Tacitus to open his work with the accession of Tiberius. It could not be denied that the Augustan era was one of sound prosperity and authentic brilliance. The world generally enjoyed the blessings of peace; and peace, after nearly a century of civil convulsions, came arrayed with unusual charms. Rome and the chief provincial capitals arose from the detriments and dishonours of war into almost pristine beauty. The orators of the commonwealth had divided the palm of eloquence with Greece; but it was reserved for the age of Augustus to rival the epic, lyric, and elegiac strains of Athens and Ionia. The time was not favourable to dramatic poetry, which, indeed, never flourished at Rome, whether free or fettered; but in

Livy she could boast of an historian worthy to rank with Herodotus or Thucydides. The scornful aristocrat, however, could not endure to make such concessions to Cæsar as truth and even popular feeling demanded. He could not brook the indignity of admitting that Augustus had succeeded where the senate had failed; that the one had kindled, and the other quenched, the fires of civil war; that the one had oppressed, and the other cherished, the provinces; and that a weeping and reluctant world at length joyfully acquiesced in the authority of Rome. But the popularity even of Augustus waned. Sickness, sorrow, and family troubles rendered him peevish — his daughter's name had become a by-word, even in licentious Rome; his sole-surviving grandson was a lunatic or a lout; the empire which he formed with so much labour must pass into the hands of an alien to his blood; two of his generals had flung away his armies; two of his friends had plotted against his life; a generation to whom the blood-stained triumvir had become a tradition, to whom the victory at Actium was little more than the victory at Cannæ, had risen up—and the aged Cæsar, like the aged Elizabeth of England, could not hide from himself that the world had grown weary of his long reign. It is at this period Tacitus begins his 'Annals.' Opening with the sunset of a great age, he can insinuate that the greatness of Rome fell with its aristocracy, and that neither the bold Julius, the politic Augustus, nor the dissembling Tiberius, could breathe life into the political corpse. From this vantage-ground he casts a shadow over the Julian Cæsars, and instils his hatred of Domitian into his portrait of Tiberius.

The literature of Domitian's age necessarily attracts the historian; and from so ripe and good a scholar as Mr. Merivale we as necessarily have a just and lively appreciation of its merits. In that reign we have the third development of the Roman mind. Eloquence was the property of the Commonwealth; poetry and history adorned the Augustan age; criticism and poetry illustrated that of Domitian. Nothing in Roman annals more strikingly displays the cosmopolite character of the Empire than its literature. Before Italy was completely Romanised, and while Samnites, Lucanians, Umbrians, and Etruscans still retained some of their national features, the poets of Rome were, strictly speaking, aliens by birth. A Calabrian inaugurated the Latin epos; a Campanian, an Umbrian, and a Carthaginian supplied the Roman stage. In the eighth century of the city, Julius was the only Roman born who won a name to last in literature. Virgil was a Mantuan; Horace doubted whether he should call himself an

Apulian or a Lucanian; the historian of its victories was a native of Padua; and of its four great elegiac poets, Tibullus alone was born in Latium. With the growth of dominion, importation of authors grew also; and we are now arrived at the time when Spain furnished valuable recruits to the literature of Rome.

To illustrate the difference between the writers of the Claudian and the Flavian periods, Mr. Merivale contrasts Lucan with Silius Italicus, Seneca with Quintilian, and draws similar parallels between earlier poets and those who flattered Domitian, —Persius, for example, with Juvenal, and Statius with Ovid. He notices the encyclopædic character of Flavian literature as exemplified in the Natural History of Pliny, and the influence of the new system of academic training disseminated through the schools by Vespasian. Of this period he says generally:—

'The sobered feeling of the age is vividly impressed on the remains of its literature. The writings of the Flavian period present little of the lawless force and feverish extravagance which so generally mark the Claudian. The enthusiasm of the Romans had been quelled. Their compositions are now subjected to more careful revision; they aim at exactness and completeness; they study artistic development. They exhibit the results of a conscious self-command; and in these respects may be advantageously compared with the loose and somewhat aimless style of the writers of the age preceding, who had been trained by the declaimers only.' (Vol. vii. p. 275.)

We must resist the temptation of quoting more from this interesting chapter. We are still on the threshold of the Antonine period, and must hasten to the epoch where five good Cæsars in succession—an event unparalleled in the history of mankind—conferred on their subjects as much happiness as it is perhaps in the power of rulers to bestow.

Domitian, like Caius, perished by the hands of men who believed that in sealing his doom they prevented their own. But this time the senatorian leaders were not taken by surprise; indeed, there are obscure hints that a widely-ramified conspiracy had for some time been formed against him. They had consulted together in joyful expectation of deliverance; they were prepared with a successor to the vacant throne. In the elevation of Cocceius Nerva we mark another step downward from the pride of birth and the prejudices of the vulgar. The Flavian house, if ignoble, was at least Italian; but the progenitors of the new Cæsar were Cretan. We learn also that the senate had ceased to regard services to the state, either in peace or war, as essential qualifications for the purple. Nerva had passed threecore years in the enjoyment of an ample fortune, in

cultivating elegant tastes, among which the pleasures of the table were included. To an hereditary monarchy he would have succeeded without provoking comment, but we may own to some surprise that the possessor of merely negative qualities should have been called to an elective throne. His age, perhaps, was one of his recommendations; the state of his health another. In the course of nature a gouty and dyspeptic invalid could not long survive; and in a brief reign there would be leisure to provide an abler and more vigorous sovereign. The nominee of the senate was accepted, apparently without a murmur, by the army, whose consent was the more easily obtained because the Flavian Cæsars had never been very popular in the camp.

But if Nerva was not distinguished by his talents or his public services, he had good sense and a good name. His character for mildness was notorious*, nor had the senate to dread in him a foe to their order. They were indignant, indeed, at his not handling the *delators* more roughly, but they were assured that he would not employ those infamous tools of imperial tyranny. Nerva soon perceived, and had doubtless perceived from the first, that the hands of an aged valetudinarian were too feeble to grasp the sceptre of the world. Of three actual competitors for his seat he had but one to fear, and him he prudently summoned to his side. That the records of a Cæsar whom even Tacitus respected should be almost a blank, is no less a misfortune to Roman annals than a similar *lacuna* in the reign of Elizabeth would be for English history. For as the Maiden Queen was the 'roof and crown' of the Tudor era, so was Trajan of the imperial system.

But of Ulpius Trajanus we know far less than we know of Nero. Even the Augustan historians do not in his case come to our aid with their wretched help. Their crude and confused gossip begins with Trajan's successor. The history of the Pharaohs is for the most part written on their monuments; that of Trajan is most legible on his famous Column. Tacitus reserved the biography of the best Cæsar he had served for the solace of his old age, but either death anticipated his purpose, or the staunch aristocrat scrupled to record imperial virtue. He might possibly have been chary of praise, since with all his merits Trajan was in his eyes an intruder, if not a usurper on senatorian rights. Yet, in the absence of his promised 'Life,' the modern historian is left to the imperfect, questionable, or

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* 'Contigit Ausoniæ *procerum mitissimus* aulæ
Nerva.' (*Martial*, xii. epig. 6.)

lifeless materials which letters, panegyric, epitomists, marble, and medals afford.

Trajan was in no haste to accept the offered partnership. When the news of Nerva's election reached him, the commander of the army of the Rhine displayed his faith as a soldier and his loyalty as a subject. His prompt obedience was an earnest of his fitness to command; and the high state of discipline to which he had brought the legions at his disposal confirmed the wisdom shown in his adoption. Every step he took during the few months of Nerva's reign displayed similar moderation. His civil demeanour when he arrived at the capital confirmed every hope his adoption had awakened. He ascended to the Palatine House with the modesty of Augustus. He made no indecent display of either military or civil pomp. The grave undemonstrative Proconsul entered Rome on foot and exhibited the reserve and courtesy of a citizen in the best days of the Republic. His wife Plotina, his sister Marciana, shared in his sentiments and followed his example. The former, 'as she 'mounted the stair of the imperial residence, turned towards 'the multitude and declared that she was about to enter it 'with the same equanimity with which she should wish here-'after, if fate so required, to abandon it;' the latter 'inhabited 'the palace in perfect harmony with the Empress, and assisted 'her in maintaining its august etiquette.' The spectators may have called to mind the pride, pomp, and prodigality of the Poppæas and Agrippinas, may have recollected what they had read in Valerius Maximus 'De Moderatione,' may have whispered to one another of the virtues of Cornelia and the simple life and well-regulated household of Livia Augusta.

In a few months Trajan sat alone in the imperial chair, and made so favourable an impression on the citizens, during his sojourn among them, that the senate decreed him, in addition to other titles borne by the emperors, the transcendent appellation of *Optimus* or the Best. The title lingered long in Roman memories. Above two hundred and fifty years after his death, the senate, in pouring out the customary acclamations on the accession of a new emperor, wished that he might surpass the felicity of Augustus and the *virtue* of Trajan. Yet so soon as his civil duties were fulfilled, Rome became an uneasy residence for one nurtured in camps and intimately acquainted with the condition of the frontiers. In adding a province to his empire Trajan departed from the maxims of Augustus; yet had the second of the Cæsars lived in the second century of our era, he would probably have added to the list of his triumphal titles that of 'Dacicus.' In the Dacian sovereign and people there

was much to render a Cæsar anxious and vigilant. Their King Decebalus—apparently there was more than one of that name, or possibly with that title—was a soldier and a statesman. The people, though in name barbarians, had attained a certain degree of social refinement, and were possessors of considerable wealth. 'Their country abounded in mines of gold and silver, 'as well as of iron; and these glittering spoils tempted the 'long-restrained ardour of the legionaries, even more than their 'fertile plains and illimitable pastures.' Tiberius, though indisposed to war, had viewed with uneasiness the kingdom of Marboduus, and, though chary of money, had expended it in sowing divisions among the Germans east of the Rhine. The Dacians had more than once inflicted disgrace on the Roman eagles, and compelled Domitian to purchase more than once a precarious truce. Unmolested, they might become as formidable to the Empire as the Samnites or Carthage had been to the Republic.

Trajan had devoted the best years of his manhood to rendering the Roman forces effective; and the time was now come for reducing to practice the exercises of the camp, as well as for gratifying his own passion for military fame. If Tacitus may be taken as the exponent of aristocratical feeling, the senate would applaud the warlike impulse of the Cæsar. It had deplored the inglorious moderation of Tiberius: it had murmured at the abortive campaigns of Caius and Domitian. In the 'Life of Agricola' we behold the struggle between admiration of a successful general and contempt of a jealous emperor. In fact, even the lust of conquest set aside, the senate hardly brooked a long residence of Cæsar in the capital. They could comprehend his functions as *Imperator;* for such had been their champion Sulla, their darling Pompeius, their victim Julius; but they could not be brought to understand, still less to relish, the *Princeps.* By what law was their equal either foreman of the Senate or Tribune of the Commons? He was the creation of evil times and evil men; he was a dictator, whom the law, had it been duly enforced, commanded to lay down his fasces at a stated period. His vast estates, his well-filled exchequer, were the *spolia opima* of unrighteous wars; his presence among them was an insult; his proper place, if he had one, was on the frontier. On the other hand, the *Princeps* was *not* 'well at Rome.' However assiduously he might administer justice, however discreetly he might veil his real power, whatever homage he might pay to the ordinary magistrates, he could not escape from evil tongues and evil pens. Satire and caricature were as rife in ancient Rome as

they have ever been in modern Paris. The best and the worst Cæsar alike were a butt for its shafts. The applause of the forum did not avert from Julius the epigrams of Catullus or the ribald jests of the camp and the forum. Moreover, Rome was really at an inconvenient distance from the quarters at which imperial vigilance was most needful. A Cæsar, who made or repelled attack by an Agrippa or a Corbulo, might issue his rescripts from the *Domus Palatina;* but a Cæsar in whom the *Imperator* predominated over the *Princeps* found that residence an unsuitable base for his operations. Had Mr. Merivale proceeded to his original bourne, we should have occasion to trace the migration of the capital, virtually, to Illyricum, to Milan or Ravenna, until it was finally settled on the shores of the Bosporus. In Hadrian we find a similar impatience of Rome. That imperial wanderer used the Seven Hills for his baiting-place only, and was absent from them for at least two-thirds of his reign. We know how it rejoiced our own William III. to leave behind him Whigs and Tories, High and Low Churchmen, St. James's Palace, Kensington, and Hampton Court. And we may believe that Trajan felt similar satisfaction in exchanging the curule chair and the tribunal, his morning levees and his ceremonial receptions, for the saddle and the military hut.

Trajan's eastern campaigns cannot be so easily defended. By the subjugation of Dacia he added a rich province to the Empire, and secured for it a strong and tenable frontier. But his attack on Parthia was barren of results, and was rather a tribute to the memory of the first Cæsar, or the indulgence of his personal ambition, than a just or necessary war. Nature seems to have marked the Euphrates as the term of Roman dominion, and NE PLUS ULTRA might have been properly inscribed upon the portals of the bridge at Zeugma. Even when the Empire had become deeply orientalised, in the form of its government and the character of its people, no portion of the Parthian domain ever long adhered to the Byzantine Cæsars.

The wars of Julius were described by his own pen; those of Augustus in the immortal strains of Horace and Virgil. Trajan was less fortunate. He made no pretensions to eloquence; he was, perhaps, on a level with many of his own centurions in literary acquirements. His reign was not fertile in poets; and although the greatest of the Latin historians, and one of the most accomplished of Roman gentlemen, stood at his right hand, yet 'vate caret sacro,' neither Tacitus nor Pliny became his remembrancer. Boileau and Racine accompanied Louis XIV. on his ostentatious progress through the Low

Countries, and it was their daily task to record victories which His Majesty did not win, and the capitulation of towns yielded up while he slept. Trajan was no *roi de théatre;* and a solitary column is the most complete and faithful record of his Dacian and Parthian wars. Many of our readers have perused this column, 'the noblest monument of Roman warfare;' even to them Mr. Merivale's account of it will be interesting, while to those who have not stood before it, it will be instructive.

'The bridges he constructed, the fortresses he attacked, the enemies he routed, are here indicated in regular sequence. The Romans are distinguished by their well-known arms and ensigns. The captives they take, the sacrifices they offer, are vividly delineated. The Moorish horsemen, on the one hand, are designated by light-clad warriors riding without reins; the Rhoxolani, on the other, by mounted figures decked in a panoply of mail. Trajan himself harangues, directs, offers his mantle to bind the wounds of his soldiers, takes his seat on the tribunal or stalks under an arch of triumph. The submission of Decebalus is represented by a troop of envoys bearing the sheep-skin cap, which expresses their rank as nobles, and prostrating themselves before the conqueror. The capitulation seems to have been unconditional. The Dacians delivered up their arms, surrendered the fugitives and deserters, razed their remaining strongholds, and restored the eagle lost under Fuscus. Decebalus consented to form an alliance with the Romans, by which he bound himself to regard their friends and enemies as his own, and to abstain from enrolling any Roman subject in his armies; for many such, it seems, he had entertained in his service. He yielded possession to the victors of the places they had taken by arms. Finally, he came in person and paid homage to the emperor. The terms thus exacted in the field were ratified in due form in the senate-house, and Trajan, leaving an army of occupation at Zermizegethusa, and fortifying various posts of importance, quitted the conquered territory and again presented himself to the exulting citizens.' (Vol. vii. p. 245.)

The column rose majestically in the centre of the Ulpian Forum to the height of 128 feet; it was sculptured from the base to the shaft, shone in every volute and moulding with gold and pigments, and was crowned with the colossal effigy of the august conqueror.

'Its proportions,' Mr. Merivale proceeds, 'are peculiarly graceful: the compact masses of stone, nineteen in number, of which the whole shaft is composed, may lead us to admire the skill employed in its construction; but the most interesting feature of this historic monument is the spiral band of figures which throughout encircles it. To the subjects of Trajan himself this record of his exploits in bold relief must have given a vivid and sufficient idea of the people, the places, and the actions indicated; even to us, after so many

centuries, they furnish a correct type of the arms, the arts, and the costume both of the Romans and barbarians, which we should vainly seek for elsewhere. The Trajan Column forms a notable chapter in the pictorial history of Rome.' (Vol. vii. p. 247.)

The sculptor Lysippus was taxed by purists at the time with degrading art by his preference of the natural to the ideal in his representation of living men. He may have erred in art; but he rendered invaluable service to history by thus giving truth precedence over conventional types. The sculptors of the first and second centuries at Rome enable us to see the Cæsars as they looked; and of Trajan especially we possess in his innumerable busts and medals a lively and faithful image. The favour won by his cordial and affable demeanour was confirmed by his fine figure and noble countenance—advantages always dear to Roman eyes. He was above the common height; and on public occasions, when he loved to walk bare-headed, his grey hairs gleamed conspicuously above the crowd of senators and knights in attendance. The fashion of his day delighted in flowing or curling locks; but thick straight hair smoothed over the brow was in harmony with Trajan's simple character. In life his complexion probably bore the traces of his notorious indulgence in the wine-cup—indulgence, indeed, that never unfitted him for action, and, perhaps, was not unacceptable to his military or senatorian companions. His aquiline nose, his broad and low forehead, angular chin, firmly compressed lips, were of the true Roman type; and Mr. Merivale remarks that he is the last of the imperial series who exhibits them. An unbroken series of royal faces is not favourable to comeliness or dignity. The last descendant of Ferdinand and the beautiful Isabella retained scarcely a vestige of humanity; and in the stolid features of Louis XVI. it would be difficult to trace a line of his Frank ancestors. From uniformity, resemblance, or degradation rapid changes of race saved the Cæsars; but there are national no less than family forms of feature, and a series of provincial emperors destroyed the Roman mould.

We must pass over Trajan's civil administration as briefly as we have passed over his wars. At two points alone in it can we afford space even to glance. Public charity in the modern sense, and the Christian practice of the duty, was unknown to the ancient world. It had, indeed, a rude form of poor-law in the distribution of corn and pulse to the masses, and in the regulations of market prices, of which we occasionally read. But policy, or rather fear, dictated this liberality. Of hospitals for the sick, of schools for the ignorant, we find no trace until we come to Trajan's reign, and we may indulge the pleasing thought that

these were the earliest grafts of Christian love upon the rugged Pagan stock. To Nerva, indeed, belongs the introduction of a provision for the children of the poor, and more particularly for orphans. But this prince's charity was casual and imperfect, and it was reserved for Trajan to expand it into a system, and to establish it as an imperial institution. In this useful and laudable work he was aided by the imperial ladies, Plotina and Marciana. Pius and Aurelius built on Trajan's foundations, and the Augustan historians commend either Faustina for cherishing the male and female orphans whom republican Catos would have left to starve along with their outworn slaves or mules.

To the capital, Italy, and the provinces Trajan was a fostering parent. Yet we may detect in his correspondence with Pliny a dread and jealousy of independent action in any class of his subjects. If it be

> '— the curse of kings to be attended
> By slaves that take their humours for a warrant;'

it is no less the curse of despotic governments to be alarmed at, and to repress, every movement beneath them which may lead, in their opinion, to combinations dispensing with their central power. Such governments may be willing enough to do good, but they are not so willing to let good be done. They are as timid, as ecclesiastical bodies themselves, of all that can in any way interfere with, or abrogate, their privileges. The old aristocracy of Rome, virtually a many-headed Cæsar, had always viewed with dread the guilds or other modes of union possessed by the artisans and shopkeepers of the city. The nobles of the Cæsarian period inherited their fathers' prejudices, and were gratified whenever their ruler displayed and exerted a similar jealousy. Trajan neglected no opportunity for benefiting provincial cities, towns, or even districts. His ears were always open to the petitions of the people, and the reports or suggestions of the prefects. If a road or a canal was required for the trade of a place—if a theatre or an aqueduct would increase its pleasure or improve its health—if storms had blighted its harvests, or earthquakes thrown down its walls, money was always forthcoming from the imperial treasury for these useful or necessary works. But when Pliny, as prefect of Bithynia, suggests that a fire-brigade would be very welcome at Nicomedia, the fashion of the imperial countenance is changed. He returns an emphatic *No* to the proposal. Fires, he allows, are great evils; but they are not nearly so bad as an association of workmen might be, trained to act together and inspired with unhappy notions of union and strength. Let the Nicomedians

take more care of their fires and lamps, but on no account give them the means of banding together as brethren: 'Non bene 'conveniunt nec in una sede morantur—*Majestas* et *Amor*.'

'Trajan,' says Mr. Merivale, 'was surely fortunate in the 'moment of his death.' He had attempted a task that had flitted through the mind of Pompeius or Julius in the hour of triumph, and which, if essayed, might have turned that hour into mourning. In a short and pregnant sentence, Spartian sums up the perils he bequeathed to his successor. Mauretania and Sarmatia assailed the Empire from the south and north; Britain was casting off its Roman yoke; Egypt simmered with revolt; the Jews in Asia and Palestine were fighting with the despair that had animated Simon, and John, and Eleazar in the last agony of Jerusalem. No successor to the throne was appointed. Some of the senators at home might deem themselves worthy of the purple of Nerva; some of the generals abroad might justly aspire to the sword of Trajan. The mighty victor, mighty lord, lay on a sick couch at Antioch, was borne on a litter as far as Selinus in Cilicia, and then expired, chagrined by recent disappointment and worn out by long fatigue. It might have lightened the bitterness of death could the vision of his fame with posterity have opened before his eyes. That fame does not rest on the rounded periods of panegyric, but on the universal consent of contemporary and posthumous record. In him the Romans recognised a sovereign worthy to stand beside the elder or the younger Africanus. Even the Christians scarcely account him among their persecutors, though it was a tradition of the Primitive Church that his hand was red with the blood of Ignatius; nay, so general was the faith in his justice and humanity, that a legend grew up of the soul of Trajan being released from Purgatory by the effectual prayers of Pope Gregory the Great.

For the triumphal laurel Hadrian either had no ambition, or prudently checked it. He saw that to retain provinces was a no less difficult task than to win them. His association with Trajan in his campaigns had doubtless opened his eyes to the barren nature and precarious tenure of conquests east of the Euphrates. 'There was no soil beyond that river in which 'Roman institutions could take root, while the expenses of 'maintaining them would have been utterly exhausting.' Every prefect or proconsul whom he placed there might prove a formidable rival. On all these grounds, therefore, he discreetly abandoned Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, and retained only the district of Petra, a region fortified by nature and useful to Rome as an outpost for its eastern trade. Mr.

Merivale dismisses with a smile the notion that jealousy of his predecessor was the motive for Hadrian's moderation. It is much more likely that he, an acute observer, discerned the real need of the time. The Flavian dynasty had done little for the provinces beyond extracting from them taxes and customs. Trajan's wars had confined his attention to the northern and eastern frontier. The vast estate of the Cæsar demanded a strict and a personal survey, and Hadrian's inquisitive temper and desire of knowledge rendered the necessary task pleasant. To him, as well as to Trajan, Rome was an irksome residence. His birth was not illustrious. He had no waxen images in his halls; and he brooked not even the suspicion that the men who cried, 'Ave Cæsar Imperator,' in their hearts looked down upon him as a 'novus homo,' for whom a tribuneship of the commons were preferment enough. The senate, on its part, so far as it was still Roman in feeling, beheld complacently, perhaps contemptuously, its *princeps* marching bare-headed over the snow of Germany and the sands of Libya; and felt relieved by the absence of a chairman naturally jealous and occasionally stern.

The journeys of Hadrian are traced by Mr. Merivale with the patience of an antiquary, and enlivened by the learning and associations of a scholar. To his descriptive catalogue of the provinces visited by the emperor we can only refer; and we must also leave Hadrian's works of peace untold—the cities he restored, the temples, the town-halls, the aqueducts he constructed. He was to the empire in general what Augustus had been to Rome. '*Ædificator erat Cetronius*'—he delighted in brick and mortar, and repaired, renovated, and enlarged, not only its principal cities, but also its second and third-rate towns. Nor was his taste, to all appearance, burdensome to the provincials. They, on the contrary, exulted in works that hitherto the capital had monopolised, seconded the imperial zeal for improvement, and devoted their private wealth to the beautifying of their native homes or chosen places of residence.

If we may infer the opinion of the time from the epitomists, or from that wretched compilation, his life by Spartian, we should pronounce this emperor unpopular; and the grounds of his unpopularity would seem to have been some eccentricity in conduct, much uncertainty in temper, a sharp tongue, and a rough peremptory demeanour. Mr. Merivale's estimate of him is far more favourable than any we have met with, and as it is a vivid portraiture of a Cæsar, we have no scruple in extracting it:—

'On the whole, I am disposed to regard the reign of Hadrian as

the best of the imperial series, marked by endeavours at reform and improvement in every department of administration in all quarters of the empire. The character of the ruler was mild and considerate, far-seeing and widely observant, while the ebullitions of passion which clouded his closing career were confined at least to the small circle of his connexions and associates. His defects and vices were those of his time, and he was indeed altogether the fullest representative of his time, the complete and crowning product, as far as we can judge, of the crowning age of Roman civilisation. His person and countenance, which we have unusual means of figuring to ourselves from the number of his busts, statues, and models, corresponded well with his character. With Hadrian the Roman type of features begins to disappear. Hadrian is neither Greek nor Roman; he is of no race nor country; but rather what we might deem the final result of a blending of many breeds and the purest elements. He reminds us more than any Roman before him, of what we proudly style the thorough English gentleman, with shapely trunk and limbs and well-set head, no prominent features, no salient expression, but a general air of refinement and blood, combined with spirit and intelligence. His face and figure are both eminently handsome, though inclining to breadth and bulk. His countenance expresses ability rather than genius, lively rather than deep feelings, wide and general sympathies rather than concentrated thought or fixed enthusiasm. The sensual predominates in him over the ideal, the flesh over the spirit; he is an administrator rather than a statesman, a man of taste rather than a philosopher. A casual observer would, perhaps, hardly notice that Hadrian is the first of the Romans whose bust is distinguished with a beard. Hitherto, though the arrangement of the hair varies from one generation to another, or follows the personal taste of the wearer, every public man at Rome scrupulously shaved his cheeks, lip, and chin. But Hadrian Atticised as well as philosophised, and he might reasonably incline to cherish the natural appendage which betokened both the Grecian and the sophist. Some, indeed, whispered that he suffered hair to grow on his chin to conceal a physical blemish; but this explanation seems far-fetched, and the fashion set by Hadrian, and adopted generally by his successors, seems rather to indicate a change in the feelings of the people, and their inclination to disregard the special distinction of race in deference to views more enlightened and genial.' (Vol. vii. p. 498.)

There were grievous imperfections in the Cæsar who destroyed the Commonwealth, and in the Cæsar who laid the foundations of the Empire. Whatever public benefits they may have conferred on the world, their private lives, even with the liberal allowance for the license of satire at Rome, and for the general corruption of manners at the time, will not bear scrutiny. The most audacious parasite would have blushed to ascribe to Julius the continency of Scipio, or affirmed that Augustus was morally on a par with Marcus Tullius. But at length the household

virtues were seated on the throne, and scandal, though it has touched with ugly rumours the names of Trajan and Hadrian, is dumb in the presence of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. The times of the former of these emperors were favourable to a peaceful career. War and readiness for war, indeed, were rife on the frontiers, and the treasures of the state were taxed in curbing the insolence of barbarians, or repressing the turbulent Jewish race. Yet none of these tumults were sufficiently grave to draw the Cæsar from his capital, and during a reign of twenty-two years the longest journeys of Pius were from his palace in Rome to his country-houses at Lanuvium and Laurium. He went to and from them with the plain equipage and the modest train of a Cato or Fabricius—*tendens Venafranos in agros*, bent on looking after his live and dead stock, his vines and olives, or on auditing his bailiff's books.

Such repose and moderation accorded with the disposition of Aurelius also, who proposed to himself in all things to walk in his father's ways; and while Pius lived, his adopted son fulfilled every hope and wish the fondest and wisest of parents could have cherished. His heart was with the best living expositors of wisdom; his treasure in the libraries which instructed them and himself. Yet he did not neglect the athletic and manly exercises which free Rome had demanded of all her sons. A truckle bed, a simple closet in the residence of the Cæsar, sufficed for the heir of the Roman world, and, it is said, that throughout his father's reign he was never tempted to leave him for two nights. But a time came when it was no longer possible for Aurelius to indulge his frugal tastes. It was, however, the soldier whose presence was demanded in the camp—not the Cæsar displaying idle pomp or yearning for a needless triumph, who passed through Italy to the German or Dacian frontier. Dangers little less grave than those which called C. Marius four times successively to the consulship, hurried Aurelius from the duties of his office and the charms of philosophy to the Danube. Once again the Teutons menaced the integrity if not the existence of the empire, and the august presence of the Cæsar alone could nerve the legions or awe the invaders.

While the long line of the northern frontier, from Odessus to the island of the Batavi, was skirted by a fringe of fire, and through the lurid glare loomed the wrathful faces of myriads of Germans, Scythians, and Sarmatians, a foe more terrible still had sapped the strength and shaken the hearts of Rome, her people, and her subjects. In the reign of the second Antonine, a pestilence—'portentous, unexampled, unexplained'—visited nearly every province of the empire; and if we may credit the

loose statistics of the time, swept off a tenth of the human race. The black death and the sweating sickness of modern Europe rivalled, perhaps, this visitation of the second century of the Christian era; but, in its day, the *Pestis Antonina* seems to have had no precursor nor parallel—none, at least, known to the most learned of ancient physicians who observed and described its symptoms. To Galen it appeared a startling phenomenon that baffled science and experiment alike. The constitution of nations, no less than of individuals, appears to have its epochs of depression; and at such seasons even common epidemics acquire a new *virus*, while novel disorders rage for a time like an elemental scourge. The moral effects of this unexampled plague were little less grave than the physical. The trembling survivors lost heart and hope; they appealed to ancient superstitions; they resorted to strange forms of expiation — forms inscribed in Etruscan volumes, or the yet darker scrolls of Oriental magic. The remedies aggravated the disease. Superstition increased the terrors and inflamed the passions of its votaries. The blood of bulls and goats, though it flowed in torrents around the altars, was not deemed a sufficient sacrifice; the offended gods of Olympus or Hades alike demanded more costly victims; they had been defrauded of their offerings and insulted in their temples by the professors of a new creed, and persecution of the Christians was one among several consequences of the Antonine pestilence.

It is among the infelicities of Marcus Aurelius to have been brought into collision with the rising faith. Yet, if we take into account his character and his station, we shall not lightly confound him with later and vulgar persecutors. We are, in fact, very imperfectly acquainted with the real relations between the Church and the Empire at this period. Extant ecclesiastical histories are manifestly falsified, and what truth they contain is grossly exaggerated. We do not know how far the Emperor had the power of resisting the open hostility of his subjects against the Christians. He, as the guardian of the public peace, may have been unable to resist the importunities of the magistrates or the wrath of the people, who ascribed to these obscure, and in their view these impious, opponents of the State religion the calamities then afflicting the world. The philosopher sighed or smiled at the creed of the vulgar; but the Cæsar resented the refusal of the Christians to pay a decent homage to the gods of the State. Void as they might be of substance, these august shadows had, for nine centuries, nerved the arms of heroes and guided the counsels of statesmen. The firmness of the new sect was not unnaturally viewed as criminal obstinacy. To the

many dangers that beset the empire, rash innovation must not be added, especially when the innovations apparently sprung from that sullen and perverse race which had always denied the right of Cæsar to rule over them. We may lament its results, yet we may excuse the error of the imperial philosopher; nor shall we perhaps ascribe any excessive rigour to the Pagan Cæsar, if we bear in mind that the nursing fathers of the Church, in the next or succeeding centuries, the Cæsars of Constantinople, proved no less severe and implacable towards their heretical brethren than Aurelius showed himself to those who refused to serve in the armies or take their share in the duties of the State. At the moment of which we are now writing, the State could ill afford to lose the services of any class of its members. Not sickness alone, but signal calamities —conflagrations, earthquakes, floods, and famine—fell in quick succession upon the capital and the provinces. Casualties not less frequent or disastrous may have occurred at former periods, but they were comparatively innocuous so long as the Empire was sound at heart. Nations whose physical vigour is on the wane behold in the disturbance of the elements or the misfortunes incident to man the blows of Providence or Fate. That Aurelius performed all the duties of a general and a sovereign is proved by his handing over to his successor the empire which he had himself inherited unshorn of any province and secure for the moment on its frontier. Yet there was much, both without and within its boundaries, to awaken and justify grave alarm. The tribes of the North had at length discovered a secret hidden from the ancient Cheruscans, Cimbrians, and Teutons. They had become aware that to conquer Rome, they must abandon their own private jealousies and feuds. They had detected also that the general foe was staggering in his seat; that every year it was less easy for him to recruit his legions, or to maintain the long lines of his border fortresses. Bribes and black-mail would no longer buy them off; and to deaden the impending shock by admitting semi-barbarians within the lines of the empire might palliate for a while, but would ultimately aggravate, the danger. Such allies, or rather such hirelings, as soon as their first greed was sated, or their new possessions cloyed upon them, would be more disposed to embrace their former clansmen than to defend their new pay-masters. And within the limits of the empire, the recruiting-ground was well nigh exhausted. Gaul and Spain might still as formerly provide oxen and horses, the arsenals of Tyre and Marseilles might still resound with the clink of hammers, and Sicily and Africa perennially deposit their tribute of corn on

the wharves of Ostia. But their sons—the descendants of the men who formed Cæsar's tenth legion, or the crested band of the Alaudæ—had long since become Romanised, and preferred the baths and theatres of cities to the duties of the camp, or the hardy pursuits of shepherds and ploughmen. The legionary roll was now to be made up from strangers, slaves, and the refuse of cities. The prospect of plunder might tempt the idle or the desperate to enlist; but neither the call of duty nor the rod of the centurion could convert a rabble into such troops as had won for the senate the empire of the western world. With the armies available for Aurelius, the mighty Julius himself might have discreetly paused upon the threshold of Gaul.

Mr. Merivale has made due allowance for these symptoms and heralds of future disaster, and has summed up in his concluding chapter the various calamities that rendered the later years of Aurelius an era of gloom and dismay. Yet even in surveying the whole period comprised in his seventh volume, a sense of languor, if not of despair, comes over us. So far as concerned the civilised world, its great mutations were acted. Peace is the rule; war is the exception. The Empire is content. Justice presides over its councils, and the voice of appeal from her decisions reaches the imperial ear. Encouragement is given to enterprise; employment is found for the masses; provision is made for the physical or intellectual needs of the people. Cæsar and his ministers have no easy time of it; they are always suggesting, directing, assisting; the fragments of their laws or orders in council preserved in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, by Theodosius or by Justinian, prove their constant labour in issuing rescripts. Perhaps they do rather too much. Things might have turned out better had they left their subjects more to themselves. Of the good intentions of the government, however, there is no doubt. But what, in this halcyon time, has become of the hopes and energies of the human race? whither does it move? what any longer ennobles it? Is then, after all, the great *Pax Romana*, the tardy harvest of so many seed-times of blood and wars, a delusion at last? Must we say of it, as the expiring Brutus said of Virtue, that it was but 'a word'—a political syncope, a moral and intellectual stagnation, and not Peace? We have now, and on former occasions, accompanied Mr. Merivale through the dreary years when Tiberius oppressed the senate and Nero insulted the Empire; through that ignominious time when the sons of slaves sat virtually in the chair of Cæsar; through the yet more disastrous period in which three armies rent and wasted 'Italiam Diis sacram'—the land and the city to which augurs and sibyls had promised

dominion without end. Yet even in the thickest gloom of these several nights, rays of dawn were to be seen. When Augustus was on the borders of life and death he discerned that two at least of the senators were not less fit for empire than his chosen Tiberius. When the aristocracy of Rome had grown too feeble or too odious for trust or high place, a provincial nobility, frugal, honest, and in some measure independent, was ready to step into the place of the degenerate Lepidi and Scauri. If the eloquence of the forum had long been extinct, the eloquence of history was in full vigour; if poetry in its nobler forms no longer existed, imaginative minds still survived. Tacitus stood in the room of Livy; Seneca and Quintilian in that of Cicero; Statius and Martial were not altogether unworthy successors of Virgil and Horace, while satire in the hands of Juvenal presented an earnest brow unknown to the Augustan age. When, however, we come to the emperors who stamped with their name the dynasty of the Antonines, we enter as it were into the valley of the shadow of death. It may be alleged that imperfect knowledge conceals from our view the authentic brilliance of that era. But to what cause, except the want of materials, is that imperfect knowledge owing; and whence proceeds the lack of materials, if not from the decrepitude and decay of intellectual power? The Cæsar now appears not only as the most conspicuous statesman and soldier, but also as the greatest philosopher of his age. He may have been so, but why does he stand like a solitary tower upon a vast unbroken plain? That Marcus Aurelius was served by wise ministers and experienced captains may be inferred from the general vigour and prosperity of his reign. Even *his* energy could not have sufficed for the toils of an administration which swept within its arc men who chased the red deer and the wolf at the foot of the Grampians and men who hunted the lion and the river-horse between the First and Second Cataracts. Yet these captains, these councillors, of Aurelius are, in the silence of history, as obscure to us as the Gyas and Cloanthus of Virgil —*nominis umbræ*—'adding to the treasures of oblivion and 'flitting across the caverns of night.' The machine of government is effective—perhaps complete; but the object for which it was constructed is lost. The best of monarchs—and in the world's history there is not so matchless a pair as the first and second Antoninus—desired and laboured for the weal of their people; but the people for whom they toiled in the council-chamber and the camp is torpid, if not indeed dead. Art and eloquence are on the decline; population is diminishing; it is difficult to recruit the legions, to find labourers for the soil.

This is the result of a government which does all for the people, and permits the people to do nothing for itself. These are the fruits of the great Actian triumph—this is the end of the vision of the mighty Julius in the hour when he bestrode the narrow world, and was preparing to round his orb of conquest by bringing the Dacian and the Parthian under the yoke he had already laid on the necks of the Iberian and the Gaul.

We now take leave of Mr. Merivale—we hope only for a while. He may be justly proud of having supplied a void in Roman annals which hitherto, so far as we are aware, has never been so satisfactorily filled up. But we cannot concede to him that his task is complete while it wants a volume dedicated to the history of opinions in the age of the Antonine Cæsars. For in that period the philosophy of the ancient world, besides putting forth its latest roots, encountered a new order of ideas on the relations between divine and human nature which solved some of its problems, and was destined to embrace, to modify, and eventually to supersede, that philosophy itself. The task is worthy of a scholar and a divine—the materials are abundant; and the historian has repeatedly shown his fitness for it by the temperate spirit in which he has dealt with rising and waning opinions so often as they affect the *Romans under the Empire.*

ART. III. — 1. *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau, publié en entier pour la première fois par* MM. SOULIÉ *et* DUSSIEUX, *avec les Additions inédites du Duc de Saint-Simon, publiées par* M. FEUILLET DE CONCHES. Dix-neuf tomes. Paris: 1854–1860.

2. *Mémoires complets et authentiques du Duc de Saint-Simon sur le Siècle de Louis XIV et la Régence, collationnés avec le Manuscrit original par* M. CHÉRUEL, *et précédés d'une Notice par* M. SAINTE-BEUVE. Vingt tomes. Paris: 1856–1858.

3. *Deux Discours sur le Duc de Saint-Simon, sa Vie et ses Écrits, qui ont remporté le prix d'Éloquence décerné par l'Académie Française dans sa Séance publique du* 30 *Août* 1855. Par M. EUGÈNE POITOU et par M. AMÉDÉE LEFEVRE-PONTALIS.

THESE recent editions of the two great literary monuments of the Court of France in its most splendid and memorable period are invaluable contributions to history and to letters. The 'Journal of the Marquis de Dangeau'—a minute and punctilious daily record of the monotonous grandeur of Ver-

sailles for forty-four counted years—is now for the first time made public in its integrity. The 'Memoirs of the Duke de 'Saint-Simon' have been carefully collated with the original manuscript by M. Chéruel, and we are indebted to him for the most correct text and the most acceptable form of this master-piece of personal history. Indeed, this edition is so superior to all that have preceded it, that it will henceforth supersede them in every good library: though we think M. Chéruel might have extended his notes with further advantage. Criticism and annotation have still, as it were, to do their work upon this vast fabric; but that work has been ably commenced by the young and eloquent candidates whose essays were crowned by the French Academy in 1855, and by M. Sainte-Beuve in his introduction to M. Chéruel's edition.

But the acquisition we have made in these important publications does not stop here. This edition of the Journal of Dangeau is enriched with the copious manuscript notes and additions of Saint-Simon himself, now first published from the interleaved copy of the Journal which was made for his use by order of his friend the Duc de Luynes—the same copy which is still preserved in the Archives of the Foreign Department at Paris, where, indeed, all the Saint-Simon papers are now deposited. These manuscript notes, which are elaborate and voluminous, constitute a large addition to all that had previously been published under the name of Saint-Simon himself: they are anterior to his Memoirs in the shape he ultimately gave to them; they are, in fact, the materials of the Memoirs in a less complete form; but, at the same time, they contain numerous particulars, anecdotes, and characteristic touches which are not to be found in the Memoirs at all.

Moreover, the discovery of these 'Additions' throws an entirely novel light upon the manner in which Saint-Simon produced his great work, and on its connexion with Dangeau's Journal; although, indeed, as we shall presently show, light and darkness are not more opposite than these two noble authors, whose fame rests not on the splendour of their fortunes or their lives, but on the perseverance with which they recorded the events of their age—hating and despising one another, although simultaneously engaged upon the same task —with no point of resemblance in tastes, in character, in purpose, or in style, yet inseparably united in the common result of their separate labours. Without Dangeau the Memoirs of Saint-Simon would perhaps never have existed in their complete form; without Saint-Simon the dry and frigid daily annals of Dangeau would never have been printed. Dangeau

is the stock, incapable of producing palatable fruit itself, on which the most luxuriant and aromatic growth of French literature in that age was grafted. Dangeau, in his daily task of four and forty years, never rises beyond the level of the Court Circular: he witnesses the most important events of an eventful reign without an expression of wonder or emotion: even his anecdotes are without point: he is as exact and as unmeaning as a piece of clock-work. Saint-Simon, on the contrary, painted in colours that will never die every figure and every scene, the bare mention of which suffices to his mechanical anti-type. In the slender entries of the one it is scarcely possible to trace more than a feeble pulsation of passions which might have touched the soul of even a master of the ceremonies; in the torrent of eloquence and of scorn poured forth by the other, Versailles lives again, with all its conflicts, its follies, its jealousies, and its power. Dangeau was a gilded insect, hovering over the Court parterre, or enthroned upon its blossoms; Saint-Simon was a mind, intent to try the Court by the touch and standard of honour, rectitude, and truth. The former shared the pleasures and the honours of Louis XIV. without limit: the latter cared little for his pleasures, and never possessed his confidence; but stood behind his throne and upon his tomb to be the avenger of his faults, even to the third and fourth generation. The easy and prosperous Marquis cared not to cast a look beyond the galleries of Versailles, in which he spent his existence; his conception of immortality was an apotheosis on a ceiling. How little could he have conceived it possible that he was day by day preparing materials for one who was to speak of all he adored in the language of doom—to consign himself and all his silken fellows to the pillory of history, and to herald by lurid and prophetic flashes the approach of that storm which the monarchy of France was not destined to survive! Dangeau, born in the King's own year, had seen the dawn and the meridian of a gay, splendid, and victorious reign, and his idolatry of the royal Sun of France was at least sincere. When Saint-Simon came to Court, thirty-seven years younger, the shadows were already lengthening; an age of cant had succeeded to an age of vice; the gloom of religious bigotry was followed by the shame of unsuccessful war and the horror of unnatural deaths: long before he completed his task the grave had closed upon Louis and the heavens themselves were gathering over France.

The fame, if so it can be called, which is attached to the name of the Marquis of Dangeau is dearly purchased. He owes his immortality to the pungency of the sarcasms of those

who used his laborious compilations, as the most perishable commodities may be preserved by salt and nitre. For a man so easy, so good-natured, so incapable of independent action or of manly thoughts, to fall into the hands of Saint-Simon and Voltaire, was, assuredly, a cruel sport of destiny over his grave. The birds of prey settled on it, and they have not respected his remains. But in spite of the strenuous efforts of the editors of this voluminous publication to rehabilitate his memory, to which they have done something more than justice, we must be permitted to retain our opinion that there was nothing dignified or respectable in his character except the perseverance with which he wrote his Diary. No doubt Saint-Simon and Voltaire were both of them largely indebted to so minute a chronicler of current events. No doubt it would have been more just and handsome to have acknowledged the obligation, instead of overwhelming him with ridicule and invective. But what was vindictive malice in Voltaire towards a man he had robbed, was the natural scorn of Saint-Simon towards a man he had known. Voltaire calls Dangeau a 'vieux valet de 'chambre imbécile, qui se mêlait de faire à tort et à travers 'des gazettes de toutes les sottises qu'il entendait dans les anti-'chambres;' and a 'frotteur de la maison qui se glissa derrière les 'laquais pour entendre ce qu'on dit à table.' Even when he refers to him as an authority he misstates and misquotes him. The truth is Voltaire had loosely perused the Journal in manuscript; and had found in it two or three not very flattering notices of himself. 'Le petit Arouet, poète fort satirique et 'fort imprudent, a été exilé. . . . Arouet a été mis à la 'Bastille; il paraît incorrigible. . . . Les comédiens jouèrent 'sur leur théâtre la nouvelle tragédie d'Œdipe faite par Arouet, 'qui a changé de nom parcequ'on était fort prévenu contre 'lui, à cause qu'il a offensé beaucoup de gens dans ses vers: 'cependant la tragédie a fort bien réussi.' The Marquis little imagined that this same 'petit Arouet' would brand him for a blockhead for ever.

To measure the force and justice of these censures, it is necessary to retrace in a few sentences the chief incidents of Dangeau's inglorious life. Philippe de Courcillon, Marquis de Dangeau, neither deserved to be stigmatised as a man of slender birth by Saint-Simon, nor exalted into a descendant of Hugues Capet by his own pen. The family of Courcillon was ancient, and the lordship of Dangeau was acquired by intermarriage with the Cholets in the fifteenth century. Some of its alliances were still more illustrious, for Dangeau himself was grandson of Anne de Mornay, daughter of Duplessis-Mornay,

and in 1638, the year of his birth, that descent marked in the nobility of France a Protestant house. Philip and his brother Louis, afterwards known as the Abbé de Courcillon, soon shook off, however, the Huguenot taint fatal to their career at Court; and the elder brother served with sufficient brilliancy under Turenne to obtain in 1663 the command of a regiment of infantry, known as the King's Own, because it was especially created by Louis XIV. for the sons of noble families to serve in its ranks, and had till then been commanded by His Majesty in person. But it was not upon the fields of Flanders or of Spain that the laurels of Dangeau grew. He had learned in his campaigns the use of the Spanish language, which introduced him to the notice of the Queen, and he was gifted by nature with an extraordinary dexterity in all those games of skill or chance which were then the ruling passion of the Court. Dangeau himself had at that time little or no fortune; yet no one played so readily, or so high, or so well. In piquet, ombre, reversis, brelan, and all the games of the day, he was an acknowledged adept; in lansquenet and basset his judgment never failed him. Saint-Simon himself adds, 'this science 'brought him in a great deal, and his winnings enabled him to 'frequent the best society. He was gentle, complaisant, obse-'quious, with the air, the tone, and the manners of the world; 'prompt and accurate in his accounts at play, and however large 'his winnings may have been (and they were the basis of his 'fortunes), he was never suspected, and his reputation was 'always clear.' Indeed, he appears to have carried his theory of play to the height of algebraic calculation, and he employed Sauveur, the mathematician, to reduce the odds at basset to a precise formula. Madame de Sévigné described him in 1678 at the height of his glory presiding over the King's table at Versailles:—

'Voici comme cela va—un jeu de reversis donne la forme et fixe tout. Le Roi est auprès de Madame de Montespan qui tient la carte; Monsieur, la Reine, et Madame de Soubise; Dangeau et compagnie; Langlée et compagnie; mille louis sont répandus sur le tapis; il n'y a point d'autres jetons. Je voyois jouer Dangeau, et j'admirois combien nous sommes sots au jeu auprès de lui! Il ne songe qu'à son affaire, et gagne où les autres perdent; il ne néglige rien, il profite de tout; il n'est point distrait; en un mot sa bonne conduite défie la fortune: aussi les cent mille francs en dix jours; les cent mille écus en un mois, tout cela se met sur le livre de la recette. Il dit que je prenois part à son jeu, de sorte que je fus assise très agréablement et très commodement. Je saluai le Roi: il me rendit mon salut comme si j'avois été jeune et belle.'

When Madame de Sévigné paints a scene, no touch is wanting

to complete it. But to return to Dangeau. He was believed to have won a couple of millions of livres at play, without cheating; and with this fortune, and pleasing though somewhat pedantic manners, he advanced in life. An epigram of the day notched every round of his ladder.

Être des plaisirs de son Roi
Du jeu, du bal, et de la chasse,
Faire exercice en bel arroy,
Monter quelquefois au Parnasse,
Donner tout à l'ambition,
Cajoler la blonde et la brune,
N'avoir point de religion
Quand il s'agit de sa fortune,
Devenir chef du régiment,
Acheter un gouvernement,
Se voir cordon bleu d'espérance,
Dangeau, par des hasards si grands,
Si la paix dure encor dix ans
Tu seras maréchal de France.'

In the early years of Louis XIV., before bigotry and ennui had overshadowed the Court, Dangeau had enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the monarch—in his pleasures. They were born in the same year, and Dangeau was one of the few courtiers of the Grand Monarque destined to survive a reign of seventy-three years. In early youth he had been employed by Louis to write passionate madrigals to Mademoiselle de la Vallière, until it also occurred to Mademoiselle de la Vallière to apply to him to write her answers to the King, and the correspondence flourished the more as he held both ends of it. Some obscurity rests upon an expedition he made to England with M. de Briole, about the year 1676, for the purpose of fighting Lord Peterborough, of whom he had won four thousand pistoles; for it seems that in order to prevent the duel, the heroes were arrested when they reached our shores. The wits of the Court laughed at his valour; but it was impossible to deny his readiness in rhyme. One day he entreated the King and Madame de Montespan to grant him rooms in Versailles; they told him he should have them if he filled up a hundred *bouts-rimés*, before they had finished the game they were playing, and they did what they could to make the task impossible, but the Muses were favourable, and Dangeau had the rooms. This and similar exploits were indeed but a courtier's title to the honours of the French Academy, to which he was elected in 1668, at a time when it certainly was not foreseen that he was destined to hold a permanent place among the historical writers of his country. The probability is that his enlightened patronage of Boileau

and his encouragement of men of letters had given him some claim to their gratitude. Boileau had dedicated to him, in 1665, the fifth satire, 'Sur la Noblesse;' and before it was published Dangeau took the opportunity of reading the lines aloud in the King's hearing. Louis rose from the card-table to listen to it, and the fortune of the poet was made. Certain it is that without the slightest pretension to any literary graces of his own, Dangeau was a friend of literature, and literature is not ungrateful to him, since she preserves his name from oblivion. His brother, the Abbé, it may here be remarked, was also a member of the Academy, and perhaps with a better literary title. But the Abbé was a frightful bore—a greater bore than even his elder brother. He knew all the languages of modern Europe, and all the branches of modern science, and used to boast that he had two thousand verbs conjugated in his writing-desk. The following stanzas hit off the two brothers in an amusing manner:—

'Avec mine pédante,
Le docte Abbé Dangeau
Au fils de Dieu présente
Son alphabet nouveau,
Lui dit "Je t'apprendrai les étymologies,
Les termes du blason, don, don,
Et des Rois de Judah
Les généalogies."

'"Cet ecclésiastique,"
Répond son frère aîné,
"Est homme méthodique
S'il en fut jamais né.
Pour moi, j'avais acquis quelque gloire au Parnasse,"
Puis d'un doucereux ton, don, don,
Ses vers il récita, la, la,
Et parla de sa race.'

The society of courts is so constituted (perhaps even in our own time) that one quality is more prized in them than the fairest virtues or the brightest talents; a quality which may be described in English by a single word—*deportment*. The favoured attendants of kings are neutral beings, who dignify their menial condition by the satisfaction of a servile vanity. Of these Dangeau was a finished type; and he both had, and has, his reward. He might be, as Saint-Simon said of him, bedizened with absurdities; his inanity might turn one's stomach; but no one ever heard him say anything ill-timed or impertinent, for he was incapable of even that degree of mental independence. Madame de Montespan declared that it was impossible to help liking him and laughing at him; but he was acknowledged, even by those who laughed at him most, to be an honourable and kindly gentleman. Whatever soul he had was absorbed in entire devotion to the King, even to the least and meanest appendages of majesty. The rise of his fortunes was therefore rapid. When the Duke de Richelieu, ruined at play, was

compelled to sell his post of lord-in-waiting to the Dauphiness, Dangeau, who had probably won his money, bought it for a round sum, and this position afterwards made him one of the '*menins*'* of the Dauphin. Saint-Simon confounds the Marquis with his brother the Abbé when he says that the former personage also bought the charge of 'reader' to the King; he needed no such post about the royal person, for Louis XIV. bestowed upon him, as a special mark of favour, a formal warrant under the sign-manual, enabling him at all times whatsoever to enter the place where the King might be. He bought the Government of Touraine; he was made Grand Master of the Order of St. Lazarus, in which function he aped his master to the infinite diversion of the Court. By his first marriage, in 1682, he had greatly increased his fortune, and from his daughter by that marriage, who afterwards became the wife of the eldest son of the Duke de Chevreuse, descends the present representative of Dangeau, the virtuous and accomplished Duke de Luynes—who is the possessor of his manuscripts. His second marriage was still more brilliant. A certain Countess von Lowestein, a German *chanoinesse*, descended from the Palatine House, and connected with the noblest families in the empire, was one of the maids of honour of the Dauphiness. She had not a penny; but she was niece of Cardinal Fürstemberg, and a favourite of Madame de Maintenon; moreover of peerless beauty and unsullied reputation—'jolie 'comme le jour, et faite comme une nymphe, avec toutes les 'grâces de l'esprit et du corps,' to quote the unsuspicious testimony of Saint-Simon to her merits. In 1696, Dangeau was fifty-eight years old, and Mademoiselle de Lowestein had sense enough to see through him—'elle vit le tuf,' says the censor; but the King favoured the marriage, the lady at last accepted him, and Dangeau fancied himself Elector Palatine, whatever else he gained by this marriage. It was delightful, adds his merciless adversary, to see him expand into mourning for his wife's relations.

About the same time he was made 'Conseiller d'État d'épée,' and soon afterwards his wife became a lady of the bedchamber.

'All this puffed up Dangeau, and marvellously increased his absurdities. He adored the King and Madame de Maintenon; he adored the ministers and the government; his adoration, perpetually displayed, had crept into the marrow of his bones. Their tastes,

* This expression was introduced at the Court of France from that of Spain, where the 'meniños' were young persons of rank brought up with the princes.

their affections, their aversions, were altogether his. Everything the King did, whatever it might be, and sometimes however strange, transported Dangeau with admiration through and through. It was just the same for all that he saw Madame de Maintenon like, favour, or discard; and this was so incrusted in him, that it became himself even after their death. Hence the prepossession which all his timorous policy fails to conceal in his Memoirs against the Duke of Orleans, and in favour of the bastards in general, but especially of the person of the Duke of Maine.' (*Saint-Simon*, tom. xviii. p. 60.)

These words may serve to put the reader on the track of the fierce contradiction and intense opposition which manifests itself in every line of these two records of the same period. The men differed not less in their political and personal predilections than in their characters and mode of life. What the one adored, the other hated and despised. The ruling passions which pervade the work of Saint-Simon, and serve even to connect its different parts, are his detestation of the King's bastards, his aversion to the lawyer element in the Parliaments of France, his personal attachment to the Duke of Orleans, his lofty conception of the functions of his order, his abhorrence of the high church party, and his hostility and resentment against the King himself. Dangeau, on the contrary, preferred Madame de Maintenon and the Duc du Maine to Fénélon and Beauvilliers: he was more inclined to side with pliant lawyers than with haughty peers: he feared and abhorred the sinister independence of the Palais Royal; and he would have been content to stake his hopes of another world on the favour of the King's confessor. In a word, Saint-Simon stood like a rock against every one of the influences paramount in the last twenty years of the reign of Louis XIV.: Dangeau floated with the stream. The one thought compliance base; the other thought resistance ridiculous.

Such was the man who is now brought prominently before the notice of posterity, although his merits and his faults, alike insipid and obscure, might fairly have consigned him to oblivion, but for the six and thirty folio volumes which it was his fate to leave behind him. Of the book itself we shall leave Saint-Simon to give his own account: —

'From the commencement of his appearance at Court, that is about the time of the death of the Queen-mother*, he took to writing every

* Saint-Simon is mistaken. Anne of Austria died in 1666; Dangeau's Journal begins on the 1st of April, 1684. Dangeau himself was then forty-six years old, and had been about the Court more than twenty years, for he obtained the colonelcy of the King's Own regiment in 1663. It is possible, however, that he may have kept a

evening the gossip of the day, and he persevered in this task till his death [in 1720]. He persevered also in writing all this like a gazetteer, without a single remark, so that his Journal contains nothing but incidents with a correct date, but not a word of their causes, still less of any intrigues or movements whether of the Court or of private persons. The baseness of a humble courtier, adoration of the Master and of everything that was or smelt of favour, a profusion of insipid and contemptible adulation, a suffocating and unceasing incense of the King's most indifferent actions, the dread which haunted him of even saying anything by which anybody might be wounded, excuses for everything, especially in the generals and other persons liked by the King, Madame de Maintenon, and the ministers; all these things abound in all his pages, each of which generally suffices for a day, and they are marvellously disgusting.

'It is difficult to conceive how a man could have the patience and the perseverance to write such a work every day for more than fifty years, so meagre, so dry, so constrained, so cautious, so literal—to write under the rind of the most repulsive aridity. But it must also be said that it would have been difficult for Dangeau to write real memoirs, which require a thorough knowledge of the interior and the diverse workings of a Court. Although he hardly ever left it, but for a moment, although he lived at it with distinction and in good society, although he was liked at it and even esteemed on the score of honour and discretion, it is nevertheless true that he never was in possession of a single thing, nor initiated into anything that happened. His frivolous and superficial life was like his Memoirs; he knew nothing more than everybody saw; he was content to be at the banquets and the balls, as his vanity takes care to proclaim, but he never was in any privacy. He may sometimes have been informed of things relating to his friends, by themselves, and as they were persons of consideration they might give him some relative intelligence, but this was neither long nor frequent. His friends of this class, few in number, knew too well the lightness of the stuff to lose their time upon it.

'Dangeau had a mind below mediocrity, very futile, very incapable in all respects, easily taking the shadow for the substance, feeding on air and perfectly satisfied with that diet. His whole ability went no further than a studied behaviour, careful to wound nobody, and to multiply those puffs of wind which flattered him; to acquire, to preserve, and to enjoy a sort of consideration, without caring to perceive that, from the King downwards, his vanities and his foibles were the laughing-stock of society, or the traps into which he was often made to fall. With all this, his Memoirs are full of facts not noticed in the

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diary long anterior to that which is now published. It may be as well to remark that in this and the following translations of passages in Saint-Simon in this article, we have sought as far as possible to preserve the roughness, and even the occasional incoherence of style of the author, sometimes, as in the original, at the expense of grammatical correctness.

gazettes; they will gain value as they grow old; *they will be of great use to any one who seeks to write with more solidity, for an accurate chronology and to avoid confusion.* Indeed they present, with the most desirable precision, the outward aspect of the Court, the day's life and what it consisted of, the occupations, the amusements, the division of the King's time, the chief occupations of everybody at it, so that nothing could be more desirable for history than to have similar memoirs of all the reigns, if it were possible, from Charles V., which would throw a marvellous light on the futility of all that has been written on these reigns.

'A word more of this singular author. He made no secret of this Journal, because he wrote it so that he had nothing to fear from it; but he did not show it; it has only been seen since his death. It has not yet been printed, and it is in the hands of the Duc de Luynes, his grandson, who has allowed some copies to be taken of it.' (*Saint-Simon*, tom. xviii. p. 60.)

If, on the one hand, Saint-Simon has described the style and the character of the author of the Diaries with his usual caustic felicity, it is impossible to acquit him of some want of candour in this reference to a work by which he himself largely benefited. Nobody would infer from this passage, and indeed the discovery has only been made very recently, that Saint-Simon alludes to himself in the sentence we have printed in italics. He it was who, undertaking to write the history of the period with greater solidity, condescended to borrow from Dangeau at least the chronological order of his narrative. But before we enter upon the proof of this curious species of plagiarism (if so it can be called), we must trace the history of the Journal itself.

The original manuscript is still at the Chateau de Dampierre, the seat of the Ducs de Luynes: it consists of thirty-seven folio volumes: the year 1693 forming two volumes; almost every other year a single one. Dangeau devoted a separate page to each day in the year, and indeed rarely filled it. The margin of this manuscript bears numerous pencil-marks and references made by Saint-Simon, to whom it was lent by the Duc de Luynes his contemporary; and other marks by Madame de Genlis, who had it for ten years for the purpose of preparing an edition of very imperfect extracts from the text. Several other copies of the manuscript are in existence. Of these the most important was that made for Saint-Simon with alternate blank pages to enable him to intercalate his own notes and additions; and each volume of this copy contains a classified index under different heads of subjects—as *Rangs*, *Mariages*, *Morts*, &c.—carefully prepared by Saint-Simon or by his secretaries. Some partial and incomplete publications of the Journal,

or rather of extracts from it, had previously been made; the first by Voltaire in 1770; the second by Madame de Genlis, who began the work under the patronage of Napoleon, and ended it by a dedication to Louis XVIII.: it appeared in four volumes in 1817. Lemontey published some further extracts in 1829, and MM. Paul Lacroix and Amédée Pichot again in 1830. But these fragments give no idea of the magnitude and importance of the work for historical reference—still less of the brilliancy and interest of Saint-Simon's Additions. We owe to the present editors a complete and careful revision and publication of the whole of these vast materials, which cannot fail to find a place in every historical library in Europe.

It results from the researches of the recent editors of the Dangeau Journal, and from a comparison of the text of Saint-Simon's Additions with his finished Memoir, that these notes (which are frequently of great extent) must be regarded as the basis of the Memoirs themselves. In fact, many of the most striking passages in the Memoirs—as, for example, the magnificent character of the Duc de Bourgogne, and the affecting narrative of the death of the Duchesse de Bourgogne, followed immediately by that of her husband—were originally composed in the form of annotations to Dangeau. Thus even the character of Louis XIV. and of his reign, which is introduced in the Memoirs at the time of his death, fills a note to the Journal of the same date of no less than eighty pages octavo of small type. The same may be said of an immense number of characters and anecdotes. Yet the materials to be found in the 'Additions' were by no means all employed in the composition of the 'Memoirs;' on the contrary, the earlier work is a store of fresh matter, frequently of the liveliest interest. In the passages which were transferred to the 'Memoirs' and incorporated in them, the style has undergone some revision and is somewhat more subdued than in the first burst of Saint-Simon's impetuous eloquence. It is also heightened in effect by numerous additional touches. The fact that the 'Memoirs' were written subsequently to the 'Additions,' is proved by innumerable circumstances, to some of which we shall presently have occasion to refer.

Dangeau himself died in September 1720, and had written up his Journal till within three weeks of his death. His widow showed his manuscripts, and allowed copies to be made from them. Madame de Maintenon had had a copy at St. Cyr some time before, which she read with extreme entertainment—as well she might, for it was the reflex of

her own existence.* But Saint-Simon expressly states that he never saw the Journal until after Dangeau's death; and there is evidence at Dampierre that it did not come into the possession of the Duc de Luynes, who had the copy made for Saint-Simon, until 1729. There is also internal evidence that the 'Additions' were chiefly written between the years 1734 and 1738. Thus, in a note on the year 1705, speaking of the R. P. François Marie, then General of the Carmelites, he adds that this reverend person 'died at the age of sixty-seven, '*in this year* 1734, with a great reputation.' In the survey of the King's reign, which occurs at the date of his death in 1715, he states that Puységur was not made a marshal of France till 1735. In speaking of Madame Guyon, who died in 1717, Saint-Simon says that '*although she has been dead twenty years*, 'her little flock still exists, and still hopes to obtain the reversal 'of the decree which condemned their doctrines;' this passage must then have been written in 1737 or later. So again in describing Lord Stanhope's visit to Paris in 1720, Saint-Simon speaks of him as the predecessor of Walpole, '*dont la puissance* '*dure encore*'—these words were therefore written towards the latter part of Sir Robert's administration. It is clear that these notes were made nearly thirty years after the period to which they relate, that is, not before 1735. From the same kind of evidence the editors contend that Saint-Simon did not begin to give to his Memoirs their permanent form before the year 1740, and that they were entirely composed at La Ferté-Vidame, his country-seat, after that date; and it is certain that his own 'Introduction,' in which he discusses the propriety of writing contemporary history, bears date July 1743. It should be observed that the manuscript of the Memoirs, which still exists in the possession of the present representative of the family†, is entirely written by Saint-Simon himself, with

* Madame de Maintenon, writing in February 1716, soon after the King's death, says, 'Je voudrois savoir jusqu'où M. de Dangeau 'conduit ses Mémoires, afin de les ménager plus ou moins, car 'c'est le seul amusement que j'aie.' In fact at that time they were not completed, for Dangeau lived to carry them down four years later than the time at which she was then reading the earlier portion of them.

† We believe that this gentleman is called in France the Duc de Saint-Simon, and indeed sits under that title in the Senate of the Empire; but we are not aware that he has any right to it. He is really the Marquis de Saint-Simon, being descended from another branch of the family, in which the *duché-pairie* never passed at all. The Duc de Saint-Simon, the author of the Memoirs, had

great regularity and minuteness—a work of colossal magnitude, especially when it is considered that a large portion—perhaps the whole—had been composed and compiled in a more fragmentary shape, before it was fused down into its mature and perfect form.

The evidence here referred to as to the date of the composition of the Memoirs raises a variety of perplexing questions, and considerably modifies the opinion which has commonly prevailed as to the nature of Saint-Simon's work. From the extraordinary multiplicity of details it contains, which no human being could accurately retain in his memory for a lengthened period—from the intense vivacity and fever of the style, which burns with the passions of every hour, and is totally unlike the cool reminiscences of an elderly man writing twenty or thirty years after the events he describes—and, lastly, from Saint-Simon's own declarations, it has commonly been supposed that these celebrated Memoirs were for the most part written at the periods to which they relate. The author himself says in his opening pages, that from his earliest years

'The reading of history, and especially of the private memoirs of our own history since Francis I., which I carried on myself, gave me the desire to write those of what I might witness, desiring and hoping to be something myself, and to know as well as I could the transactions of my time. The objections to such a course were not unperceived by me, but the determination to keep the secret to myself alone appeared to me to remove them. I therefore began in July 1694, being then colonel of a regiment of cavalry bearing my name, at the camp of Guinsheim on the Rhine, in the army commanded by the Marshal Duke of Lorges.' (*Saint-Simon*, tom. i. p. 3.)

If the Memoirs were originally composed in the solitary retirement of La Ferté many years after the occurrence of the events they relate, they would of course lose that highest claim to credibility which is due to contemporary records; and as regards the precise language used by Saint-Simon himself, and by other persons in many memorable interviews, it would deserve to be regarded as imaginary, if not fictitious. But the author of the Memoirs has guarded himself against this imputation in a very precise manner. He says in concluding his work:—

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two sons, born in 1698 and 1699 respectively. The elder of these, known as the Duc de Ruffec, died unmarried in 1746; the younger, known as the Marquis de Ruffec, married Mademoiselle d'Angervilliers, but had no children, and died in 1754—a year before his father, who thus survived all his offspring. The visionary author of the sect of Saint-Simonians was a Count de Saint-Simon, and a cadet of the family.

'I have an observation to make as to the conversations I have held with many persons, especially with the Duc de Bourgogne, the Duc d'Orleans, the Duc de Beauvilliers, the Duc du Maine once, the late King three or four times, and with many other persons of note, and as to the opinions I may have given or rejected. These conversations are of such a nature, and so numerous, that I understand that a reader not acquainted with me might be tempted to rank them with those factitious harangues which historians have often lent of themselves to generals in the field, to ambassadors, senators, and conspirators, for the purpose of adorning their books. But I protest, with the same truth which has hitherto guided my pen, that there is not one of the speeches delivered or reported by me, which is not set forth in these Memoirs with the most scrupulous accuracy; and that if I have anything to reproach myself with, it is that I have weakened, rather than strengthened, my own language in this report of it, because the memory loses something of what took place, and in the vivacity of conversation one speaks with more force than one can give to the relation of what was said. I will add, with the same confidence, that no one who has known me, and lived with me, would conceive a doubt on the fidelity of these conversations or fail to recognise me in every line.' (*Saint-Simon*, tom. xx. p. 93.)

It is certain that a report of a conversation having any claims to verbal accuracy must be made immediately after it took place; and from the care and evident pride with which Saint-Simon has preserved what he said, and what was said to him, on many momentous occasions, we cannot doubt that he made a careful note of it at the time. To suppose the contrary would be to destroy the chief value of the work.

But there is still more direct evidence that in 1699, when the author was only twenty-four years of age, some portion of the Memoirs was already in existence. He had at that early period of his life conceived an especial veneration and regard for M. de Rancé, the Abbé who had then recently retired to the monastery of La Trappe, which he was about to renovate by his ascetic piety. A singular counsellor for a young courtier on such a subject! Yet to the Abbé of La Trappe he addressed himself in the following letter—we shall quote the greater part of it, for it is extremely characteristic of the earnest and conscientious spirit in which Saint-Simon applied himself to this work, and it appears for the first time in M. Chéruel's edition:—

'I must be well persuaded, Sir, of your singular goodness towards me, to venture to take the liberty, as I now do, of sending you by the hands of M. du Charmel the papers I had the honour to mention to you at my last journey, when you allowed me to do so. I then told you that for some time past I have been working on a sort of memoirs of my life, which contain everything relating especially to myself, and also, rather in general and superficially, a kind of

narrative of the things of the Court; and as I have proposed to myself the exact truth, and have therefore given myself free rein to speak it, good or bad, just as it seemed to myself about this person or the other, seeking to gratify my own inclinations and passions as far as truth allowed, since I am writing for myself, or for a very few of my own family during my life, and for whomsoever it may please after my death, I have stopped to spare no one on any consideration. But perceiving that this sort of work goes on every day increasing, and thinking with some complacency that I may leave it after me, but not wishing to be exposed to scruples which might induce me, towards the close of my life or even sooner, to burn it, as had been my first intention, by reason of all it contains against the reputation of thousands of people, and this the more irreparably as the whole truth is told, and passion has only inflamed the style—I have resolved to trouble you with some passages, to intreat you from these to judge of the piece, and to have the goodness to lay down some rule for me ever to speak the truth without wounding my conscience, and to give me wholesome counsel as to the manner I should follow in writing of things which touch myself more nearly than others. I have therefore chosen the narrative of our suit against MM. de Luxemburg, father and son, which gave rise to passages that roused in me almost all the liveliest passions, more sensibly than I had ever felt in my life, all which is expressed in a style that betrays it. This is, I think, the sharpest and bitterest thing in my Memoirs, yet I have endeavoured to adhere to the most exact truth. I have copied it from them, where it is recorded here and there, according to the time at which we pleaded, and I have put it altogether; and instead of speaking openly, as in my Memoirs themselves, I name myself in this copy as I name others, so that I may hereafter keep it and use it without appearing to be the author. I have also added two of my portraits as specimens of the rest; that of M. d'Aguesseau being favourable, may suffice for those of that sort, of which there are much fewer than of the bad. I flatter myself then, that in the midst of your sufferings and troubles caused by this happy change in your great and wonderful monastery, you will have the charity to examine what I send you, to think of it before God, and to dictate the advice and salutary counsels I presume to ask of you, so that, being in writing, they may not escape my memory, and I may all my life have recourse to them. I think it superfluous to ask for precautions of secrecy, and as to the pitch of voice in which these papers may be read aloud to you, so that nothing be heard beyond your room; they themselves will sufficiently remind you of it.' (*Saint-Simon*, tom. i. p. lx.)

It is one of the strangest facts of this history that these tremendous revelations of the courts of kings and of the heart of man, which lay buried for nearly a century from the world, should have been whispered for the first time in a cell of La Trappe. That monastery was only five short leagues from La Ferté-Vidame, the country-house of the Saint-Simons: M. de Rancé was a neighbour and friend of the first Duke; he was

looked up to as a father by Saint-Simon himself; and in that stern abode the young Duke continued for long successive years to seek guidance and consolation, sometimes for weeks at a time. It was there he betook himself as a disappointed suitor of nineteen, when the daughter of M. de Beauvilliers declined to marry him; and he repeated his clandestine visits at frequent intervals —clandestine, only to avoid the remarks of the world on so rare a predilection in a young man of rank and fashion.

It is then evident from this letter that in the five years intervening between 1694 to 1699, Saint-Simon had already executed his design to a considerable extent; as far as his short experience then permitted. He knew what he had already written to be of a nature to affect the reputations of 'thou-'sands of people.' It may also be inferred that, although his Memoirs were noted at the time in the first person, he afterwards, in recopying them, adopted the third person, and fused the separate passages of the narrative together. In the 'Additions' to Dangeau he always speaks of himself as the Duc de Saint-Simon; but in the final copy of the complete Memoirs he again uses the first person throughout, in speaking of himself. The passion for this species of composition grew with his years. His existence in Versailles — where he occupied the rooms on the upper floor of the palace, now partly adorned by the portraits of the Royal Family of England — was that of a recluse, as far as the exigencies of the Court allowed. He himself observes that seeming to have nothing to do, he was constantly employed, chiefly in collecting and recording the occurrences of the time. We are informed that the mass of his manuscript notes, still in existence, many of which have not been examined, is enormous. Some of them were of a very delicate and compromising nature. The reader of the Memoirs will remember the terror of Saint-Simon, when the sudden death of the Duc de Bourgogne placed in the hands of the King a casket of confidential papers, which had been prepared for the young prince by his occult friend and adviser, and were only rescued from the grasp of Louis XIV. by the dexterous friendship of the Duc de Beauvilliers. These circumstances, to which many others might be added, convince us that to collect and prepare the materials of the Memoirs was the work of Saint-Simon's life, and that he did not sit down at La Ferté at the age of sixty or sixty-five to recall the mere recollections of his more active years. The late Mr. Rogers was born in 1763 and died in 1855; his life, therefore, though twelve years longer than that of Saint-Simon, included the close of the last century and the first half of the present, just as that of Saint-Simon included the

corresponding period a hundred years earlier. Saint-Simon writing from recollection the transactions he had witnessed thirty or forty years before, would have been in the same position as if Mr. Rogers had sat down in the reign of Queen Victoria minutely to describe in twenty octavo volumes the Court of George III., the frolics of the Princes, the 'delicate 'investigation,' and the death of Princess Charlotte.

Pictures such as Saint-Simon loved to paint must be touched with *moist* colours. To take an example, from amongst a hundred others. The four first days of the year 1710 were amongst the most remarkable of Saint-Simon's life: he remarks that 'they 'deserve a sort of journal,' from the part he took in them, and from their ulterior consequences. He had just returned from La Ferté to Versailles, after an absence of several months. The manifest aversion of the King rendered the life of a courtier disagreeable and degrading to him. All hope of employment during the reign of Louis was at an end. At thirty-five he was disposed to break with the Court altogether, though as the King's reign was evidently approaching its close, and Saint-Simon was in favour with his apparent successor, this resolution was less desperate than it looked at first sight. On his arrival at Versailles he found the disfavour and the disgrace of the Duke of Orleans more complete than his own, and with this aggravation—that the Prince deserved it. His scandalous *liaison* with Madame d'Argenton, and the orgies of St. Cloud, had excited against the Duke the irritation of the King (who resented the affront to his daughter), the disgust of Madame de Maintenon, and even the cry of the French Court. Saint-Simon instantly made up his mind that if he was to remain at Versailles at all—if he was to save the Prince who was his friend from utter ruin, and to regain any position in the King's favour—it could only be by heroic measures and a signal victory. On this determination he acted. On January 1, he told the Duke of Orleans that there was but one remedy for the evil—that he must renounce Madame d'Argenton, to whom he was extravagantly attached. For three days, supported by a single friend, Marshal Besons, Saint-Simon renewed the assault. He poured forth a torrent of expostulation, of ingenious argument, of menace; on the third day, by the sheer force of energy and of eloquence, he triumphed: to the astonishment of the Court and of the town it was announced on January 4, that Madame d'Argenton was dismissed. The spell was broken—the victim of vice and passion was delivered. That same morning Saint-Simon, himself still in disgrace, had an audience of the King, and without any reference to the service he had just rendered to the

Royal Family, he succeeded, by a temperate assertion of his own loyalty and self-respect, in softening to some extent the pride and the prejudices of the proudest and most jealous sovereign who ever reigned. All these conversations are related in the Memoirs with verbal and literal accuracy. Even the positions and attitudes of the respective personages are portrayed. No detail is omitted which can give life and reality to the scene. To believe that these chapters were written thirty years after the event is to attribute to Saint-Simon either a miracle of memory or a mere romance. We infer, on the contrary, from this and similar passages, that it was his habit to reduce to writing in the form of a journal conversations and incidents of great interest relating to himself, and that these passages were afterwards incorporated in his great work.

The fragmentary character of these materials or passages, written, as Saint-Simon himself declares, under the passionate influences of the moment, may be traced throughout; and this theory explains the occasional intervention of long and even tedious episodes and dissertations, which were woven into the Memoirs, sometimes without much reference to the context. But where the chronological thread of the narrative is well preserved in relation to public events or to third parties, it is mainly due to the use Saint-Simon made of Dangeau's Journal.

The first ten chapters of the Memoirs are remarkably incoherent, as if the author had not yet settled the plan he was finally to adopt. After succinctly relating the incidents of his own birth and boyhood, with his entry into the Grey Musketeers, Saint-Simon suddenly breaks, in his second and third chapters, upon the memorable scene of the marriage of the Duc de Chartres (afterwards the Regent Orleans) with Mademoiselle de Blois, the second of Madame de Montespan's daughters; and the marriage of the Duc du Maine, another of the King's bastards, to a daughter of the House of Condé. It was on that occasion that Madame, indignant with her son for consenting to such an alliance, boxed his ears when he approached to kiss her hand in the full assembly of the Court.* But Saint-Simon (who as a boy of seventeen witnessed the scene) had another, and, so to speak, a more *epic* reason for relating it. The results of those

* The Memoirs have it, 'En ce moment Madame lui applique un 'soufflet si sonore qu'il fut entendu de quelques pas,' &c. In the ruder language of his 'Addition' to Dangeau (vol. iv. p. 8.) Saint-Simon wrote, 'Mais au moment de lui prendre la main, *elle lui décocha* '*un soufflet à lui faire voir les chandelles.*' These variations of style pervade the whole work, but the first expression of the passage is frequently the more vigorous of the two.

ill-fated marriages—the never-ending struggle between the pretensions of the bastards of the King, whom it was his policy to intermarry with the junior branches of the Royal Family; and, above all, the personal hatred and rivalry of Maine and Orleans, which exploded twenty years afterwards on the King's death—are the *μυθος* of the book. These sources of an almost Theban hatred are inexhaustible. They mark the course of events. They mark still more the abhorrence of Saint-Simon for the illegitimate pretender and his indulgent affection for the Prince, who, with all his faults and vices, was at least not faithless to his early friend. Hence, in bringing the Duc de Chartres and the Duc du Maine thus abruptly on the scene in his second chapter, he at once rivets the attention of the reader on his principal personages. If this was an artifice of composition—and as such we regard it, for indeed the date of the marriage (1692) was anterior to the proper commencement of the Memoirs—it bears the stamp of maturity, and the passage was no doubt placed where it stands long after all the dire consequences of those ominous nuptials had unfolded themselves at the Court of France.

The death of his father, which occurred in 1693, at eighty-seven years of age, raised Saint-Simon to the highest rank in the peerage: he was then himself about eighteen; for it may here be noted that Claude de Rouvroy, the first duke, was born in 1606 under Henry IV., and his son, the subject of these remarks, lived till 1755, the two generations extending for very nearly a century and a half—a period as long, in our own history, as that from the reign of James I. to the reign of George III. The young duke, who was the King's godson, entered upon his father's offices and dignities, and displayed at once a maturity of character capable of holding them. Hence, he relates with complacency the contest for precedency in which he was engaged with the Luxemburgs (the Duc de Luxemburg having claimed precedence over sixteen other peers); and, as we have seen, he selected this specimen of his Notes for the judgment of the Abbé de Rancé. The specimen we should now say was ill-chosen, for to modern eyes the subject is uninteresting and the style cumbrous. But such as it is, it fills the greater part of four or five chapters.

A considerable portion of the year 1695 was spent by Saint-Simon with the army on the Rhine, and it is not till the commencement of the following year that the series of events becomes regular; and here we find him at once on the track of Dangeau. The following passage, though not of especial importance in itself, will serve to show with convenient brevity how the Memoirs were constructed upon this basis.

Dangeau relates, with his accustomed formality, that—

'On Sunday, 1st January, 1696, at Versailles, the King convoked the Chapter of the Knights of the Order before going to chapel, and announced his intention to confer the honour of knighthood on the Duc de Lanti, a Roman, who had long borne the arms of France, his wife being of the house of Tremoille-Noirmoutier, sister of the Duchesse de Bracciano. After the Chapter we marched to the chapel; the King took his seat and received the oath of the Bishop of Noyon, who has the place of the Archbishop of Paris. His Majesty then heard mass, and afterwards received the oath of the Comte de Guiscard, who was presented by the Marshal de Joyeuse and M. d'Aubigny. The cardinals at this ceremony had no stools, but sate on a bench like the other knights. The Cardinals d'Estrées and Fürstemberg were there. (*Dangeau*, tom. v. p. 340.)

Flat and uninteresting enough! Yet of Dangeau's thirty-seven folios this is not an unfair specimen. Now let us see how Saint-Simon lights up the horizon. At the name of Duc Lanti, he first writes a note, which is to be found in the 'Additions,' in the following terms:—

'Ce Duc Lanti est peu de chose. He took the name of La Rovere, because he had a mother who bore it, but those La Roveres were themselves peasants of Savona. It was a fisherman of that town or the environs who was father of Francis la Rovere who became pope in 1471, and reigned for fourteen years under the name of Sixtus IV. That maniac Julius II., elected in 1503, and pope for ten years, was the son of Sixtus' brother. They raised their family, into which fell the Duchy of Urbino and other great fiefs, by money and by great alliances which have reverted to the popes for the most part by usurpation. Cardinal d'Estrées got the Order for the Duc Lanti on account of the Duchesse de Bracciano, his sister-in-law, who was then very intimate with him, but who, becoming famous afterwards under the name of the Princesse des Ursins, quarrelled bitterly with him and his in Spain,' &c. (*Additions to Dangeau*, vol. v. p. 340.)

We now turn to the Memoirs themselves, where we find the same minute incidents and historical notes thus transformed:—

'The year 1696 began by a little mortification to persons who were not used to such things. The King gave the Order to M. de Noyon and to Guiscard, and at the ceremony the Cardinals d'Estrées and de Fürstemberg had only a bench like the other knights. Little by little these dignitaries, skilled in usurpation, and happy to turn it into right, had found means to get stools placed at the credence of the altar, as the Princes and the Royal Family have near the King, who at last thought it amiss and took them away. They swallowed it without a word.

'At the Chapter before the ceremony the King named the Duc Lanti of the Order, whose wife was the sister of the Duchesse de Bracciano*,

* M. Chéruel's edition has it, '*dont la sœur était femme de la*

and who served him well, herself and her friends. These Lantis are nothing at all. They have taken the name Della Rovere, because they had a mother who bore it, and these Roveres were themselves of the dregs of the people before their pontificate. Francis della Rovere, who was pope in 1481*, and reigned fourteen years under the name of Sixtus IV., was son of a fisherman in the neighbourhood of Savona, and that maniac Julius II., pope in 1503, and for ten years, was the son of his brother. They neglected nothing to raise their family by money, by alliances, by seditions, and by any other means. The Duchy of Urbino and other great fiefs fell to them, which for the most part have since reverted to the popes.' (*Saint-Simon, Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 300.)

It would be tedious to pursue this species of comparison any further; but every page of these vast collections might furnish similar examples. Dangeau supplies the simple fact, succinctly stated, with chronological accuracy; and we believe that Saint-Simon seldom names a person or relates an occurrence (except those personal to himself) which do not occur in Dangeau's Diaries; but he immediately amplifies the event. He breathes life into these dead figures. Dangeau tells us that the Cardinals sate on a bench, and not on stools. What matter? Saint-Simon barbs the trivial incident with the sting of a mortification inflicted by the King on these arrogant priests. Dangeau names Lanti as a Roman nobleman, who had borne the arms of France. Saint-Simon connects him in an instant with a pontifical family, vituperates a brace of popes, and has a side fling at the future Princesse des Ursins.

It may deserve to be noted that the Memoirs of Saint-Simon are not the memoirs of his life, nor did he ever intend that they should embrace the whole of that protracted period. They commence in 1695 with his entry into active life; they end in 1723 with the death of the Regent. The whole extent of them is therefore confined to twenty-eight years, although Saint-Simon lived thirty-two years after the event at which he brought them to a close. He was himself forty-eight years old at that date, and the rest of his life was spent in comparative retirement—in fact, but little is known of his later personal history. There is, however, a passage, now first published, at the termination of the series, which intimates that he proposed in some measure to continue it:—

'*Duchesse de Bracciano*,' but this is evidently a slip of the press: it should be '*dont la femme était sœur de la Duchesse Bracciano*;' the Addition previously quoted called him rightly 'sa belle sœur.' The passage is correctly printed in the earlier editions.

* The date was 1471, rightly given in the Additions, wrongly copied by Saint-Simon here.

'It is provoking,' he remarks, 'to lose sight of the principal personages whom one has been reading of, while one's curiosity is unsatisfied. That is what I wish to prevent if God gives me time. Not indeed so exactly as when I was in everything. Though Cardinal Fleury concealed from me nothing that I wished to know of foreign affairs, and also of some transactions of the Court, I took so little part and interest in them, that I have reason to fear this supplement to my Memoirs may be very languid, imperfect, and different from what I have hitherto written, but at least it will appear what became of the personages who have figured in the Memoirs, and this is all I propose to do, down to the death of Cardinal Fleury.' (*Saint-Simon*, vol. xx. p. 93.)

It is even now by no means certain that this design was not partly executed, for the miscellaneous papers of Saint-Simon, preserved in the Archives of the French Foreign Office, have never been thoroughly examined.

But although the Memoirs themselves are restricted to this comparatively limited period, yet they constantly awaken in Saint-Simon's inexhaustible memory traditions and reminiscences extending a century further back, and descending to the very time when he committed them to paper. Thus, in the narrative of the intrigue, in 1700, to enable the Abbé de Soubise to be received into the highly aristocratic Chapter of Strasbourg, in spite of a notable blemish in his escutcheon, Saint-Simon runs up with fatal precision to the great-grandmother of the reverend candidate, who was the daughter 'de 'ce cuisinier, auparavant marmiton, après portemanteau d'Henri 'IV., qui à force d'esprit, d'adresse, de le bien servir dans ses 'plaisirs, le servit dans ses affaires, devint M. de la Varenne, et 'fut compté le reste de ce règne.' Cardinal Fürstemberg, the uncle of Mme. de Dangeau, was mixed up in this affair, and, accordingly, Saint-Simon takes the opportunity to retrace the history of his family from 1635 down to 1739. This is one of the passages which demonstrate that the Memoirs must for the most part have been written after the later date.

A still more striking example occurs at the fifth chapter of the ninth volume of the present edition (anno 1711), where Saint-Simon relates the commencement of the Constitution *Unigenitus*,—

'So fatal to the Church and the State, so shameful to Rome, so mischievous to religion, so advantageous to the priests, the Sulpicians, the ultramontanes, the ignorant, the creatures of nothing, and especially to all sorts of knaves and scoundrels—the consequences of which, directed as much as possible on the pattern of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, have thrown everything into disorder, ignorance, deceit, and confusion, with a violence which still lasts,

under which the whole kingdom groans and trembles, and which, *after more than thirty years* of effrenate persecution, lays on all things and on all professions a weight ever more extensive and more insupportable. To understand what I have to say of an affair which so principally occupied all the rest of the reign of Louis XIV., *the minority of Louis XV., and all the reign, latent under the Duke (of Orleans), open since his fall, of Cardinal Fleury,* many things which are scattered in these Memoirs must be recalled to mind.' (*Saint-Simon,* vol. ix. p. 84.)

It is evident that this passage was written thirty years after the event to which it relates, and towards the middle of the eighteenth century; yet there is no reason to suppose that this or any similar passages have been intercalated in the manuscript. The same subject is briefly touched upon in one of the 'Additions' to Dangeau (1st March, 1711), in a note afterwards worked up by Saint-Simon into the passage we have just quoted.

In the general Introduction to the Memoirs which now stands prefixed to them, and which bears the date of June 1743, when Saint-Simon was sixty-eight years of age, he expressly states that 'to write the history of one's country and 'one's time, is to go over in the mind with much reflection all 'one has seen, touched, or known upon the stage of the 'world, and the diverse mechanism, often of very slight ac-'count, which has set in motion the springs of events of infinite 'consequence.' That was precisely the task Saint-Simon proposed to himself and accomplished. The work he has left us may not always be a work of contemporary history, but it bears the stamp of his full and mature judgment on the events of his early and middle life, as well as of notes made at the time.

When Saint-Simon relates events which cannot have fallen within his own knowledge, his testimony is, of course, infinitely less valuable, by all the rules of historical evidence, even though he generally quotes his authority. Of this sort of mistake his narrative of the death of Henrietta of England, Duchess of Orleans, and sister of Charles II., is a memorable example. Everybody knows that, within a few days of her return from Dover, in June 1670, where she had just negotiated a treaty between the two Crowns, this Princess suddenly fell ill, and died in ten hours. It was supposed she might have been poisoned in a glass of succory water: she herself thought so, and used some ominous words on her death-bed to Lord Montagu to that effect. Saint-Simon takes an opportunity, upon the death of her husband in 1701, to revert to this occurrence, which had taken place more than thirty years before, and five years before his own birth; and he says that 'no one

'doubted that Madame had been poisoned, *et même grossière-*
'*ment.*' He then proceeds to relate the motive of this crime, and the means by which it was committed by D'Effiat, Beuvron, and Brissac, friends of the Chevalier de Lorraine, and servants of the Duke, though acting without his direct knowledge. The story, as given by Saint-Simon, was related to him by M. Joly de Fleury, a magistrate; and that person had it from Brissac himself (*Saint-Simon*, tom. iii. p. 180.). Be this as it may, there is not a word of truth in it. Poison was no doubt suspected, both in England and France; but the despatch of M. de Lionne to M. Colbert, the French Ambassador in London, on the 1st of July, 1670*, demonstrates beyond all doubt that the Princess died from natural causes. The same statement is confirmed by Guy Patin, an unexceptionable medical witness. Her body was opened in the presence of both French and English surgeons, and of a hundred people; no indications whatever of poison were found. At the time when Saint-Simon asserted, apparently on the authority of others, that no one doubted the fact of the crime, several persons must have been alive who had positive evidence to the contrary.

We have then no doubt that the Memoirs were written in their definitive form in the last twenty-five years of Saint-Simon's life, after he had retired to La Ferté; and from the uniformity of the manuscript still in existence, it is impossible to doubt that the author did, with his own hand, perform the enormous task of revising and re-copying all he previously composed and collected, with such additions and variations as events subsequent to the time he was describing enabled him to make. It is also proved that, in the main, he used the Diaries of Dangeau as the basis of his narrative, from the names of persons, dates, and other incidents, arranged by himself in his indexes to that elaborate record. Yet we infer from the evidence already adduced that very considerable portions of the Memoirs existed in the form of notes, written at the time when the events to which they relate occurred, and that these materials were eventually melted down by the author into the form in which he has left them to us. We have positive proof that this was the case with those fragments which are now published as the 'Additions' to Dangeau; and although this laborious mode of composition would seem ill-fitted to Saint-Simon's impulsive style and genius, we are compelled to adopt the conclusion that it was the mode he pursued.

* Published in M. Mignet's Succession d'Espagne, vol. iii. p. 209.

We have entered at some length into these details, because they were not accessible until the recent publication of Dangeau's Journal, with Saint-Simon's Additions, and are therefore new even to the most assiduous readers of the Memoirs themselves. But before we take leave of the subject, we desire to place on record our estimate of the character of Saint-Simon himself; and to this purpose some pages shall now be devoted.

We desire it the more because, although much French criticism has recently been applied to Saint-Simon and his writings—although the French Academy has bestowed a prize on the remarkable Essays which we have quoted at the head of this paper—it appears to us that there is in France a disposition to underrate the true worth of Saint-Simon, and in some respects an inability to understand him. To such men as the recent editors of Dangeau, who write as if they were under the influence of personal resentment, the sarcastic eloquence of this great noble seems to proceed from the meanest passions of envy and malice: his scorn and vengeance on the King is the result of disappointed ambition; his passionate defence of all the privileges of his order is a puerile vanity attempting to dignify its most frivolous distinctions. The French of the present day look on Saint-Simon with mingled and inconsistent feelings. They are compelled to admit that the prodigious force and variety of his style raise him to the very highest rank in literature — as keen a wit as Molière, as fervent a Christian as Bossuet, as stern in his judgments as Tacitus, as fierce in his invectives as Juvenal. But these great powers were too often exercised at the expense of men and things dear to the national pride of France. He stripped the trappings from that idol of Versailles, who was adored by the Court and the nation during his lifetime, and after a brief interval was again canonised even by Voltaire as one of the glories of France: even at this hour, Frenchmen cannot bear to speak too lightly of Louis le Grand. Saint-Simon drew him as he lived. Selfish, narrow-minded, ignorant; jealous to excess of his own authority, yet played upon by priests and by women; alternately swayed by passions and by prejudices, but successfully masking the infirmities of his character under that majestic deportment which seemed to the slaves about him to partake of divinity. It was of Vendôme that Saint-Simon said, 'Il connait et abusa plus que personne 'de la bassesse des Français;' but that taunt at the weaker side of the national character rankles still; and it might be said, even under Napoleon III., that the same readiness to bow the knee before the pretensions of factitious greatness has survived a couple of centuries, nor is any race of men less able to stand

erect against the encroachments of power. These and similar reasons tend to render Saint-Simon not popular in France; his principles are out of date; and it may even be said that a knowledge of the past history of society in that country is becoming more rare, as with each succeeding generation the manners of the nation become more entirely dissimilar to the manners of their forefathers. Even before Saint-Simon had himself disappeared from the scene, he complained of the gross ignorance of his younger contemporaries, who did not so much as know how the Kings of France and Spain were related, or who was the father of the Regent Orleans! This 'abyss 'of darkness,' as he called it, has certainly not been dissipated in the succeeding century.

Saint-Simon was the last champion of aristocratic institutions in France; but it must be acknowledged that he contended for what had already ceased to exist. Aristocracy had already in his day collapsed into rank; and in place of the nobles who fought with Henry IV., who perished under Richelieu, and struggled against Mazarin, Saint-Simon found himself one of a flock of courtiers whose highest ambition was to light the King to his bed-room or to hold his shirt while he was dressing. Yet he believed that in presence of an absolute monarchical power, such as had arisen in France on the ruins of every other institution, nothing but an order of nobles, sufficiently protected by their privileges to be independent, could withstand the pernicious influence of the Crown. France has, since the Revolution, certainly lost the sense of what a class of great hereditary nobles may do for the cause of freedom. She has ceased to comprehend that, in contending against the Crown for their own privileges, they have, on a hundred occasions, covered and saved the privileges of the people. But at the time of which he wrote, the political principles of Saint-Simon may not untruly be compared to those of the Whig Peers of England in 1688. Saint-Simon may have been guilty of an anachronism; but Englishmen, at least, who owe so much of their liberties to the spirit and independence of the great Whig families of the last century, have no reason to convict him of absurdity.

Unhappily, his efforts were chiefly directed to puerile or sterile objects; and, in fact, in contending for the dignity of his order, he greatly overrated its importance. In his day, the old territorial peerage of France had ceased to exist. The Duc d'Uzès, then the oldest peer of the realm, owed his rank to Catherine de' Medici in 1572—scarcely a century before Saint-Simon's birth. His own father, Claude de Saint-Simon, had

earned the royal favour and eventually his peerage by no higher service than that of holding the King's second horse in the chace in such a manner that Louis XIII. could change his seat without dismounting. Such peers were the breath of a king's nostrils—all enriched by the Crown—all dependent on its pleasure: to raise such men to the rank of a House of Lords, holding a great position in the state, was an idle, though a noble, dream. Perhaps, however, even now we are led by the influence of subsequent events to underrate the true value of the French nobility in the eighteenth century. An ingenious writer, M. de Lavergne, has recently shown, by a careful investigation of the history of those Provincial Assemblies, which met just before the great convulsion of 1789, that in almost every part of France there were men of character, talent, and patriotism equal to their rank, qualified to take a part in public affairs; and undoubtedly the first National Assembly in France contained an extraordinary array of men of great ability, far superior in everything but the sad experience of democratic revolutions, to any Assembly which could now be convoked or returned in the same country. That which was most needed to restore the nobility of France to its proper position, and to enlist it in the cause of constitutional government, was freedom of debate and independence of position. In our judgment, the incapacity of France to preserve institutions favourable to liberty, arises chiefly from the absence of a class of men powerful enough to resist the insolence of the Crown and wise enough to resist the extravagance of the people. To that class of men Saint-Simon would have belonged.

. But the Duc de Saint-Simon, although his own life was prolonged until within thirty-four years of the French Revolution, belonged in character and principles to an age anterior to that of Louis XIV. He differed as essentially from his own contemporaries of the later years of that monarch, as the men who sate in the Long Parliament differed from the parasites of Charles II., or the plotters of the reign of Queen Anne. His nature was cast in a larger mould, and something of an heroic character mingled in all his thoughts: to use his own words, applied to his father, in him 'un reste de seigneurie palpitait 'encore.' His very language and style retain the archaic vigour of the earlier half of the seventeenth century, before boldness and originality of expression had been sacrificed to polish and precision. The profound reverence he never ceased to entertain for his parents extended itself to the objects of their affection and gratitude: to the close of his life he wore on his finger a miniature of Louis XIII. set in diamonds; in the chapel at La

Ferté a lamp never ceased to burn before the bust of that prince; and he solemnly observed the day of his death as an anniversary of grief, a hundred years after that event had taken place. Nurtured in these serious traditions, he appears never to have been a youth. His earliest pleasures were innocent, his earliest tastes were refined, and this in a dissolute age, when all the splendour of the Court did not eradicate the coarseness of sensuality—when the Princesses of the Blood had been known to borrow the pipes of the guard at their door to smoke tobacco, and the younger branches of the royal family were not unfrequently carried drunk to their beds. These amusements had no charm for M. de Saint-Simon. We have seen how he succeeded at eighteen to the honours of his family, and how he placed himself under the direction of the severest of monitors, the Abbé de Rancé of La Trappe. He then immediately sought to connect himself in marriage with the family of the Duc de Beauvilliers, as much from sympathy for the virtues of the father as from admiration of his child. But this young lady preferred to take the veil; and Saint-Simon married a daughter of the Maréchal de Lorges, not less remarkable for the same austere qualities. 'Her it was whom I preferred,' says he with exquisite simplicity, 'beyond all comparison, and with 'her I hoped to gain the happiness of my life, which it has 'solely and entirely been. As she became my wife, I shall 'abstain from saying more of her, than that she has been to me 'infinitely more than had been promised me by others or than 'I dared hope myself.' His domestic happiness was complete. In all the great emergencies of life Madame de Saint-Simon appears as his best counsellor and friend, and their union was constant and unbroken.

Amongst other sarcasms flung at Saint-Simon, it is still the fashion in France to say he was a Jansenist; and the term has not quite lost even now a sting of reproach. To the peculiar doctrines of that sect he was indifferent—he professed to be 'ni docte ni docteur'—and no one would have been less disposed to argue on the gifts of the Spirit or the mysteries of prevenient grace. But with no taste whatever for the subtleties of theological controversy, Saint-Simon was irresistibly drawn, by the purity of their lives and the Christian dignity of their characters, towards the men who professed strict opinions. He seems but once in his life to have had any direct intercourse with Fénélon, yet the portrait he has left us of that admirable being is of transcendent beauty; and he watched with the rapture of hope the influence the Archbishop of Cambrai had acquired over the young Duc de Bourgogne—that young Marcellus who

was to restore the monarchy to order, rectitude, and truth. So too he admired the simple dignity of the character of Vauban, and he lived as a son under the tutelary care of M. de Beauvilliers and M. de Chevreuse. Nor was this all. His affection for men suspected of Jansenist opinions was equalled by his hatred of their opponents. He detested that knot of Jesuits who, through Madame de Maintenon, had thrown their baleful influence over the kingdom. He resisted and denounced that constitution of the clergy by the Bull *Unigenitus*, which was the triumph of their art; he abhorred that desecration of the sacred shades of Port Royal, which was the triumph of their intolerance. No man can read these Memoirs without being struck by the unaffected piety of their author; no man can read them without feeling how widely the religion of Saint-Simon differed from the religion of the Court. The following passage, among a hundred others, may be taken to convey his judgment on these questions:—

'The quarrel (of the Jansenists) grew keener and more onerous to the Jesuits. Father Letellier took in it a double part. He was, as I have said before, a fervent man, whose God was his Molinism and the authority of his Company. He held good cards: a king, very ignorant of these things, who had never listened to anyone but the Jesuits and their fellows, supremely; full of his own authority, and persuaded that the Jansenists were hostile to it—anxious to be saved, but knowing nothing of religion, flattering himself that he might do penance on the backs of other men, especially on such men as the Huguenots and Jansenists, whom he supposed to be about the same thing and alike heretical; a king surrounded by people as ignorant and prejudiced as himself, or by courtiers or head valets who knew no more about it, or who thought only of their own fortunes; a clergy which had long been destroyed, and of late especially by the Bishop of Chartres, who had stuffed the episcopate with ignorant, unknown, low-bred fellows, who thought the pope a divinity, and held in abhorrence the maxims of the Church of France, because all antiquity was alien to them, and being creatures of a low origin themselves, they did not so much as know what the State was; a Parliament emasculated and tremulous, long accustomed to servitude, and even those in it who might have spoken obsequious as the first President Pelletier, or greedy of favours.' (*Saint-Simon*, tom. vii. p. 416.)

'Such were the means by which they dispersed those illustrious and holy recluses, whom study and devotion had assembled at Port Royal, who made those great disciples, and to whom Christians will ever owe those famous works, which have shed abroad so clear a light to distinguish truth from appearances, the necessary from the superficial, to enlighten faith, to kindle charity, to expand the heart of man, to guide his conduct, to hold up to him a faithful mirror, and to direct him between a just fear and a reasonable hope. To persecute these things to the bitter end, was what the devotion of

the King prescribed, and that of Madame de Maintenon, conformable to his own.'* (*Saint-Simon*, tom. xiii. p. 21.)

This language would have been applied to the King by no other man of that Court. To the high spirit of Louis in adversity, and to the dignity of his manners on all occasions, Saint-Simon does justice; but he had sounded and found wanting his capacity and his heart. 'Le Roi connaissait peu 'les lois de la nature et les mouvemens du cœur humain. Le 'Roi dont l'amitié n'allait pas jusqu'à la contrariété. C'était 'un homme uniquement personnel, et qui ne comptoit tous les 'autres, quels qu'ils fussent, que par rapport à soi. Sa dureté 'là-dessus était extrême . . .' How little Louis knew, amidst all that obsequious circle, which hand was to write his most enduring epitaph!

Two and twenty years of the life of Saint-Simon were spent at the Court—almost daily in the presence—of Louis XIV.; but they were spent in what, in the language of Princes, is called 'disgrace.' He was honoured with no distinction which could be withheld from him. If his wife received a mark of favour, it was rendered cutting and insolent by the exclusion of the husband. In the public service he was never employed by the King. It is not clear that he ever had more than three conversations with Louis; and two of these were at audiences granted on his own demand, for the purpose of self-defence. The splendour of those royal rays served but to cast a deeper shadow over the solitary apartment of Saint-Simon; yet, to borrow a metaphor from the practice of a modern art, it was within that dark veil that the scenes and figures of the Court were projected on a canvas destined to retain them for ever.

But, in one word, Saint-Simon remained, even in the midst of that servile flock, answerable to the call of their imperious master, a Man of Independence. Neither the favours nor the frowns of power turned him aside from the straight path, or

* Volumes have been written in all the languages of modern Europe on the majestic history and melancholy fate of the monastery of Port Royal—none more touching than the pages which first appeared in this Journal from the hand of a revered friend. But we have noticed with especial pleasure the last contribution to the annals of Port Royal by Mr. Charles Beard—a simple narrative, the more captivating from the absence of pretension, yet written with entire command of the French literary and social history of the seventeenth century. We know no other book which transports the English reader so completely into the midst of those romantic and touching scenes; and it has the additional merit of being written *virginibus puerisque*, which cannot often be said of French memoirs.

shook that self-respect which was his highest distinction. In early life he had served with gallantry in three campaigns, and the career of arms seemed naturally to open before him. But he was slighted in a promotion: he laid his case before Vauban and some other friends: they told him he had been ill-used, and he threw up his regiment, to the unmeasured surprise and displeasure of the King. To quit his service, on a plea of personal dignity, was an act which Louis had not the spirit or the generosity to forgive. At a later period, when the armies of the King, commanded by incapable generals and starved by incapable ministers, had entered upon their long course of humiliation and defeat, Saint-Simon laid a wager that Lille would not be relieved. When the story reached the King, it was represented as little short of treason for a man of Louis' own Court to bet against the fortunes and the flag of France. Saint-Simon had the courage to demand an audience, and, with the dignity and loyalty of an honest man, to tell the King his motives. They were not ungraciously received, for Louis was perhaps astonished to see one of those who surrounded his presence standing there erect before him. But they served not to remove the King's prepossessions and fears. From that day forth Saint-Simon was a marked man. He was supposed 'to have views;' he was known to utter caustic speeches; his searching eye, when he was silent, inspired as much terror as his tongue when he spoke. Even the passionate eagerness with which he defended the privileges of his order was unwelcome to the King, who cared for no privileges which were not badges of his own service. It was, moreover, the fate of Saint-Simon to enjoy the confidence and the affection of every one whom the Court most hated and feared—of the Duc d'Orleans, the antagonist of the Duc du Maine—of the men and women most suspected of Jansenist principles, and most known by the severity of their principles. Whatever of opposition could exist in the Court of Versailles centred in his person, and the King seems to have felt, with a keen presentiment of antipathy, that it would one day break forth to hold up his own foibles and vices to the contempt and execration of posterity. No doubt, characters of this stamp are guarded and fenced about with pride. Saint-Simon might have said with Pope—

> 'Yes, I am proud: I must be proud to see
> Men not afraid of God, afraid of me.'

But that pride is hallowed which restrains a man from low indulgences or base compliance. The light which glittered on the plumage and the tinsel of such men as Dangeau was all

reflected from the person of the King; the lustre which still surrounds the name of Saint-Simon shone from himself alone.

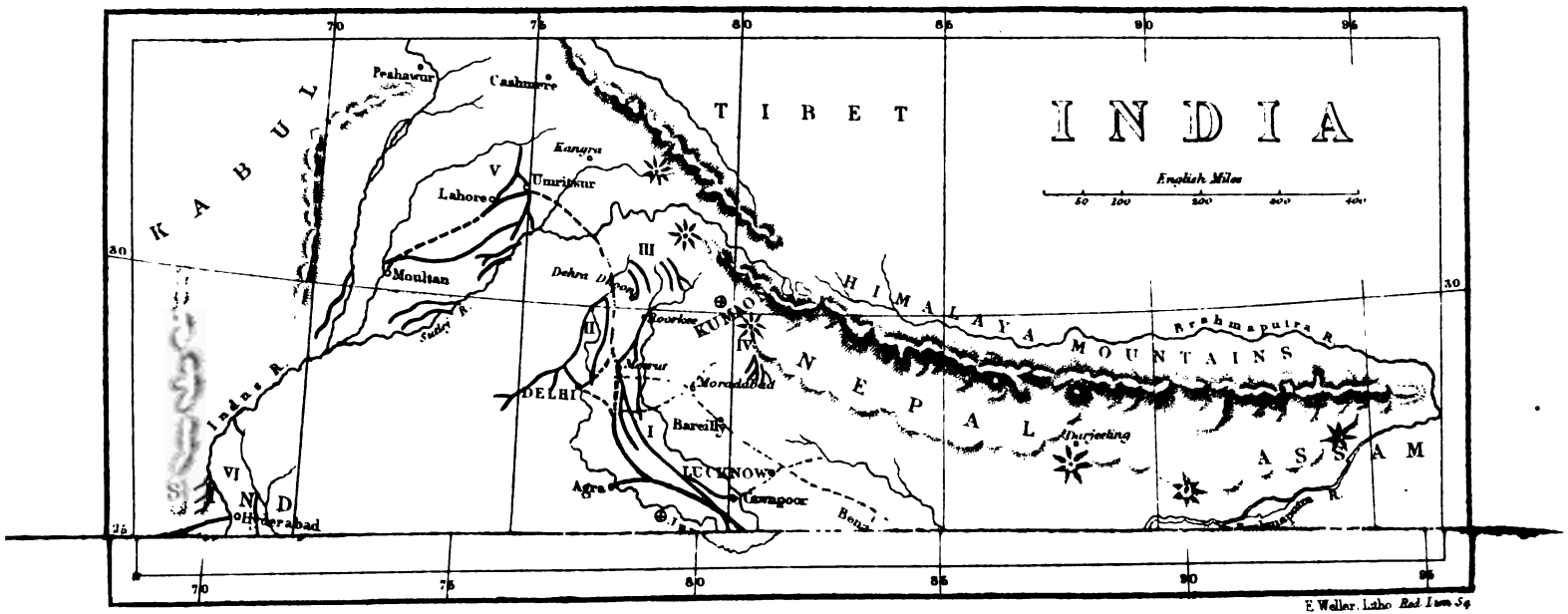
It has been said by writers of the present day that, after all, with great pretensions to political sagacity and knowledge of affairs, Saint-Simon was no statesman, and that the only official function he performed, even under the favour of the Regent, was a ceremonial embassy to Madrid. But Saint-Simon was one of those men who are content to make their influence felt on public affairs without assuming the credit of it. Viewing with horror and aversion the ruinous decline of the monarchy, and anticipating from afar its dissolution, if the course of events was not turned aside, he applied himself, in conjunction with the most illustrious of his friends, to form the political principles of the heir to the Crown, the young Duc de Bourgogne, whose natural ferocity and pride had been effectually subdued by the benign authority of Fénélon. Was there another man at the Court of Versailles who would have inculcated on the future sovereign of France that kings are made for their subjects, and not subjects for kings; who would, in 1710, have pointed to the States-General as the sole hope of the State; and have contended that the strength and security of the ruler lay in the constitutional limitation of his power? The death of that young Prince, under the most affecting circumstances, blighted a world of fair hopes and generous designs: perhaps it may be said that this event did at last cost the House of Bourbon its throne. Had it been otherwise, the principles of Saint-Simon might have governed France, and, with the changes that experience would have wrought in them, a lasting Constitution might have grown up in the French nation. But the Nemesis of the reign of Louis XIV. prevailed, and on the King's death the crown descended to a child, with such a Regent as the Duke of Orleans.

No man knew better than Saint-Simon the unutterable weakness and viciousness of that wretched being, for no man had struggled with equal boldness to combat his propensities and his errors. In spite of his faults, Saint-Simon loved him; and even during the dark and evil days of the Regency, he retained the confidence and respect of the Prince, though he opposed his policy and abhorred his associates. It was Saint-Simon who took the leading part in that memorable act of the Parliament of Paris which set aside the late King's will and crushed the pretensions of the Duc du Maine: that day, indeed, his vengeance was complete, and he does not dissemble the joy with which he triumphed in his hatred. But when Law and his system enriched the parasites of the Palais Royal, and prepared

the ruin of France, there was one man at least whose hands remained pure, who absolutely resisted the entreaties of the Regent to accept any part in the boundless treasures of the Mississippi adventure; and who, from the first, denounced these mad speculations as the dreams or the frauds of a charlatan. With equal firmness he opposed the abominable ascendancy of Dubois, who polluted the Roman purple; and he protested against the policy of the Regent in his alliance with George I. and his rupture with Spain. Never was a bolder remonstrance addressed to a Prince than when Saint-Simon reminded the Regent that in the event of the young King's death, and of a disputed succession, the pretensions of Philip V. were formidable, since the line of Anjou came before the line of Orleans, and it was not safe to trifle with the feelings of a nation accustomed to respect and obey the elder branch of its princes. 'Nay,' said he at last to his master, 'much as I am devoted to your per-'son, I know not whether, in the event of such a claim being 'preferred, I should myself be able to stand by you!' These are no common examples of political sagacity and courage; and although he did not publicly assume the direction of affairs, Saint-Simon hesitated not to tell the Duc de Noailles that assuredly no one but himself should be Prime Minister.

In the course of this voluminous narrative, there is one quality to which Saint-Simon does not lay claim—he admits that he has not the gift of impartiality; he acknowledges that he delights in men who are honest and true; that he scorns the scoundrels who abound in courts; and that he hates those who have done him harm. But he pleads that his sympathies are ever on the side of virtue, and against vice; and that his own affections and aversions have not been allowed unduly to sway his pen, or to impair the absolute purity of truth and justice.

'If ever these Memoirs see the light of day,' said their author, with a solemnity of manner which marks the concluding touches of his pen, 'I doubt not that they will excite "une prodigieuse révolte" [a word which may perhaps here be translated 'revulsion']. Everyone looks to his own, his own interests, his own claims, his own dreams, and nothing that is his own can suffer contradiction. One's love of truth is measured by one's favour, and truth has no favour for such things as these. Those who are well spoken of thank you not, for truth required it. Those, in greater numbers, who are not so spoken of, are the more furious as the evil is proved by facts; and at the time when I wrote, especially towards the end, everything was turning to decline, to confusion, to chaos, which has since only gone on to increase; and as these Memoirs breathe only order, rule, truth, fixed principles, and lay bare whatever is opposed to them, which reigns more and more with a most ignorant but absolute dominion, so



E. Weller. Litho Red Lion Sq.

London. Longman & Co.

the convulsion cannot fail to be general against this mirror of truth.' (*Saint-Simon*, tom. xx. p. 92.)

Were it not for his passionate sympathy with the good and his passionate hatred of the evil, Saint-Simon would not be one of the greatest of satirists; but it must be confessed that the charity which throws a veil over the follies and weaknesses of others was not among his virtues—nay, he disdained even to conceal his own. His work therefore remains not altogether free from inaccuracies, though these are marvellously infrequent—not coherent in form, or correct in style; but representing with masterly fidelity a large epoch of human history, illuminated by the power of genius and the love of truth. In the variety and force of his characters Saint-Simon is Shakspearean; and no drama can surpass in turbid grandeur the mingled scenes of comedy and grief which he drew from life. But of all the characters he has delineated none exceeds in interest his own; for it is that of a consummate gentleman, who remained pure when most men were corrupt, and erect when all men were prostrate.

ART. IV.—1. *Tea Cultivation, Cotton, and other Agricultural Experiments in India.* A Review by W. NASSAU LEES, LL.D.

2. *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on Railways in India for the year* 1862-63. By JULAND DANVERS, Esq.

3. *The Cauvery, Kistnah, and Godavery; being a Report of the Works constructed on these Rivers for the Irrigation of the Provinces of Tanjore, Guntoor, Masulipatam, and Rajahmundry, in the Presidency of Madras.* By R. BAIRD SMITH, Lieut.-Col. Bengal Engineers. London: 1856.

4. *Reports on the direct and indirect Effects of the Godavery and Krishna Annicuts in Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntoor, &c., and the Colesoon Annicuts in Tanjore and South Arcot.* Madras: 1858.

5. *Major-General Sir Arthur Cotton (late Chief Engineer in Madras) on Irrigation and Navigation, in connexion with the Finances of India. Address delivered to the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, May* 7th, 1863. London.

THE subject which we have undertaken to treat is so large and various, extending over so vast a territorial area, and embracing within its scope the condition and prospects of so

many millions of people, divided into numerous races and nations, differing widely from each other in language, in religion, and in all that constitutes character, that we cannot but despair of doing justice to it within the limits of a single article. But it is essential that England should know how fast her great dependency is growing, and how large a field is opened in that noble country, not, indeed, for colonisation in the ordinary sense of the term, but for the highly profitable employment of capital, and, in combination with such investments, for British intelligence and enterprise, in the forms especially of civil engineering, and in the direction and superintendence of skilled labour. Although room may be wanting in the following pages for even a sketch in outline of the whole of this immense field, we hope to be able to bring together such an amount of information in respect to the state of British India, as may not only be useful to those who are in a position to benefit both India and themselves by taking an active part in her progress, but will also be acceptable to the larger class who feel an unselfish interest in the civilisation, and enlightenment of distant countries committed to the guardianship of England.

We rejoice in the persuasion, that agencies—moral and physical—already actively at work, are propelling India in its progress at a rate rapid almost beyond precedent. And this progress is natural and healthy; not like that of Russia, at the opening of the eighteenth century, dragged along, struggling and recalcitrant, in the strong grasp of Peter the Great; but the effect of causes which, 'like rain upon the mown grass,' are acting gently and almost imperceptibly, as well as equably, upon the whole breadth of society. The onward march of civilisation is not more plainly denoted by the improved education and diminished prejudices of the wealthier classes, than it is by the larger profits of the ryot and the higher wages of the artisan, with the natural sequences of more wants and of greater efforts to gratify them. Colonel Baird Smith has borne unquestionable testimony to the energy and resources displayed by the agricultural classes of the North-western provinces in meeting the famine of 1859, as contrasted with the helplessness with which they succumbed to a like calamity in 1837. The extent to which the facilities for travelling afforded by the railways are taken advantage of by every class of the community, in all parts of India, must satisfy all who knew the people in former days, that the deep torpor of centuries is fast giving way before the quickening influences of science applied to the practical purposes of life. At last, the great driving-wheel of

progress has been fairly set in motion, and it demands but scanty powers of observation to see that society is moving onward at a pace almost Anglo-Saxon in its rapidity.

Holding these views, we shall endeavour to show what has been done and is doing by the instrumentality of the Government, of joint-stock companies, or of individuals, to bring into light and use the vast dormant wealth of India; to stimulate its agriculture, and enlarge its sphere; to infuse both energy and capital into the operations of its productive classes; and to open and increase, in a somewhat better proportion to the wants of the people, the means of intercommunication both by land and by water. Whatever may have been the condition of the country when the Mahomedan Empire was at its zenith under Akbar, it is certain that it rapidly declined during the long and miserable interval between the death of Aurungzebe and the establishment of British ascendancy, which may be dated from the defeat and death of Tippoo Sultan and the first great check given to the power of the Mahrattas, under the administration of Lord Wellesley. And even since that period, down to the close of the last Sikh war and the annexation of the Punjab, the rulers of British India have had but little time and thought to spare from the struggles of ambition or of self-defence and the constantly recurring anxieties of an exhausted exchequer, for the appreciation and supply of the material wants of their subjects and the cultivation of the useful arts.

Still something—however inadequate—was done during the second quarter of the century; and the marvellous energy of Lord Dalhousie, grasping and controlling every branch of the administration, and mastering the details of every department, was able, at the same time, to carry into execution two great and novel schemes of material improvement,—a system of trunk railways, connecting the three Presidencies with each other and with the principal centres of production and commerce, and the first exhibition in Asia of the magic powers of the Electric Telegraph. Then came the terrible catastrophe of the Sepoy mutiny, which, however great its sorrows and its bitterness, has done more, beyond all question, to dispel illusion, to quicken perception, to lift men's minds out of the wheel-ruts of custom, and to set them to work with fresh vigour upon new subject-matter, than could have been effected by any number of years of sleepy acquiescence in traditional modes of thought and action. It did for India, by a shorter and less widely painful process of awakening, what the Revolution of 1793 did for France.

This golden opportunity is the inheritance of the present

generation of Englishmen. Whatever the conquerors or administrators of India in earlier times may have to answer for, we are satisfied that the Mutiny of 1857 was in no manner or degree the consequence and retribution of civil misgovernment. It was the ferocious outbreak of a pampered and blindly trusted soldiery, not the insurrection of an oppressed and indignant people. As, then, this great moral thunderstorm has cleared the atmosphere, and done so much to render progress and improvement both easy and safe, let us press forward, without misgivings as to the past, in the path from which so many obstacles have happily—may we not say—Providentially—been removed for us; and take advantage of the freedom from enemies without, as well as from domestic troubles, which India is now enjoying, to win for her people—so entirely dependent upon us for good or evil—every trophy which we can secure by the victories of peace.

Happily, all that India needs beyond the essential elements of wise legislation and general good government, for the prompt and complete development of her vast natural resources,—namely, English capital, enterprise, and energy,—can be supplied with equal benefit to both countries. There is room in the wide regions of our great dependency for many men of capital, even for men of small capital, if its possession be combined with the qualities of mind and body essential to the successful fighting of the battle of life in a new land. And although we shrink from encouraging those who are not possessed of moderate means of independent support, or of friends in a position to receive them on their first arrival, to risk a voyage to India, in the mere hope of meeting with employment there, it is certain that there is a great and increasing demand for the services of young men of character and intelligence, as managers or superintendents of the many hundreds of plantations, works, and factories, which are growing in number and importance in every part of the country.

India is now thrown absolutely open to English enterprise. There is no obstacle, in law or practice, to as free an acquisition and tenure of land by all British subjects as are enjoyed by the natives of the country. It will be seen, when we come to treat upon the several articles of agricultural produce to which English industry and skill are especially directed, how easily and largely our adventurous fellow-countrymen can obtain possession of whatever land they stand in need of. As regards all land now waste, or which has been reclaimed from that condition within the last thirty or forty years, under leases from the Government, an absolute right of property in fee-simple may

be acquired on very moderate terms. We have recently learnt, on the first authority, that the land suited for tea, which is advertised for sale by auction in Assam (where there is great competition), during this winter, is not expected to sell at a higher price than 2*l.* per acre. The revenue assessed upon lands which are borne on the regular rentrolls of the several districts cannot, indeed, be redeemed, so as to give the proprietor an absolute fee-simple tenure of such an estate; but if the landholder thinks fit, he may deposit with the collector bonds of the Government yielding an interest equal in amount to the assessment upon such estate, and can thus relieve himself from all trouble and anxiety with respect to the payment of the revenue. It is not easy to see how a landowner taking advantage of this privilege is in a worse position than if he had sold the bonds, and had been allowed to redeem the revenue with the proceeds. Indeed, in one respect his condition is better, seeing that he may recall the bonds, at will, in the event of his finding a better use for his capital. On the other hand, the Government would not be damaged to the amount of a rupee by conceding the right to redeem in regard to all estates the revenue of which has been or may be fixed in perpetuity,—assuming, of course, that the price paid is sufficient to redeem an equivalent amount of the public debt. Therefore, believing that the high rate of interest normally ruling in India would effectually prevent any such excessive exercise of the privilege as might prove embarrassing to the Government, by filling its coffers with capital, to the diminution of its annual revenue, we are clearly of opinion that the right of redemption, alleged to be so much coveted, might—within the limits above specified—be safely and advantageously conceded.

The first essential to national prosperity and progress is a solvent exchequer. But the keen and somewhat angry controversies on questions of finance, which have recently inspired the public mind with a more than usual interest in Indian affairs, have relieved us from the necessity of dwelling at any length on this primary branch of our subject. After long years of chronic deficit,—a state of things, however, which is attributable in great measure to the practice, unknown elsewhere, of constructing important public works, and paying interest upon the hitherto unremunerative capital of great joint-stock companies out of current revenue,—India at last exhibits an undeniable and substantial surplus. This, amounting to 1,280,596*l.* in 1862–3, is estimated at 480,775*l.* in 1863–4, after the remission of 1 per cent. of the income tax, and a reduction of other taxes to a considerable extent. But

the real significance of such a result cannot be properly appreciated unless it be borne in mind that this sum of nearly half a million is the favourable balance of an account to which 4,700,500*l.* has been debited on account of Public Works, and 1,912,425*l.* on account of interest, &c., upon railway capital, in excess of receipts from traffic, or 6,612,915*l.* in the aggregate. And, if only the opium revenue do not fail, there seems to be a reasonable certainty that this state of national solvency may be established for years to come as the normal state of things, and that the income tax may be altogether removed at the close of the period for which it was originally imposed. Of course, these bright hopes are entirely dependent upon continued peace, and no less upon persistent economy. But the mention of that essential condition of financial prosperity compels us to add, that the happy state of things which now exists, and to which we look forward, is very far from being corroborative of the opinions of those who, when the finances of India were in the lowest abyss of deficiency, preached with so much warmth the doctrine that economy alone would be amply sufficient to restore the desired equilibrium between receipt and expenditure, and that new taxes of any sort, as conducing to discontent, and even to the probable renewal of disturbance, would be more likely to add to our expenditure than to increase our income. No less than 5,108,059*l.* of the revenue of 1863–4 is derived from taxes newly imposed, or from the additions made to old taxes; so that if the advice rashly tendered in 1860, by those not responsible for the consequences, had unhappily been followed, India would either have been compelled to abandon all her public works, or would still be labouring under the crushing effects of a deficiency so large, that any attempt to get rid of it by mere reduction of expenditure must have led directly to a mischievous crippling of the administration, if not—had danger threatened—to a perilous weakness in the sinews alike of war and of good government.

From revenue the transition to commerce is natural, and the broad view of the subject is highly satisfactory. During late years the exports from India of merchandise to all parts have gone on increasing, as the following statement shows, in a rapidly accelerating ratio: —

1841–42	1851–52	1861–62
£	£	£
13,885,218	19,879,254	34,894,767

We very much doubt whether the commercial annals of any other country, at any period of history, could exhibit so great an increase in the amount and value of exports, from a starting

point little short of fourteen millions, within the space of twenty years. It is easy, of course, to double small figures, but it is a very different thing to raise fourteen millions to thirty-five.

It has been said that the large value of the exports from India in 1861–62 is due rather to the very high price of cotton, than to any general growth of trade. There is a measure of truth, no doubt, in this inference; but the great misapprehension entertained as to the influence of the price of cotton upon general results, would seem to be due to the remarkable entry in the Returns published by the Board of Trade of 34,149,597*l.*, as the value of imports into the United Kingdom from India in the year 1862. We call these figures remarkable, because the Returns *from India* for the year 1861–2 exhibit only 34,894,766*l.*, as the value of the gross exports from that country *to all parts of the world*, of which no more than 17,388,146*l.* is stated to have been sent to the United Kingdom. We are well aware, of course, that the two periods do not tally, but we see no reason to believe that if the Indian Returns had, like those of the Board of Trade, embraced the whole of the year 1862, instead of stopping short at the 30th of April, the aggregate results would have differed very materially from those now exhibited. The only way in which we can account for the enormous difference between the two Returns is, that the Board of Trade must have estimated the cotton at double the value, at least, that was put upon it in India. If so, the fairness of the Indian Return is unquestionable. At any rate, this much is clear, that if our own imports from India in 1862 exceeded 34,000,000*l.*, the exports from India to all parts of the world, during that year (including some seven or eight millions sent to China in opium), must have approached, or even exceeded, fifty millions. So that, in either case, the argument against the correctness of Sir Charles Wood's statement, in his speech on the Indian budget, founded upon the Return of the Board of Trade, falls to the ground.

Within the last twenty-five years several articles of great commercial value have been added to the exports from India. Of these the chief are oil seeds, jute, wool, coffee, and tea; and the table annexed will show from how small a beginning the trade in these products has rapidly grown into importance.

VALUE OF EXPORTS.

	1842	1852	1862
	£	£	£
Oil seeds . .	2,377	501,420	1,197,469
Jute . . .	24,941	180,976	537,610
Wool . . .	77,591	100,612	400,342
Coffee . . .	74,957	84,306	462,380
Tea . . .	17,244	59,220	192,242

The case of oil seeds is peculiar. Up to the time of the Russian war, which shut out England from her accustomed source of supply, the increase of exportation, although large, appeared to have reached its limit, since during the three years ending with 1854 the value of the shipments had been stationary. In 1854 it was only 471,797*l.*, or somewhat less than in 1852. But the demand resulting from the exclusion of the supply from Russia raised the value in 1855 to 812,799*l.*, and in 1856 to 1,273,457*l.*, showing how capable India is of responding effectually even to a sudden call, backed by a sufficient price. The value of the export in 1862 is considerably below the average of the last seven years, which is 1,480,470.

Jute is exported only from Bengal; wool, principally from Bombay. The quantity exported in 1860 was somewhat greater than in 1862. But the most remarkable, as it promises to be the most valuable, of all the new articles of export from India, is tea. The circumstances under which the cultivation of this plant, and the manipulation of its leaves, were first brought about, in modern times at least, are very interesting, and well worthy of being placed upon record.

For several years after our acquisition of Assam, at the close of the first Burmese war, reports were rife that the tea-plant was to be found in that province, either of indigenous growth, or as the relic of a long-forgotten cultivation, at a period when the valley of the Brahmapootra was comparatively populous and civilised:— a state of things of which other traces remain in the shape of massive embankments, manifestly lines of high-road, but now overgrown with forest trees of the largest size.* In consequence of these reports, Lord William Bentinck appointed, in 1834, a committee (of which we believe that Sir Charles Trevelyan and Mr. Ross Mangles are the only survivors), to investigate the subject; and this committee reported, in December of that year, 'that the tea-shrub was, 'beyond all doubts, indigenous in Upper Assam; and that they 'were perfectly confident that the tea-plant which has been 'brought to light will be found capable, under proper manage-'ment, of being cultivated with complete success for commercial 'purposes.'

This discovery was followed up, both by a mission to China to procure plants, seeds, and skilled cultivators and manufacturers, and by the deputation of three scientific officers to

* When a plantation was being formed by the Company, adjacent to one of these raised roads, several brass guns of large calibre, and bearing very ancient dates, were dug up.

Assam, to examine not the tea-plants only, but also the soil and climate of the province. This was deemed essential, notwithstanding the certainty that the plants were already growing there, because an opinion was, at that time, strongly entertained (on the ground, it would seem, of some erroneous impressions regarding the climate of the tea-producing provinces of China), 'that a decided winter climate, of six weeks' or two 'months' duration, with frost as well as snow, was essential to 'ensure final success with really good sorts of tea.' Both expeditions were, on the whole, successful, although most of the Chinese plants and seeds (some of which were forwarded to Madras and the Himalayas, as well as to Assam), appear to have perished; for the cultivation by the skilled Chinese of the native shrubs, some of which were found of a size entitling them to be called trees, was prosecuted with considerable vigour at the cost of the Government; and the excitement produced by the appearance in London of the first batch of eight chests of Assam tea, in the year 1839, was such that the whole of it sold at prices varying from 16*s.* to 34*s.* per lb. Indeed, only one lot sold as low as 16*s.*, the average of the whole being 24*s.* 6*d.* per lb.

These, of course, were 'fancy' prices, consequent upon the strangeness of the appearance in the English market of tea from any other quarter than China. But the real and practical result of the novel importation was the formation of a company, under the title of 'the Assam Company,' having for its object the production of tea in that province. Among the first directors of this Company were several gentlemen of varied experience in the matter, and of great sagacity in business, such as Sir William Baynes, formerly chief of the East India Company's Factory at Canton, Mr. Thomas Weeding, and the late Mr. John Travers, so well known both in the political and the commercial circles of London.

This was the starting point of the present cultivation of tea in India. The Government transferred its gardens and establishments to the Tea Company on very liberal terms. But the management of its affairs in India was intrusted to reckless hands, its paid-up capital of 200,000*l.* was exhausted, and the directors in London were on the point of abandoning the concern in despair. At this crisis, after the shares of 20*l.* each had been sold in Calcutta for less than one rupee, and one hundred and fifty of them had been offered in London as a free gift to any one willing to take them with their responsibilities, a change greatly for the better took place in the administration of the concern in India; and

after a long and arduous struggle, the first dividend upon capital, the investment of which had commenced in 1839, was paid in 1852, and then at the rate of no more than 2½ per cent. per annum. Since that date, the progress of the Company, though very gradual in the first years of the series, has been uninterrupted; and the dividend paid this year was 12 per cent. The shares are now quoted in Calcutta, where their real value is best understood, at 58*l.* to 59*l.*

The crop of 1861 amounted to 933,850 lbs., and was sold for 86,080*l.*, 'after deducting the cost of lead, freight, marine 'and fire insurances, and sale charges.' The crop of 1862 is estimated at 1,031,717 lbs., and that of the current year at 1,050,241 lbs. The Company's new plantations in Cachar, the whole cost of forming which was defrayed out of the surplus profits of the gardens in Assam, yielded 49,008 lbs. of tea in 1862, and have since been sold for 60,000*l.* Seed was also sold in 1862 to the value of 14,000*l.*; and the proceeds from the same source this year are estimated at nearly 20,000*l.*

It will be readily believed that the Company had not many followers in the field of enterprise during the long years of poverty and disaster from 1839 to 1852. But when it emerged from that condition, or rather when it began, at a later period, to yield, at last, a somewhat adequate return for the capital invested, paying 8, 9, and 10 per cent., as it did in 1857, 1858, and 1859 respectively, with prospects of still better dividends,

'Applications for grants of land,' says Dr. Lees, 'now poured in, and were complied with by Government on the most liberal terms.' He proceeds:—'there are now in Assam 160 plantations, owned by sixty companies and individuals. The quantity of land appropriated to the cultivation of tea by the latest returns (July 1862), had reached the sum of 71,218 acres, 13,222 of which are actually under cultivation, bearing an estimated crop of 1,788,787 lbs. of tea.'

Nor has the adventure been confined to Assam. In the adjacent province of Cachar, where also the tea-plant has been found growing wild—

'Upwards of 68,149 acres have been leased to tea-planters; there are thirty-one working concerns; and though the experiment has a development of only six years, 6,077 acres have been brought under culture, the estimated crop of which for the year is 336,800 lbs. of manufactured tea.'

The tea of Cachar has been pronounced by London brokers to be 'quite equal in every respect to the best Assam.' At Darjeeling again—a hill station on the lowest range of the Himalayas, looking down on the northernmost point of the plains of

Bengal—8,762 acres have been brought under tea cultivation with seed from Assam; and the crop of 1862 was estimated at 78,244 lbs. Successful experiments have also been tried at Chittagong, in the extreme south-east of Bengal, and upon a larger scale in Sylhet, a district bordering on Cachar, where the prospects of planting are said to be very favourable.

Almost simultaneously with the commencement of operations in Assam, experimental gardens were laid out, by the direction of Government, on the skirts of the Himalayas in the North-western Provinces. Some of the plants and seeds brought from China by Mr. Gordon, during the administration of Lord William Bentinck, were despatched to that quarter. It is stated, however, that 'not a single seed germinated, and 'of the 20,000 seedlings, but 2,000 reached their destination 'alive.' But this small stock was so carefully nursed by Dr. Falconer, that with but little addition from China (we believe that no Assam seed has been tried in the North-west), he succeeded in making an effectual start in the cultivation; and nine Chinamen having been sent up from Assam to Kumaon in 1842, a small quantity of tea was manufactured in the autumn of that year, and was taken by Dr. Falconer himself to England.

This and other specimens of the same year's crop were reported by one eminent broker, as 'equal to the superior black 'tea generally sent as presents, and better, for the most part, 'than the China tea imported for mercantile purposes;' and by another, as being of 'a delicate fine flavour, and such as 'would command a ready sale here.' Indeed, the tea of the North-western Provinces, raised entirely, as we have stated, from Chinese seed, appears to have retained its character to this day, as being finer and more delicate in flavour than the produce of Assam.

'Having taken,' as they stated in a despatch to India, on the occasion of further consignments of small quantities of highly-approved tea from the same quarter, 'a deep interest in this 'subject, to which they attached great importance,' the Court of Directors deputed to China Mr. Fortune, a botanist of reputation, and specially acquainted with that country, to collect plants and seeds. That gentleman proceeded twice on this errand, bringing back with him not only a large stock of seeds and seedlings, all of which, we believe, were despatched to the North-west (the planters in Assam preferring to rely on the acclimated plant of that province), but a valuable fund of information regarding the culture and manufacture of tea in China. But the chief merit of the success that eventually crowned the experiment in the North-west, is due to Dr. Jameson, the

successor of Dr. Falconer as Superintendent of the Botanical Garden of the Government in that quarter, who devoted himself to the task, under great and repeated discouragement from various causes, with very rare intelligence, energy, and perseverance. Great credit appears to be due to the Government also, for the care that they have taken to prevent their experimental gardens from falling into the possession of a few monopolising speculators, and thus preserving in their own hands the means of supplying all cultivators alike with plants and seeds. The result of these measures is thus stated by Dr. Lees:—

'By a late return, I find that there were established at the end of last year in Kumuon 18, in the Deyrah Dhoon 25, in Gurhwal 3, at Simla 3, in the Kangra Valley 26, and at Kooloo 3, or a grand total of 78 *bonâ fide* tea-plantations. Of this number 37 are in the hands of European companies and individuals, and the remainder are worked by natives.'

This last is not the least encouraging and satisfactory feature of the case.

'Last year, 89 tons of tea-seed, and 2,400,000 seedlings, were distributed gratis to private planters from the government factories, and yet, though so immense the supply, it fell far short of the demand. Many indents sent in could not be complied with.'

So rapid are the strides with which this particular industry is advancing, that even since the preceding pages have been in type, the figures which we have quoted from Dr. Lees' volume have been outstripped by further progress. Instead of the area of tea-plantations in Assam being '71,218 acres, 13,222 of 'which are actually under cultivation,' it appears from later accounts that 'the aggregate area of all tea grants in Assam 'is close on 123,000 acres, of which upwards of 20,000 are 'under cultivation, the clearing last year amounting to 6,000 'acres.' Several pages in recent Calcutta Gazettes are filled with notices by the Government of lots of waste land to be put up for sale to the highest bidder above the upset price of 2 rupees 8 annas (5*s.*) per acre. The number of lots advertised in three of the divisions of Assam amount in the aggregate to 66, with an area of 54,371 acres; the size of the lots varying from 200 acres (with a single lot of 60 acres), to 3,000 acres.

There has been a like increase of cultivation and production both in Cachar and at Darjeeling. But it is in the North-western Provinces, and in the Punjab, that the rate of progress appears to be most remarkable. We wish that the space at our command would permit us to publish *in extenso* Dr. Jameson's

Report of the 8th of May last, in which, after stating and proving by statistics which may well be called marvellous, that the 'move is already a national one, and the part which it was neces-'sary for a great and powerful Government to play, is completed,' he recommends that the tea-plantations belonging to the Government in Kumaon and the Dehra Dhoon should be sold, in fee-simple, for the highest tender above the upset price which may be received before the 1st of April next, advertisements to this effect being issued in England as well as in India.* We understand that this proposal has been sanctioned, and that the same course will probably be followed in regard to the Government plantations in the Punjab. That at Paoree in Gurhwal has already been sold for 10,000*l.* Dr. Jameson proceeds: —

'In the home markets, teas, the produce of the Government factories in the North-western Provinces and the Punjab, are well known, but seldom seen. The sample about to be transmitted, consisting of 300 40-lb. chests, will show to London capitalists the kinds of tea capable of being produced, and will thus assist, along with advertisements, to attract attention to the plantations which are shortly to be thrown into the market.'

The assistance rendered by Dr. Jameson, acting under the liberal orders of the Government, to private planters, has by no means been confined to the free grant of seeds and seedlings. 'To many planters, both English and natives,' he states, 'expe-'rienced tea cultivators and tea manipulators have been given, 'and in every tea factory from Kumaon to Kangra, men 'educated in the Government factories are to be found.' In consequence, he adds, 'already many estates, raised entirely 'from plants and seeds supplied gratis from the Government 'plantations, have changed hands for large sums of money, as 'the Harbunswallah estate in the Dehra Dhoon for 50,000*l.*' It is stated also that four experienced men have been sent to Madras, for the instruction of planters in the Neilgherries.

The tea of India will not compete with the produce of China in the English market alone. Dr. Jameson tells us that a Cashmerian trader has recently bought 1,300 lbs. for transportation to Bokhara; and we understand that the manufacture of 'brick-tea,' for sale in Tartary, has been commenced. But all that has been done and is doing, is only a feeble foreshadowing of an enormous cultivation and trade. We are told that the

* The day of sale has since been postponed to the 1st of October 1864, in order to allow full time for capitalists in England to communicate with India, and to receive replies before they send in their tenders.

tea-plants are now thriving over 4·30 degrees of latitude and 80 degrees of longitude, a tract containing upwards of 35,000 square miles. Were all this area planted, and yielding only 100 lbs. per acre, the produce would amount to 930,000,000 lbs.; and Dr. Jameson tells us, that 'with high cultivation the figures 'might easily be doubled.' When moderately good tea can be sold at a low price, the consumption in India alone will be very great. And it is satisfactory to know that 'many fine planta-'tions have been formed by wealthy and intelligent natives.'

The value of the exports of tea from India has risen in the last twenty years in the following proportion:—

1842	1852	1862
£	£	£
17,244	59,220	192,242

But this statement by no means exhibits the full amount of production. The produce of the North-western Provinces commands so high a price upon the spot, that a very small proportion of the whole is exported, and the Assam Company sold last year 20,000 lbs. to the commissariat at Calcutta. But even thus, the exportation to England is increasing so fast, that 'the trade' have recently found it necessary to appoint distinct days for the public sales of Indian teas.

These are highly gratifying reports of progress in an industry novel to India, of great interest and importance; and after reading such statements we find it very difficult to believe that a Government which gave away twenty years ago its nursery plantations in Assam, to the first Company that presented itself with a capital sufficient to develope the experiment; which has granted so freely, year by year, tens of thousands of acres of land to tea-planters in Assam, Cachar, Darjeeling, and the North-western Provinces; and which distributed last year, gratuitously, seeds by the ton and seedlings by the million, can have been so persistently hostile to the prosecution by Englishmen of industrial enterprises in India, as it has been the fashion in some quarters to represent it. This much, at any rate, is evident, that there was no insuperable difficulty in obtaining large grants of waste land, in many parts of India at least, not only before the date of Lord Canning's celebrated resolution, but even in the days of the Court of Directors.

Whilst the valley of the Brahmapootra and the slopes of the lowest range of the Himalayas, from Darjeeling round to Kangra, are being clothed with tea-plantations, the cultivation of coffee has advanced with rapid strides in the highlands of

Southern India. The introduction of the plant is ascribed by tradition to a Mahomedan pilgrim, who brought seven berries of coffee from Mocha about two centuries ago, and planted them near his hermitage in the wild hills of Mysore. Whatever the origin of the culture, however, it is only of late years that the produce has become considerable. Up to 1837 the revenue was farmed out. In that year a new system was introduced, and an export duty of 2*s.* per maund of 28 lbs. was imposed. Under a gradual reduction of this duty to 6*d.* per maund, the produce has increased from an annual average of 15,238 maunds, to an average, during the twelve years ending with 1861, of 346,683 maunds. 'Together with the reduction 'of duties, regulations for taking up and holding coffee lands 'were adopted.' Colonel Onslow (to whose memorandum in Dr. Forbes Watson's catalogue of the Indian contributions to the International Exhibition of 1862 we are indebted for our information), proceeds—

'The plant is now extending over tens of thousands of acres in Coorg, the Wynaad district, the Neilgherry hills, and along the western Ghauts, north and south. In Mysore, the number of European coffee-planters has, within the last ten years, increased to twenty or thirty. The number of native planters is estimated between three and four thousand, and these numbers are fast increasing.' . . . . . 'This elevation' (from 3,500 to 4,000 feet above the sea) 'gives a pleasant climate, well suited to Europeans. During the south-west monsoon, the planter may be in his gardens all day long without oppression in the hottest weather; the thermometer in the house in these plantations rises no higher than 81° or 82° Fahrenheit. The whole of the coffee district, with here and there an exception of feverish spots, possesses a climate in which the European can live and work with comfort, and, with moderate care and prudence, throughout the whole year.

'Planting has of late years been carried to such an extent in Mysore, that but little available land remains. Those mountain and forest wastes have been turned into rich productive gardens. From being the most wild and desolate parts of Mysore, these districts have become very prosperous; and the people have been raised from poverty to comfort, and in many instances to wealth. The natives are benefiting largely by the capital and example of European planters, and are learning the science of planting.

'Mysore generally, especially the coffee districts, affords the most promising field for European capital and enterprise.'

If there be any truth in these statements, written by a gentleman of long practical experience—for Colonel Onslow held high office in Mysore for many years, and has been, since his retirement from the service, a joint owner of the principal and most prosperous coffee-plantation in that province—we must

say again that it is impossible to believe that waste land cannot be freely obtained in India for any purpose of agricultural enterprise. In a very recent despatch, the Commissioner (Mr. L. Bowring) states: 'The coffee grants may be numbered by 'thousands, and a very large number among these have been 'given to Europeans.'

The sites of the principal tea and coffee plantations are designated in the Map prefixed to this article.

There is another plant—compared with the growth of which, in India, even our tea-plantations are of ancient date—which promises to take a high place, in point of interest and value, among the products of that country. We refer to the Chinchona; but the narrative which we gave in our last Number of the means by which the seeds and seedlings of this health-giving tree have been transferred from its natural habitat on the slopes of the Andes to the Neilgherries and other sites in the hilly regions of India, and of the signal success of the experiment, renders it unnecessary that we should enlarge upon the subject.

From tea and coffee—from products which have sprung into existence in India within the second quarter of the present century, which have already outstripped the most sanguine expectations of the first adventurers, and which are yearly assuming larger proportions,—we turn to cotton, a plant indigenous to India, the original culture and manufacture of which are lost in the remotest antiquity, and with which she, at one time, supplied the world. After the paper on this subject published in our Number for April 1862, it cannot be necessary that we should again enter at length upon the vexed question of the supply of cotton from India. From the lips of men, not mere disciples, but very teachers in the school of the sternest political economy, have proceeded, under the stress of the cotton famine, sentiments and suggestions as wild and heterodox as any uttered during the heat of the corn-law controversy by the most violent and illogical of the farmer's friends. Reviewing in November last the prospects of the trade, in a letter to a newspaper, Mr. Cheetham wrote:—'Of India, 'I regret I cannot take so hopeful a view' (as of Egypt, Turkey, and Italy). 'As long as high prices prevail, she may 'furnish us with a considerable quantity of cotton; but when 'this stimulus is withdrawn, and the day of competition returns, 'as return it will, then will she descend, I fear, to her former 'subordinate position in the cotton markets of the world. This 'result will be owing to the inferiority of her staple, the im-'perfection of her agriculture, the ignorance of her ryots, the

'frauds of her middlemen, and the indifference of her rulers.' Mr. Cheetham may depend upon it that the ryots of India, ignorant as they may be, will continue to grow cotton as long as it is as profitable, at least, as other crops, and no longer. Would he have the Government, which he charges with indifference, interfere to compel the ryot to cultivate the less profitable crop? We entreat the keen men of Lancashire to bear in mind that India is not like the Southern States of America, a huge cotton farm, with a sparse population, fed principally, under normal circumstances, with imported food; but a country largely, and in some parts, very densely peopled, and raising not only cereals for its own consumption, but many other articles in demand both for use and enjoyment at home, and for exportation to all parts of the world, most of which pay both the grower and the merchant at least as well as cotton can be expected to pay, under ordinary circumstances, in years to come.

Already the intensity of the demand has induced strange devices to meet it, and has inflicted distress upon more than one class of the native community. Not only have the warehouses at Mirzapore and other marts of trade been emptied of their old and probably damaged stock, but all the rubbish that could be got together and screwed into bales, including even, it is said, the wadding of furniture, quilts, and cloaks, has been shipped to England: circumstances which will account, in some measure, for the complaints of the inferior quality of recent importations. The native spinners and weavers have thus been deprived of a sufficient quantity of the raw material for their own use, and are reduced in some parts of the country to extreme distress. But for a happy demand for labour upon railways and other public works, their sufferings would have been still more severe. The people of the northern and other more elevated parts of the country, whose dress and coverlets in the cold season are mainly composed of cotton fabrics quilted with cotton wool, have been put to very great inconvenience, to say the least, by the extremely high price to which an article of such prime necessity has risen. Thus the distress of Lancashire has reacted in more ways than one upon India. On the other hand, the profits made by those who have immediately furnished the supply to England have been enormous. We have been assured on the highest authority, that at Bombay alone these profits, added to what has been gained by the rise in the price of piece goods, have amounted, within the last year or eighteen months, to the almost incredible sum of from twenty to twenty-five millions sterling. In these gains the Parsee and Hindoo

merchants of that city have largely participated, and so, no doubt, have the various grades of middlemen in the interior. We trust that some drops from this full cup of profit have trickled down to the ryots.

For the future, we believe that if, as seems highly probable, an effective demand for Indian cotton is maintained for a moderate further period, the supply will not only be rapidly and largely increased, but—if the reaction of price be not very sudden and severe—will be permanently maintained. Earnest endeavours have been made both to improve the general quality of the produce, and to prevent the adulteration of that which is good. Legislation has been put in action for the last-mentioned end. Last season the crop failed in many parts of the country. By the latest account it appears that the prospects of the present year are much more favourable. Mr. Cheetham stated in his letter above quoted that the actual importation of 1862 had amounted to 1,072,000 bales; and he estimated the supplies of 1863 and 1864 at 1,200,000 bales, and 1,500,000 bales respectively. To the latter estimate, Mr. Ashworth added 50,000 bales. Although Mr. Cheetham desponds, we believe that even the larger expectation will be exceeded. In some of the districts of Madras, the cultivation, though not yet upon a very large scale, appears to have greatly increased; the number of acres under cotton being officially reported as 82,230, against 29,658 acres in 1862. As respects the Punjab, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Montgomery, after speaking of the hopeful prospects of flax*, adds, 'could some of our European capi-'talists connected with the cotton trade be induced, after the 'example set by the Belfast Association in regard to flax, to 'send out agents to this country capable of instructing the 'people, and authorised to give prices varying with the excel-'lence and cleanness of the cotton produced, two or three years 'would see a vast change effected.'

Upon one point a few words are necessary to disabuse the minds of those who have not given any special attention to the subject. Not Mr. Cheetham alone, but the spokesmen of the manufacturers in Parliament and elsewhere, have accused the Government of India of indifference to the wants of our great manufacture, or worse. The simple answer is, that while, with a single excep-

* We have lately seen an interesting memorandum in MS. on the 'Dæmia Extensa,' described as 'a perennial creeper growing in every 'hedge of the Dekhan and south of India,' and as yielding a fibre apparently equal in beauty and strength to flax. It is inferred from the imperfect experiments that were made, that the yield per acre of the plant, when carefully cultivated, would be very large.

tion, the Government has not found it necessary to advance a step beyond the bounds of its legitimate functions to promote any other industry, or to stimulate any other sort of production, it has spent far more thought, more time, and more money in the attempt to increase the growth and improve the quality of cotton, than has served to create the production of tea, and to launch that industry upon a career of unprecedented success. Even now, after the tea-planters of Assam have been left for more than twenty years to their own resources, and after that novel cultivation has spread spontaneously from that province to Cachar, Sylhet, and Darjeeling,—the Government is employing Dr. Forbes to manufacture gins in Dharwar to clean the American cotton, which has thriven greatly in that part of the country. According to the last accounts he was turning out these gins at the rate of eight a day, selling them at prime cost, for 30*l.* each, whilst he had upwards of 1,000 applications for them on the books of the factory, and fresh applications were being daily registered. And so eager was the demand for the article, that a body of native workmen had combined to supply an imitation of the machine, getting as much as 60*l.* or 70*l.* for immediate delivery. Both the American cotton and Dr. Forbes' gins are extending themselves into Mysore, beyond what was, till recently, supposed to be the extreme limit of the climate adapted to the New Orleans' seed; but gins are yet to be invented fitted to clean the native cotton, and we are told that a different gin will be required for each variety. We shall show presently what sums have been expended in roads during the two last years, mainly to facilitate the transport of cotton to the ports of shipment.

The cultivation of indigo was the first to which English enterprise was attracted in India. The plant is indigenous, as the name (corrupted from Indicum) implies; it is mentioned by both Pliny and Arrian; and 'in the seventeenth century,' says Dr. Royle, 'the consumption of indigo in Europe was so 'considerable, that the sale of woad was much diminished, and 'the use of indigo was prohibited by an Imperial edict, pub-'lished in 1654.' The East India Company imported it largely during the first century of their existence. But soon after that period the superior industry and skill in the manufacture of the Europeans settled in the West Indies and the low latitudes of the American continent, drove the East Indian drug almost altogether out of the market, in spite of the superior fitness of soil, or climate, or both, for its production, which subsequent experience has proved Bengal to possess. It was not

until about 1780 that the growth and manufacture of indigo were systematically undertaken in that province by English settlers, acting under the encouragement of the East India Company. On the 30th of May 1792, the Directors wrote, 'It affords us much pleasure to remark that the article, as to 'quality, is still increasing in reputation. It has already 'surpassed the American and French, and there is no doubt 'that, by perseverance and attention on the part of the planters, 'it will effectually rival the Spanish.' From that time the Bengal drug rapidly obtained the command—almost, indeed, the monopoly—of the trade, which has of late years been shared, in a minor degree, by the produce of other provinces of India; and although the manufacture has recently sustained a very serious, and to individuals, we fear, a ruinous check, in the districts where the plant has been longest and most profitably cultivated, we have no apprehension that India will lose the vantage ground which she recovered more than half a century ago.

Unhappily, however, the mischief resulting from the differences between the indigo-planters and the ryots, occasioning the check to which we have referred, has not been pecuniary alone. Much bad blood has been generated, and much irritating recrimination has ensued between classes whose kindly feelings each to the other are essential to the smooth working of so anomalous a state of things as the settlement of a handful of Englishmen among millions of natives; one half of the former class being the delegated rulers of the country, bound to administer even-handed justice between man and man, without respect of persons, and the other half keen and energetic traders and planters, proud of their Anglo-Saxon blood, and but ill-inclined to recognise in practice that equality with their native fellow-subjects in the eye of the law, which is the unquestionable theory of their position. In the quarrel between the planters and the ryots, there were great faults on both sides, faults congenial to their respective characters—high-handed assumption, and sometimes violence and oppression on the one side, and fraud and trickery on the other. Not that all the planters were wilful wrongdoers, far from it; many of them were eminently honest and benevolent men, kind and helpful in a hundred ways to the people about them. But among a large number of Englishmen, not a few of them very indifferently educated, living much alone, or with persons of the same pursuits and interests, impressed with an over-weening sense of their superiority to the natives, and out of the reach of any public opinion competent to control them, it cannot surprise us that

some, at least, should conduct themselves towards the inferior race with whom they had to deal as—to our shame be it confessed—so many Anglo-Saxons similarly situated, have behaved and are behaving in all quarters of the globe. And all the planters, good and bad alike, had, of necessity, to employ unscrupulous and extortionate native agents and accountants. These men ground and cheated the ryots without moderation or mercy. An Irishman, who knew his own country well, said in the House of Commons, that 'if you put one Irishman on a 'spit, you will never want another Irishman to turn him.' And this is emphatically true of Bengal. There the orders of the most reckless Englishman determined on taking the law into his own hands, would assuredly be overstepped by the outrages of his native servants. If the command were given to pull down a single recusant's hut, the execution might be expected to involve the wrecking, if not the burning, of a whole village.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the honest fair-dealing planter suffered great provocation. He made contracts, and advanced money for their execution, and then often saw the quasi-mortgaged fields planted with rice, or the indigo which he had paid for cut, carried away, and sold to a rival factory. But even this gross fraud on the part of the ryot was not without palliation. Unless under the constraint of the strongest moral principle, it is not in human nature to stand, as the losing party, to a one-sided bargain. In some parts of the country advantage was systematically taken of the ryots' necessities to tempt them to receive advances to grow indigo on terms which all the parties concerned well knew to be inadequate. Can we wonder that men with habits of thought and action, the growth of centuries of misrule and oppression, and of the worst of false religions, should have felt the obligation of such engagements a very light one; and having long since spent the advance, should be ready and happy to sell their mortgaged crop a second time for ready money?

The vital point at issue between the planters and the ryots was, in fact, conceded in favour of the latter, when Mr. W. F. Fergusson, the nominee and representative of the planters in the Indigo Commission, wrote in his minute dissenting from the report of the majority of that body, that 'the recent crisis, 'though accelerated by an unfounded belief on the part of the 'ryots that the Government was opposed to the cultivation 'of indigo, must have sooner or later occurred, owing to the 'disturbance which has taken place on the relative returns to 'the ryot from indigo, as compared with cereals and other

'cultivation; and the planters would have done well had they 'paid earlier attention to the above facts, and met the ryots 'with a more proportionate remuneration.'

It cannot surprise us that men paid less, year after year, for growing indigo than they could make by growing rice or any of twenty other crops—paid too, what they ostensibly got, through the itching palms of the native harpies whom we have described, and feeling conscious that they had long been thus wronged and defrauded—should have struggled passionately and often unscrupulously to get themselves quit of their trammels. Unhappily, the best and the worst among the planters suffered equally in this rural revolution. In some large tracts of country, the very name of indigo was hateful to the people. The planters, on the other hand, were not the men to succumb tamely to what, in some cases, was little less than ruin.*

Meanwhile nothing could be more violent and ill-judged than the tone for months together—when large districts of Lower Bengal were in imminent danger of being devastated by a jacquerie—of that portion of the press of Calcutta which assumed to be the organ of the whole non-official British community. They clamoured, at the same time, for a contract law, the gist of which was to render the ryot who failed to fulfil an engagement to deliver agricultural produce liable to punishment as a criminal; and they were so ignorant of the state of public opinion in England as to believe that the press, or Parliament, or both, would compel the Home Government to consent to deliver over the ryot, bound hand and foot, to grow indigo, on the planter's own terms. At the same time they charged the public servants of the Government holding office in the district where the contest was raging with the same bitter hostility against the independent planters as 'interlopers,' which had marked the earlier rule of the East India Company.

The charges against the Government and its servants that they regarded British settlers as 'interlopers,' to be discouraged and thwarted in all their pursuits, but especially in the ac-

* The dispute has, of late, passed into a new phase. As long as the ryots were willing to grow indigo, the planters — who were generally, in one form or other, their landlords — allowed them to hold their lands at rates of rents very low in relation to the value of the produce, and with much laxity as to the quantity of land held. Now, according to the old adage of 'malt and meal,' the planter, who cannot get the indigo, claims a higher rent for the actual number of acres in the possession of the ryot, and the High Court of Bengal has sanctioned the claim; but the contest upon the point in the Courts of Law threatens to be very long and obstinate.

quisition of land, by every process of vexatious interference, denial of justice, and partial favour shown to the natives, are, we are satisfied, utterly unfounded. Even before the close of the last century, whilst the Company still enjoyed a monopoly of trade with India, they liberally fostered the revival of the growth and manufacture of indigo by independent English planters. At a recent date the Government, both at home and abroad, has manifested the same spirit in regard to tea and coffee. As regards their servants, for the last fifty years every man of mark—every man, from Lord Metcalfe downwards, whose opinions were likely to have the least weight with his brethren—has earnestly desired, for the sake of the people of India, that Englishmen should be induced to settle in that country in the largest possible numbers. More than thirty years ago, before the law permitted Englishmen to hold land in India, we strongly urged the policy of throwing the door unreservedly open to all British subjects. That paper (in our Number for June, 1831) was written by a gentleman then, and for many years afterwards, a member of the Indian Civil Service. It is a mere figment—a cry got up for factious purposes, in order to sow jealousy and ill-will between classes whose cordial co-operation, as we have said, is essential to the well-being and progress of India—to represent the servants of the Government as opposed to the freest access of their fellow-countrymen to that land, and to their enjoyment of the fullest means and opportunities for the development of its resources, which it is in their power and within their province to afford. It is because they have refused to go beyond legitimate limits, and to show partial favour to Englishmen, to the injury of the natives whose property and rights they are bound to protect, that they have been charged with a wilful and malevolent leaning against their own countrymen. The natural bias is, assuredly, the other way; and those who know the terms of friendly intercourse and reciprocal hospitality on which the public officers in the interior of the country live with the planters of their respective districts, would be rather inclined to fear that the genial host, or pleasant fellow-sportsman, might obtain more than justice from the judge or the collector.

The great physical want of India is roads, using that term in a generic sense, as including all means of transit and communication, whether by land or by water. Roads are more needful even than irrigation, because increased production is comparatively of little value unless there be means of conveying the surplus to market. From the want of these means it has often happened that while grain was superabundant in one part of the

country, food has been at a famine price, and the people have been dying of hunger by hundreds or thousands in another district, within a few miles of the scene of plenty.

To supply this great want railways have been introduced, and the steamboats of joint-stock companies are plying, in place of vessels belonging to the Government, on some of the larger rivers. But we would now speak of railways, the lines of which, as planned by Lord Dalhousie, are shown by the accompanying Map. It has been asserted by some of those who labour under the strange hallucination that the Government of India, if it do not exert itself to thwart all enterprise, is, at all events, careful not to render the slightest assistance to British merchants or manufacturers, that the lines of these railways were determined with exclusive reference to political and military objects, and that the general wants of the people and the interests of commerce have been alike disregarded. The truth is, that while considerations of policy and strategy have not of course been overlooked, these trunk lines of railway have been studiously devised to link together all the capitals and all the principal sites of production, marts, and seaports in British India. One line obviates the chief difficulties of the navigation of the Lower Indus; another stretches from Calcutta to the Punjab, serving in its course all the great mercantile cities of Bengal and the North-western Provinces, including Agra and Delhi, while a branch brings the best coal of Bengal to Calcutta; a third connects the great cotton field of Central India and the coal measures of the Nerbudda (a river hopelessly unnavigable) with Bombay on the one hand, and with Mirzapore, the Ganges, and Calcutta on the other. A fourth will convey the coffee-planter to the foot of the Neilgherry hills. A fifth will render almost as much assistance to the tea-planter of Assam or Cachar. A sixth will place the enterprising adventurer from England within a moderate distance of all the most promising sites for settlement in the skirts of the Himalayas. A seventh runs from one of the best ports on the coast of Coromandel into the heart of the magnificently-watered plains of Tanjore, and of the best cotton field of Southern India. An eighth connects Calcutta with the Mutlah, a river much more easily and more safely navigable than the Hooghly. It would be impossible, indeed, to lay down a system of main trunk lines—for that was all that was attempted or was feasible—better adapted to subserve all the wants of the community. It was not probable, indeed, *à priori*, that a statesman with the experience of Lord Dalhousie should have anything

to learn in such a matter from those who have impugned his judgment.

The aggregate length of the ten lines, in respect to each of which the Government has engaged to pay a certain amount of interest upon the sums expended on its construction, is upwards of 4,700 miles. Of these, 2,560 miles are open for traffic. The line from Madras across the peninsula to Beypore, on the coast of Malabar, a length of 405 miles, is in operation throughout. On the East Indian Railway, which will connect Calcutta with Delhi, the still greater distance from the former city to Mirzapore (580 miles), may be traversed without a break. It was so traversed a few months ago by the late Governor-General, who stopped to examine and admire the bridge over the Saone (close to Arrah, so gallantly defended in the mutiny), 'almost twice 'the length of the railway bridge over the Thames at Charing 'Cross, consisting of twenty-seven iron girders of 150 feet 'each.' The works by which the Great Indian Peninsula line (now open from Bombay to Sholapore, a length of 295 miles) is carried up the Bhore Ghat, appear to be still more remarkable. 'In a distance of fifteen miles the railway climbs a 'height of 1,831 feet, the difficulties in its course being over-'come by such a series of cuttings, tunnels, viaducts, and em-'bankments, as is hardly to be found within the same space in 'any other work in the world.' The two greatest mountain works in Europe—the Giovi incline on the Turin and Genoa Railway, and the Simmering incline on the line from Vienna to Trieste—rise only 889 feet and 1,325 feet respectively. Besides the Saone, many rivers, such as from their breadth and from the volume and velocity of their waters in the rainy season, present far greater difficulties to the engineer than any of our quiet streams, have been successfully bridged. Within a few months the East Indian line will be finished to Delhi (1,144 miles), the only break being the bridge over the Jumna at Allahabad. In the same period, the railway from Bombay to Ahmedabad will be completed. The whole extent of railways opened in India will then amount to about 3,000 miles.

The aggregate capital of all the lines upon which the Government have guaranteed interest will amount to upwards of 60,000,000*l.*, of which nearly fifty millions have already been expended, besides about 1,500,000*l.* in the purchase of land by the Government. The interest — almost all at 5 per cent. — upon this large sum, coupled with what is termed the 'loss by exchange' (namely, the difference between the real value of the rupee at the present time, 2*s.*, and the 1*s.* 10*d.* at which the Government contracted to supply it in India for the

operations of the several companies, in exchange for monies paid into their home treasury), constitute, taken together, a very heavy present burden upon the finances of India. The weight of this burden will, however, be gradually reduced as the lines are opened, the traffic developed, and the net earnings approach the 5 per cent. on the capital guaranteed to the shareholders. It may be hoped, indeed, with regard to some of the lines at least, that the day is not very distant when they will not only pay the dividends of the current year, but will begin to repay to the Government, as stipulated, the interest advanced by it to the shareholders during the period of construction. When that time arrives, there will also be a gain by exchange to compensate for the present loss. Mr. Danvers calculates that 'the 'gross receipts necessary to earn the guaranteed interest, sup- 'posing that 50 per cent. is sufficient for maintenance and work- 'ing, would be 6,000,000*l.*, or about 1,300*l.* a mile a year, or 25*l.* 'per mile per week. Take, for example, the East Indian and 'the Great Indian Peninsula lines. The gross receipts of the 'East Indian, when the line is completed, should be about '36*l.*; the Great Indian Peninsula, about 25*l.* per mile per 'week, to yield 5 per cent. They are now both earning up- 'wards of 22*l.*, and are gradually increasing their receipts 'every month.' In the year ending on the 30th of June, 1862, the East Indian Railway carried, in the aggregate, on its two unconnected sections, 2,280,035, and the Great Indian Peninsula line 2,509,962 passengers. On all the lines in India, none of which were at that time completed, the number of passengers carried during the same year amounted to 6,484,338. And the numbers appear to be steadily and continuously increasing.

But, after all, the question whether the development of the traffic shall be rapid and decisive, or slow and unsatisfactory, must depend in a great measure upon the promptitude, sufficiency, and good judgment with which feeders shall be supplied to the trunk railways. For it is manifest, that ten lines—some of them though useful, very short—traversing a country comprising no less than 1,125,000 square miles, can serve immediately but a small portion of that vast area; and that as to goods especially, the means of bringing them to the lines at a moderate cost is an indispensable condition of their being brought there at all. Good roads are wanting in all parts of India; in that respect, and in works of irrigation, all that has been done by our Government (for the people do nothing), is still greatly out of proportion to the area and the population. But now, at last, roads converging on the stations

of the several railways must be made, if we would not render futile all the labour and all the vast sums of money which we have expended on those grand works. The best feeders, unquestionably, will be light and cheap railroads, where the amount of traffic to be served, added to the 'subvention' in land and money by which the Government is prepared to encourage such undertakings, are sufficient to warrant the necessary outlay. Our Map exhibits, marked in yellow, several important feeders of this character to the East Indian Railway, to which the Government have already granted liberal concessions. One of these projects of light railways is calculated to render such great local service, by transporting independently, and for long distances, the traffic of so large a tract of country, and of so many millions of people, that it can hardly be properly called a feeder. Yet it will, no doubt, very materially promote the interests of the East Indian line. It is intended to leave that railway at Meerut, and to join it again at Benares, passing through Moradabad, Bareilly, Shahjehanpore, Lucknow (with a branch from thence to Cawnpore), Fyzabad and Juanpore; thus affording accommodation to the agriculture and trade of what are, perhaps, the two finest and most productive provinces in India—Rohilcund and Oude. Similar works are in contemplation both in Madras and Bombay. Tramways, to be worked by animal power, come next in value; then metalled roads, fit for traffic at all seasons of the year, and sufficiently bridged; and, lastly, what are called in India 'fair weather roads,' which can be used by carts only in the season when the tracks are dry and the streams low. Very many roads of both descriptions have been laid out of late. It is difficult to distinguish in the memorandum before us, as published by the Government of India in the Gazette, 'showing what has been 'done during the last two years by the Public Works Depart-'ment to facilitate the transit of cotton to the ports of ship-'ment,' those roads which are intended to act as feeders to the several railways, from those which run directly from the interior to the coast, at Sedashcoghur, or elsewhere. The list manifestly comprises roads of both kinds. It appears from this statement, that in Madras 70,000*l.*, and in Bombay 170,000*l.*, have been expended on 1,400 and 1,000 miles of road respectively, of which, in the first case, 700 miles, and in the latter, 500 miles, were open for traffic in June last. In Bengal, and the several provinces subject to the Supreme Government (not including Burmah), 191,000*l.* had, in the same period, been expended upon 2,420 miles of road. Of Bengal, it is stated in the memorandum, 'there has been a

'considerable development of branch roads generally in this 'province, irrespective of those mentioned here.'

Before we enter upon the large subject of the progress made or making in works of inland navigation or irrigation, or intended to serve both purposes, it is necessary to clear away some misapprehensions, which appear to have taken considerable hold upon the public mind. Not satisfied with habitually contrasting our brief era with the many centuries of Hindoo and Mahomedan domination, it has been asserted by those who have found a strange delight in depreciating the labours of their fellow-countrymen in India, that the British Government has not only failed to execute new works, in which respect we are put to shame by the public spirit and benevolence of the ancient rulers of the land, but has allowed the canals and reservoirs dedicated to the public benefit by our predecessors, to be choked up or dilapidated by neglect. And it is assumed, for the purposes of disparagement, that all the ruin which has fallen in many parts of India on these prolific sources of agricultural prosperity, has been consummated, at least, if not altogether inflicted, during the comparatively brief period of British dominion.

Although so great a man as Burke set the example of using language of this sort, the charge is not, on that account, a whit the more true. But he had, at any rate, far more plausible ground for his denunciation, than those who have echoed his complaints in this generation. In his time, no doubt, the banks of the thousand tanks of the Carnatic were all broken down, the rains of the monsoon were running waste into the sea, and the English had neither repaired the breaches, nor inaugurated any great works of irrigation in their stead. Indeed, they had not had breathing time from their struggles for life or death, with the French and with Hyder Ali, to attend to any such matters. But though they had not restored the blessing, they as certainly had not inflicted the curse. The long agony of the breaking up of the great Mahomedan Empire, and the rise of the Mahrattas, who 'loved to have their hands in every man's dish,' and who swept the whole face of the land periodically with fire and sword, had effaced almost every vestige of the works of peace and comparative civilisation, long before the Company began to wield even delegated power. Hyder Ali and his more ruthless son completed in the South of India the ruin which the Mahrattas had begun. The British Government of Madras inherited only desolation. How matters stood in the North, the following facts will show.

The first Indian canal, made by Feroze Shah in 1358 to

water his favourite hunting-ground of Hissar, and improved by Akbar in 1597, had ceased to flow in 1707, and Hissar had relapsed into its original sterility. The Delhi Canal of Shah Jehan, constructed in 1626 by that eminent engineer and architect, Ali Murdan Khan, and which had been a blessing to the land for more than a century, had ceased to ward off famine from the ryot, and to afford a palatable beverage to the people of the imperial city (for the adjacent waters of the Jumna are impregnated with natron), in 1753. Bishop Heber tells us, in his delightful journal, how the inhabitants of Delhi went forth in crowds, when the good work of restoration was completed, to meet and crown with garlands the returning waters. What is now called the Eastern Jumna Canal, also constructed by Shah Jehan, if ever opened at all in his lifetime, or during the reigns of his Mahomedan successors, had run but for a very brief period. By the middle of the last century all the canals of the Mogul sovereigns had practically been destroyed. In every province of India, therefore, the English had to begin the work afresh; and the worst blame that can justly be imputed to them is, that engrossed by diplomacy and war, and by the ten thousand details of internal administration, they were unwisely tardy in turning their attention to a course of material improvement fraught with blessings to the people, and with an increase of willingly paid revenue to the State.

The first great work of irrigation undertaken by the British Government, and completed between the years 1808 and 1822, was the restoration of the Mogul canals mentioned above. Of these, the Eastern Jumna Canal, with 150 miles of main line and 500 miles of distributing channels, waters 160,000 acres. The Western Jumna Canal has a main channel of the far greater length of 445 miles, exclusive of distributing channels. The pastoral villages of Hissar depend entirely upon it for the means of watering their cattle, and it has given life and fertility to what was by nature a great sterile waste, the chief towns of which were found in 1807 to be literally without an inhabitant—depopulated by the combination of drought with chronic war, rapine, and misgovernment. In the terrible famine of 1837–38, the value of the crops saved by this canal was estimated at 1,462,000*l.*, giving food to the inhabitants of 500 villages. It irrigated at that time 212,241 acres.

To restore, extend, and improve these canals was a considerable operation, but it was the work of pigmies when compared with the Ganges Canal, a purely British design, the main channels of which extend to a length of 898½ miles, which receives at its head no less than 6,750 cubic feet of water per second, and

which had attached to it in May, 1862, 1,852 miles of distributing watercourses, besides many hundred miles of minor channels. A great authority from Lancashire, a member of the House of Commons, said that he was 'sick of hearing of 'the Ganges Canal, which, after all, was only a local work,'— its length being about the distance from John o'Groat's House to the Straits of Dover. We believe that no work of irrigation, in any country or in any age, will bear comparison with it, either in magnitude or in the extent of the benefits which it will bestow upon immense bodies of mankind. Sir Arthur Cotton may well call it 'a work of prodigious value and im-'portance,' for it is calculated to irrigate an area of 1,471,500 acres, and its beneficent waters will protect from the risk of famine a tract of country containing a population of no less than 6,500,000. It is estimated that, in the famine of 1860–61, 339,243,840 lbs. of grain were grown by means of the irrigation which it afforded; and a vast quantity of this produce was sent in boats by the canal towards distant famine-stricken districts. The number of villages supplied with water for irrigation is 3,483.

We shall return to speak of the Ganges Canal, with reference to Sir Arthur Cotton's criticisms on its plan and execution, after we have passed under review the great works in the Presidency of Madras, of which that distinguished officer is so justly proud. We omit — partly from want of space, and partly lest we should weary our readers with long details, filled with strange names — many and important works of irrigation, completed or under construction, in the Dehra Dhoon (fast becoming a sheet of tea-plantations), Rohilcund, Bundelcund, and in several parts of the Punjab. Speaking of these canals, the late lamented Colonel Baird Smith remarked:—'The works of 'irrigation are more likely, from their relation to the material 'prosperity of the country, and from their permanent nature, 'to perpetuate the memory of English dominion in India, than 'any others hitherto executed.' We trust that the iron roads which we are constructing, with the hundreds or thousands of ancillary means of transport with which they will assuredly be united, will be as useful and enduring monuments of British wisdom and beneficence as those works of irrigation towards which, as we rejoice to observe, the Government of India is directing its efforts, both immediately and through independent agency, with greatly increased energy.

The three old British provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa have had less attention paid to their means of irrigation, either by the British Government or by its predecessors, than any

other part of India, on account, probably, of the greater amount and certainty of rain-fall which they enjoy, and of their consequent comparative independence of artificial sources of supply. No such works were found, even in ruin, when we became masters of the country; and we did no more during the first century after Plassy than open two or three short canals, for purposes solely of navigation, in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta.

At last, however, public attention has been seriously directed towards the wants and the capabilities of the provinces above named in respect to works of irrigation. The Government, mistrusting its own power to do justice to all the countless calls upon its energies, has committed to the East Indian Irrigation Company, virtually the same as that similarly engaged at Madras, the difficult and important task of so effectually bridling, by an annicut or dam, the headlong current of the Mahanuddee, rushing into the Bay of Bengal at Cuttack, as at once to protect that town and the adjacent country from inundations which have heretofore proved most destructive, and to render the diverted waters available both for extensive irrigation and for connecting, by a navigable canal, the whole province of Orissa (of which Cuttack is the capital) with the Hooghly and Calcutta. It is still further contemplated to substitute a canal for a part of the course of the Mahanuddee which may at present be termed unnavigable, so as to open up the fine cotton-producing plateau of Chutteesghur, which is now almost inaccessible. These are grand and bold projects, all the more so because undertaken without any guarantee of interest from the Government; and we heartily wish the Company such a measure of success as shall be abundantly remunerative to itself, and shall confer, at the same time, the greatest practicable amount of benefit upon the people, to whom the Mahanuddee has hitherto been a terror and a curse. We hope that the undertaking may be highly profitable, not only because we know that it cannot prove so without adding far more largely to the prosperity of the great tract of country within its scope, but also that other capitalists may be thereby encouraged to engage in the construction of public works in India. At the same time, we consider it to be most desirable that, on account of their intimate connexion with the Land Revenue, works of irrigation should, as a general rule, be executed and managed by the officers of the Government. But anything is better than the old dog-in-the-manger system, which neither carried out such measures itself, nor allowed any one else to carry them out.

Another scheme has been broached, having for its object the irrigation of the large part of the province of Behar which lies south of the Ganges, by constructing a dam across the bed of the Saone, and otherwise storing the superabundant rainfall in the upper basins of that and of adjacent rivers, the execution of which, we understand, will probably be committed to the same Company. In this case, also, there are to be navigable channels, extending on the one side to Patna, if not to Calcutta, and on the other 'on a dead level for 170 miles to Allahabad.' This also is a scheme upon a very grand scale, so grand, indeed, that Colonel Dickens, who originally projected and very ably recommended it to the Government, calculated the total cost, if it were carried out in its integrity, at no less than 2,690,000*l.* Still, so large, fertile, and well-peopled is the tract of country which this scheme will benefit, that we have no doubt of financial success; and our only regret is, that it has not been undertaken directly by the Government.

We turn now to those noble works by which almost all the great rivers that water the Presidency of Madras have been compelled to stay their downward course into the Bay of Bengal, and to pay tribute at once, though by a different process, to the skill of the engineer and to the wants of the ryot. Although it is stated that, so long ago as 1792, Major Beatson laid before the Government of Madras a plan for constructing a weir, or annicut, across the river Krishna, in the district of Guntoor, with the view of 'providing means for 'raising two crops of rice where only one was raised before, 'and for the production of several important articles, such as 'sugar and indigo,' it was not until 1836 that the first project of that nature was actually carried out, and that not altogether by a new work, but by the restoration and improvement of a very ancient Hindoo scheme for retaining the bulk of the water of the Cauvery in that branch of the river which continues to bear the same name. The other branch is called the Coleroon. 'For many years,' it is stated, 'the bed of the Cauvery was 'found to be silting up, while that of the Coleroon was 'deepening, so that most of the water which was required for 'the irrigation of Tanjore escaped uselessly to the sea by the 'latter river.' It was to remedy this evil that Captain Cotton was employed, and learnt, we believe, his first lesson in the construction of great works of irrigation; and the success of the operation has been so complete that, mainly from that cause, the condition of the people of Tanjore, and, with that, the public revenue, have progressively and very greatly improved. When the district first fell into our hands, it yielded

no more than 300,000*l.*, while the revenue now amounts to 657,000*l.* per annum. We will not embroil ourselves with Sir Arthur Cotton by any attempt to determine what deductions should be made from this total increase of revenue, before the remainder can justly be set down to the exclusive credit of the water-works, for we believe that he lays claim to almost, if not quite, the sum total. But there can be no doubt that the great facilities of irrigation which Tanjore enjoys have converted the province into one great garden — Colonel Baird Smith called it 'literally the Lombardy of Southern India'— and have given a largely enhanced value to the landed tenures of the owners or occupiers of the soil. In what estimation the annicut is held by the people in general may best, perhaps, be told in the language of Mr. Kindersley, who was the Collector at the period of its construction. He says, 'There is not an 'individual in the province who does not consider it the greatest 'blessing that has ever been conferred upon it, and I have not 'the smallest doubt that the name of its projector will, in 'Tanjore, survive those of all Europeans who have ever been 'connected with it.' Colonel Baird Smith bears testimony to the same effect, saying, 'that here at least we have stamped our 'mark for good, deep on the face of the land, and the condition 'of the people.'

If Sir Arthur Cotton, like other great men, has suffered from detraction, we can bear witness, founded on the many authorities to which it has been our duty to refer, that, on the other hand, no contributions to the public weal have been more highly appreciated than his. He must forgive us when we say that if he had been more moderate in his claims on behalf of water, as the sole source of private wealth and of public revenue, critics of his works and writings would not, we believe, have been induced to make such large deductions from its universally acknowledged potency. Extreme demands generate extreme resistance to them. Water, combined with the sun of the tropics, is a mighty agent of production; but, after all, moderation in fiscal demands, a generally improved administration, and a great rise in the price of all produce, have something to do with agricultural prosperity. As regards the rise in prices, for example, whilst the water, no doubt, has acted largely to increase the amount of production, it is absurd to ignore such facts as that, while in 1846 the cost of a bag of oil-seeds in the districts watered by the Godavery and the Krishna was from Rs. 2½ to 3, and there was scarcely any export, the price of late years, owing to a great demand from France (where much of the oil called colza is expressed from these seeds), has risen to an

average of about Rs. 8, and many hundred thousand bags are annually exported. In like manner, the new demand in England for rice from the same quarter for the manufacture of starch, cannot be attributed to the annicuts, though, no doubt, the abundant and certain supply of water has enabled the ryot to grow much more rice than heretofore. The simple truth is that several causes have combined to produce the happy effects which Sir Arthur Cotton, with the fondness of parental affection, ascribes exclusively to his darling child. But he must be satisfied, on consideration, that if the oil-seeds and surplus rice could not have been produced without the water, they must have rotted where they grew but for that external demand which the water had certainly no share in creating. For the rest, the services of Sir Arthur Cotton to the Government and people of Madras—services which he is now extending to Bengal—have been so great, that he can well afford to assume higher ground than he has taken in his pamphlets and in much of his official correspondence; to acknowledge that concurrent circumstances have added something considerable to the value of his water to the agriculturist; and to rest satisfied with the almost universal testimony borne by all competent and impartial judges to the benefits and blessings which he has conferred upon millions of his fellow-creatures.

The Krishna Annicut was begun in 1853, and is intended to serve 350,000 acres. In 1862, 133,212 acres were actually irrigated by means of this work, of which 101,868 acres had been converted from dry into watered land. This great work was planned, we believe, by Colonel A. Lake, of Kars, under the immediate supervision of Sir Arthur Cotton; and there appears to be no reason to doubt that it will amply fulfil all reasonable expectations of its efficiency for good; though we cannot raise our hopes in respect to revenue so high as Colonel Lake's estimate of August 1847, namely, an increase of 400,000*l.* per annum, in the two districts of Guntoor and Masalipatam, between which the works distribute the waters of the Krishna. It will certainly effectually prevent the recurrence of such fearful calamities as those which followed the drought of 1833, when, according to Colonel Baird Smith, 'not fewer than 200,000 people perished, either from hunger 'or under the virulent fever that followed in the train of the 'famine;' and the joint loss of the community and the Government amounted to no less than 2,500,000*l.*

We now come to the last and greatest work of Sir Arthur Cotton in Madras, the annicut which controls the waters of the river Godavery; the work, too, regarding which the con-

troversies have been most frequent and most bitter, owing, as we believe, mainly, if not entirely, first, to the unduly high estimate formed by that officer of the effects of irrigation from the new works, without considering that a great part of the delta was already enjoying great benefit, though uncertainly, from the natural supply of water; and, secondly, to his uncompromising ascription of all improvement to the one great cause—the annicut.

Still, enough of the purest glory redounds to Sir Arthur Cotton, from this great achievement, to satisfy any moderate ambition, even if he had done nothing else, and would do nothing more. This is the language in which, at a period before the construction of the annicut, the state of Rajahmundry, the district principally served by that work, is spoken of by the Public Works Commissioners; and the passage is quoted, without a hint of dissent, by Mr. Goldingham, a member of the Board of Revenue, with whom Sir Arthur Cotton had some of his fiercest passages of arms. 'While 'Tanjore, under the beneficial effects of the lately constructed 'annicuts, was paying with ease a revenue of 45 lacs '(450,000*l.*), and annually increasing in wealth, Rajahmundry, 'of similar extent, with a far more fertile soil, and inferior in 'no one natural advantage, was paying with extreme difficulty 'a revenue of 19 lacs (190,000*l.*), and its people were in the 'lowest state of poverty.' We find now, that while the districts watered by the annicuts on the Krishna and the Godavery yielded, in 1846, an aggregate revenue of 470,000*l.*, they paid to the exchequer in 1861–2 no less than 820,500*l.* And there is every indication that the condition of the people is improving in at least a corresponding ratio.

But it must not be supposed that the increase of production and the flourishing condition of the revenue in ordinary years are the sole fruits of these magnificent waterworks. Magnificent they may well be called, for the length of the weir that bridles the Godavery is 4,200 yards. They may be said to be absolute preventives of famine, heretofore the most frightful scourge of India, in those seasons, of not unfrequent occurrence, when the rain-fall in the plains is greatly below the average. They are, at the same time, an almost equally effective safeguard against inundations, which in former times too often devastated the deltas of the great rivers of Madras. Mr. G. H. Taylor, the able sub-collector of Rajahmundry, whose large and liberal views do him great credit, after speaking of two very disastrous floods of former years, adds, 'With 'the effects of previous floods before us, it is not too much to

'say that the inundation of the past year, which exceeded both 'the previous ones in volume, if not in duration, would have 'reduced the revenue 10 or 15 per cent., and caused an amount 'of damage which would have completely dispirited the people, 'and from the effects of which it would have taken long years 'to recover.' This immunity from loss he attributes entirely to the annicuts, and thus these works not merely increase the revenue, but render it stable and certain. Again, the main channels afford great facilities for navigation, and for the transport of the increased produce to the ports of shipment. To this, also, Mr. Taylor bears testimony, at an early period after the completion of the weir itself, stating, 'the importance of 'the navigation is attested by the eagerness with which the 'people already avail themselves of the water-carriage within 'their reach.' General Cotton assures us that the boats on the principal canal have increased from 750 in 1851, to 15,000 in 1860, and adds that, 'the latter boats were of more than 'double the tonnage of the first ones.' Lastly, Mr. Taylor writes: 'I have not yet alluded to the new and abundant 'supply of river-water for men and cattle, which is now con- 'veyed to villages where the want of it was before severely 'felt, and which has contributed so largely to the comfort and 'happiness of thousands of the people. This blessing can 'only be properly estimated by those who have benefited by 'the change, and I can testify that by them, at all events, it 'is fully and gratefully appreciated.'

As in the case of the North-western Provinces and the Punjab, we pass over without special notice many minor works of great local utility; amongst others, the West Coast Canal (of navigation), the primary object of which is to connect the port of Cochin with the western terminus of the Madras Railway, at Beypore; it will also assist the general traffic of a long line of coast.

We wish that we could speak with satisfaction of the progress that has been made in opening the navigation of the Godavery, in order to fit it to carry down to the sea the produce, and especially the cotton, of Central India. We should be still better pleased if we could feel satisfied that the advantages of the work, when achieved, would be commensurate with the labour and cost of its execution. For although the upper waters of the river flow through well-peopled and fertile districts, the greater part of its course lies through regions of a very different character; and it seems very doubtful whether the railway from Bombay to Nagpore, now in course of construction, will not prove a better outlet than the Godavery for

the produce of Berar. Still, no doubt, the opening of the river is an important object, if it can be effected at a moderate expense.

A joint-stock association, under the title of 'The Madras 'Irrigation and Canal Company,' appears to be making satisfactory progress with its works. The original scheme, undertaken with the concurrence of the Government, which guarantees interest at five per cent. upon one million of the capital, was to make a canal from the Toombudra River, which is an affluent of the Krishna, by Kurnoul and Cuddapah, to the East Coast Canal near Nellore, for purposes both of irrigation and navigation. The length of the main line, from a point twelve miles above Kurnoul to the coast, was to be about 300 miles. It is now, however, intended to place the head of the works in the district of Bellary, higher up the river, adding by this and other extensions to the plan a second million to the estimated cost of its execution, which has been subscribed, in reliance mainly upon the great ability and experience of Sir Arthur Cotton as an hydraulic engineer, without any guarantee. We believe that part of Kurnoul is already irrigated from this canal, which is a work calculated to be very greatly useful throughout its long course. The only misgiving that we have upon that point is, whether the supply of water will be found sufficient to answer both the contemplated purposes of the undertaking. Indeed, *pace* Sir Arthur Cotton—we venture to express an opinion, with reference both to this scheme and to the Ganges Canal, that the practicability of combining efficient irrigation with facile and perennial navigation on canals of great length, carried through a country of any but the easiest slopes, is a problem yet to be solved. We apprehend that in dry seasons at least, when the demand for irrigation will be at its maximum, the boats will be very liable to be stopped for want of water to float them; and that it will be only when water is not needed in the fields, that it will be found in sufficient quantity in the canal.

We now return, as we proposed, to notice the remarks of Sir Arthur Cotton, at pages 23—27. of his pamphlet, upon the plan and execution of the Ganges Canal; and as we have not failed to state how highly we estimate the signal services rendered to the State and people of India by that very eminent engineer, we shall not shrink, on the other hand, from pointing out with equal frankness the injustice of some of his criticisms upon the great work of a fellow-labourer in the same field of public usefulness, as zealous and as well-deserving as himself. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. We have not the

faintest suspicion that General Cotton's injustice is wilful, nor that he has been actuated in any of his remarks by a feeling of jealousy towards Sir Proby Cautley, unworthy of his high character. On the contrary, we are persuaded that the errors into which he has fallen in his estimate of the fitness of the Ganges Canal for the purposes which it was intended to fulfil, have resulted solely from his long and exclusive acquaintance with water-works constructed under essentially different natural conditions; so that his very experience has misled him to look at the great work of the North-west from a purely Madras point of view, and to make no sufficient allowance for difficulties with which he has never had to contend. He has, in fact, failed, throughout his strictures on the Ganges Canal, to bear in mind that while the engineer operating at Madras has to deal with the deltas of rivers, and, however large the volume of water, with moderate slopes, his brother officer in the North-western Provinces has to handle the great rivers at points where they debouch from the Himalayas, not with large bodies of water only, but with the impetuosity of mountain torrents, and with very severe slopes in their further downward course. In the North-west, the contest is with the heads, and at Madras with the tails, of some of the largest rivers of India.

At page 24. General Cotton remarks:—'There has been, 'undoubtedly, a far greater expenditure upon it (the Ganges 'Canal) than there needed to have been;' and at page 26., 'The current is too strong.' Now, seeing that the rapid slope of the country down which the canal had to be carried was a condition precedent of the undertaking, from which it was impossible to escape, it must be evident, even to those who are not engineers, that the strength of the current could be reduced only by artificial means — by giving the canal greater width, and more weirs and locks — and that these additional works must necessarily have enhanced the cost of construction, complained of as already excessive.

In truth, Sir Arthur Cotton appears to have forgotten that the canals in the North-west are, in fact, artificial rivers, carrying large bodies of water, and not canals in the sense understood in England, and we apprehend also in Madras, where, in one instance, at least (that of the Godavery), according to Colonel Baird Smith, 'the effective fall of the bed, taking the entire 'length of the river channel into account, is not more than 'from four to five inches per mile.'

General Cotton goes on to remark—

'One grand mistake was the excavating the whole section of the water-way, so as to carry all the water below the surface. This was

entirely owing to the medical men. . . . . Had only so much earth been excavated as would have made the embankments, and the principal part of the water been carried above the level of the ground, about two-thirds of the cost of excavation would have been saved. . . . . .'

Here Sir Arthur Cotton labours under a misapprehension of fact. The whole section was not excavated below the surface. Nor did the excavation as it exists depend altogether on the medical men. The experience of the Bengal engineers, derived principally from what they had seen in the Eastern Jumna Canal, had shown them that a running stream demands a certain hold on the soil; and that the water cannot be run in the main canal on high levels, and within raised embankments, without great liability to accidents of a very serious nature. It should be remembered also, that the Ganges Canal is a work extending from 29° 37′ to 26° 29′ north latitude, in a line of 370 miles, exclusive of branches. The country which it traverses is subject to extraordinary drought during the months preceding the rains, which commence at the end of June. It is subject, also, to very heavy rain-falls during the rainy months; and, as may be expected in so many degrees of latitude, the falls of rain are at times exceedingly capricious, leading to sudden overwhelming accumulations of water in the channel, at this or that point of its course, both from the rain-fall itself, and from a cessation of irrigation in those districts which the rain has sufficiently supplied. The Ganges, which is the only source of supply to the canal, is frequently, during the early months of the year, after the snow melts in the Himalayas, and again during the rains (when the volume of water pouring out of the mountains becomes a vast cataract), very uncertain in the rises and falls of its floods. As before stated, the supply of water required for the canal is 6,750 cubic feet per second; and this normal amount of supply is liable to be greatly augmented, at any point, by such heavy falls of rain as we have described, and that, too, without an hour's notice. Even when the head of the canal can be rapidly communicated with, and the influx stopped, the enormous quantity of water already in the channel must often cause most serious disasters before a breach in the embankments can be stopped.

Thus it is liable to be with the water carried at the present level, to which General Cotton objects, on the score of expense, as too far below the surface. It requires neither scientific knowledge nor experience to estimate in how terrible a ratio the risk would be increased by every foot of height added to the body of the stream. It is frightful to contemplate the

loss of life and the ruin to crops, buildings, and even to the soil itself, which would be the certain consequence of the sudden breaking away of such a volume of water as fills the Ganges Canal, from the elevation at which Sir Arthur Cotton would have it carried, to wit, in his own words, if 'the principal part of the water had been carried above the level of the ground.'

We pass over some minor points, in regard to which Sir Arthur Cotton has done less than justice to the genius—the term is not too strong—that planned and executed the Ganges Canal. It would have been well, if, when commenting upon that gigantic work, he had borne in mind the generous terms in which Colonel Baird Smith wound up his remarks, from the exactly opposite point of view, upon the hydraulic operations of the Madras engineers:—

'My own experience has been gained in a part of India presenting characteristics in its surface and hydrography very different to those found in the Peninsula; and among works which have but a general resemblance to those described, agreeing with them in their ultimate object, but differing greatly in the manner whereby this is attained. I have tried to bear this fact always in mind, in the expression of my opinions on the works, and to give their due weight to the more minute knowledge and larger experience of those who have spent their professional lives in daily familiarity with the localities.'

Of the electric telegraph within the limits of British India, including the Ultra-Gangetic provinces of Pegu and Burmah, it is not necessary to say more than that it has already linked together all the principal cities and stations, civil and military. The marvellous fluid, giving voice to the dumb wires, was of the greatest service to the Government during the mutiny, most especially in conveying the tidings of the outbreak at Meerut to Lahore, and thus enabling Sir Robert Montgomery and the commanding officer of the troops, now Sir Stuart Corbett, to take the decisive step of disarming the three regiments of sepoys quartered there, several days before an invitation from their brethren to follow their example of outrage and murder could reach them by the post.

At present, the Government is earnestly engaged in the great work of connecting England with India through Constantinople and Bagdad. The line is completed as far as the latter place, and English engineers are actively employed in carrying it on to Bussorah and the mouth of the Shât-el-Arab. From thence the submarine cable will run, in four stages, to Bushire, to Cape Missendon, on the Arabian coast, to Gwadir in Beloochistan, and to Kurrachee. An alternative aërial line has already been carried from Kurrachee, which is in communication with the

whole of India, to Gwadir; but the Belooches not being the steadiest of all possible allies, it is thought prudent to possess ourselves of the safeguard of a duplicate submarine line. For the same reason, because the line from Bagdad to the head of the Persian Gulf will run through districts belonging to or haunted by some of the wildest of the sons of Ishmael, an alternative line will be constructed, in connexion with the Persian Government, from Bagdad to Khanakaim on the Turkish frontier, and thence by Teheran and Shiraz to join the submarine cable at Bushire. The whole work is in the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Stewart, R. E. (Bengal), an officer of well-tried ability, and he is supported by the high professional skill and experience of Sir Charles Bright and Mr. Latimer Clark, the latter of whom has gone out to superintend the laying of the cable. It is believed that the work will be completed in February, and the whole line from London to Calcutta open in March next. It cannot be necessary that we should add a word to this simple narrative to impress upon all who read it the extreme interest and importance of the fulfilment of this grand scheme. No pains appear to have been spared to secure its success.

The subject has grown so much under our hands, that we are very reluctantly compelled to stop short when we have completed only half of our original plan; leaving the religious, social, and intellectual progress of India altogether unnoticed. As regards material improvement, we trust that we have demonstrated in the foregoing pages that the Government of India is fully and earnestly doing its part towards the physical well-being of its subjects. The one great object to be desired is, that they should themselves co-operate to that end. If that single condition be granted, even in a moderate degree—and after the changes we have witnessed in much that was once considered immutable, we are most hopeful of its attainment,—we are convinced that the material advancement of India during the present generation will be such as the world has never yet seen in the instance of any ancient and long-settled people.

These pages were scarcely written when the country was startled by the intelligence that the Governor-General, stricken by a mortal disease in a journey through the Himalayas, was lying at the point of death. The personal sorrow felt at the sudden termination of so useful a life, and of a career of which Scotland especially was justly proud, is increased by the singular infelicity which has attended the three last rulers of India, united alike by early friendship, by equal years, by the same exalted duties, and by the same untimely end. By Lord

Elgin's demise India has lost a ruler of rare sagacity, earnest and laborious, of varied experience in political affairs, and familiar with the interests and passions of men widely differing in race and character. Had his life been spared, he would, doubtless, have pushed on to a successful issue the great works—under execution or contemplated—of which we have treated in this paper; and would have afforded all the encouragement which it is wise for a Government to render to the various industries which are beginning to give new life to the agriculture and commerce of India. These duties, as well as a thousand other important tasks, have now devolved upon a successor, whose selection for an office so honourable, because so arduous, reflects the highest credit upon Her Majesty's Government. In appointing Sir John Lawrence to the Viceroyalty of India the Crown has been influenced by no claims of party, and has paid no homage to hereditary rank. His patent of precedency bears the seal of no earthly power. His past services—services of which it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the value—are the guarantee of his future success. As certainly as he held the Punjab in his iron grasp during the terrible crisis of 1857—a feat which his previous firm, just, and beneficent administration alone rendered possible—so certain is it that he thus saved the Upper Provinces, and probably, through them, Central and Southern India. Upon the conduct of the Sikhs under his government depended at that moment, humanly speaking, the British power in India; and the conduct of the Sikhs, friendly to British rule, rested mainly on the ascendancy acquired by Lawrence over them. Such priceless services have now received their most appropriate reward.

He takes with him to the office he is about to fill a knowledge of India, of her peoples, of her languages, and of her interests, which no Governor-General ever before possessed, even on leaving the country: and already no name is more revered by the native chiefs and tribes from the Himalayas to the sea than that of Lawrence. The authority of his experience and his services in the past equals, at least, the authority conferred upon him by his present rank. He brings to this Imperial charge a power of mastering detail which is the true characteristic of the greatest men, when it is combined, as it is in him, with a comprehensive intellect and a resolute will. To apply the knowledge and the power of England to such a country as India, for their mutual benefit, is at this moment the noblest task under the sun; and of Lawrence it may be said that no living man is equally fit to undertake it. God grant him life and strength to advance the work!

ART. V.—1. *The History of the Jews from the earliest Period down to modern Times.* By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. 3rd edition, thoroughly revised and extended. Three volumes. London: 1863.

2. *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church* (Part I. Abraham to Samuel). By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. London: 1863.

MORE than thirty years ago the first appearance of Dr. Milman's History of the Jews in the 'Family Library' drew forth a clamour of alarm and intolerance, as loud and as unreasonable as that which has been raised on a more recent occasion. We still remember the horror which was then expressed in religious circles, whether of the Evangelical School or of the High Church of that day, at the attempt (as it was considered) of the learned author to explain away the supernatural element in sacred history, and to bring the annals of the chosen people into profane contact with this every-day world. Had those been days of episcopal manifestos, of Convocational committees, of prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts, the obnoxious Vicar of St. Mary's Reading would hardly have escaped some formal censure, even if he had fared no worse. But such methods of assailing theological innovators or literary heretics were not then in fashion. The outcry against Mr. Milman gradually died away, partly from exhaustion, and partly out of very shame, when he pointed in self-vindication to the uncensured opinions of high theological authorities, English as well as foreign, and even produced whole passages from the 'Family 'Bible of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Know-'ledge' (no other than the 'D'Oyley and Mant's Bible' of our childhood), in which the very same conjectures which had been furiously denounced in his own book, were presented without offence, and accepted without hesitation, as suitable instruction for Christian households. These extracts may be read in the Appendix to his second edition (1830), ranged in parallel columns with his own words; and they supply an instructive example of the injustice and precipitation of religious panic.

But Mr. Milman's greatest crime (as Dr. Stanley has observed), without which perhaps his other offences would scarcely have been noticed, was that he ventured to let in the light of common day upon ground which was popularly considered too sacred for the sun to shine on. It was thought an

unpardonable familiarity with holy things, a dangerous and profane liberty, to speak of Abraham as a Sheikh or a Bedouin chieftain, of the Israelites after their occupation of Canaan as an 'independent yeomanry, residing on their hereditary farms,' of the Levites as a 'learned nobility,' of Israel itself as a 'confe-'deracy of separate republics' or of 'scattered cantons.' In this respect, still more than the other, it has been the fortune of Dean Milman to witness a complete revolution of public opinion, inaugurated in England principally by himself. All sections of the Christian Church amongst us (for the exceptions are rare, and avowedly singular) unite now in agreeing that nothing is lost, and very much is gained, by letting in the light of criticism and analogy upon the sacred annals; by allowing the local features, the customs, the modes of feeling which still prevail in the slowly changing East to impart appropriate colour and picturesqueness to the Biblical narratives; by adducing the lessons of universal experience and historical parallels, wherever found, for the better illustration of those examples and incidents which the Bible itself declares 'were written for our learning.' Meanwhile he himself has passed with general approval to the place of dignity he now occupies in the Church; and from the valuable contributions he has since made to ecclesiastical literature, is justly regarded as second to none who adorn with their learning and character the chief seats of the English Cathedrals.

Under these circumstances we hail the republication of his earlier work with peculiar pleasure; and in reviewing it now for the first time, we are only paying off a debt, which ought to have been gratefully discharged by the last generation. But the work has gained, like its author, dignity by age. Its own intrinsic merits deserve a prolonged term of life; and the Dean has done much to render it more worthy of the place which it has attained in our literature. The title-page describes this edition as 'thoroughly revised and extended;' and this it will be found to be—extended to embrace the remarkable development of Judaism which the last half century has witnessed—revised to meet in some degree the discoveries of recent times, and to express the author's maturer thoughts on the Biblical records and the annals they contain; while it is furnished besides with notes, references, and citations, which, if they cannot transform a work originally popular in its form and limited in its size into one of great value to the learned reader, yet considerably enhance its literary calibre, and will make it often of real service to the student.*

* While commending the general correctness, as well as remarkable beauty of the typography of these volumes, we are forced to

And here we must hasten to render our tribute of admiration to the candour and courage and expansiveness of Dean Milman's mind; qualities not only consistent with, but inseparable from, the firmest faith in Revelation, and the most steadfast hold upon truth. Unlike too many of those who in earlier life have been generous advocates of progress, and believers in the indefeasible benefit of light, but who shrink as they grow older from the effort of admitting it, and are jealous of further discoveries, the Dean of St. Paul's preserves unchanged his single-minded desire to enlarge and correct his own views, and his generous appreciation of the labours of others; while his mental powers show no loss of keenness, but only an accession of judgment and weight.

These very qualities, however, of Dr. Milman's mind tempt us to wish that he had re-written the first volume of his work, the volume which contains the Biblical History of the Jews. The last thirty years have witnessed a progress so enormous in Biblical criticism, and in all branches of learning which minister to it, that no work written before that time, except for a simply devotional purpose, can possibly meet the requirements of the present day, even though helped out (as in this case) by long and valuable notes, and enriched with copious additions. The knowledge which has been gained of the geography both of the Holy Land and of the neighbouring countries,—the great advances made in Egyptian learning,—the exhumation of the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments,—the light thrown upon remote antiquity by the sacred books of India and Persia,—the progress (though less considerable) made in the knowledge of Hebrew by the aid of other Semitic tongues, and of that new science of language which promises to disclose besides so many secrets of the past,—above all the advancement of the powers of criticism itself, stimulated and accredited by its success in other branches of learning, and attracted irresistibly to the Scriptures by the matchless field there opened to it,—all these things throw the mind of the student into an attitude almost unknown to readers or writers of the earlier part of the century, in this country at least; so that even the most cautious and the most conservative among men of learning write from a very different point of view from that which they occupied thirty years ago. It is a tribute

notice, on the other hand, the chaotic condition of the Greek accentuation. The venerable author is not, of course, to be held responsible for the correction of Greek accents in small type: but his printers should have saved the book from a defect which lamentably disfigures page after page, and is peculiarly offensive to scholars.

justly due to Dr. Milman, rather than any disparagement of his work, if we express our conviction that, were he now to re-write it from the beginning, he would throw the earlier part into a different form. But we are not insensible to the advantages that may accrue from the republication of a book which is itself a signal monument of the progress of Biblical studies, accompanied as it is by such fearless and generous comments on the part of its accomplished author, and such encouragement extended to others in carrying on the work which he leaves incomplete.

Independently of the deficiencies which necessarily adhere to a book composed more than thirty years ago, we may venture to add that we do in some degree concur with Dr. Milman's former critics in objecting to his mode of exhibiting the Scripture narrative. Not that we question for a moment the right of the historian of the Jews to correct the views of physical phenomena, or the standard of moral judgment, which he finds in the ancient Scriptures. To regard such a proceeding as presumptuous is simply to ignore what has been pointed out to us both by the manifest Providence and by the declared purpose of the Almighty. As a Christian, the historian occupies a higher vantage-ground, in some respects, than even an inspired chronicler; while, in others, he possesses advantages no less undeniable, through access to stores of scientific and systematised knowledge, and by the command of a far wider horizon over the field of human experience. Still, in an epitome of the Scripture narrative (the form which Dr. Milman has given for the most part to his history), the occasional substitution of wider views and conjectures for the sacred writer's account of events and facts is discordant. It is putting new wine into old bottles, to the detriment of both. An epitome of Scripture ought carefully to reproduce the tone and purport of the original, adopting the views of that simple faith which is ready to see everywhere special and immediate interpositions of the Divine hand, and not mixing up with the thread of the story the thoughts and reflexions of a later age. Such reflexions, when needed, should be kept wholly distinct. And if want of space forbids this double treatment of the subject, then the historian, omitting his epitome altogether, should present his readers with a synoptical survey of the well-known events, taken from his own point of view and adapted to his general plan. Dr. Milman's new additions do, to a certain degree, give this character to his book, as it now stands, especially to the Egyptian portion of it. But the original method, to which we thus far take exception, is still the dominant one throughout.

By far the most important additions to the first volume, both in length and intrinsic value, are those which refer to the Mosaic books. While fully and frankly admitting the great difficulties which encompass the subject and render absolute certainty impossible to attain, Dr. Milman yet confidently maintains that we possess in the Pentateuch the substantial record of the inspired lawgiver himself — the very narrative which he bequeathed to the nation he had founded. Granting that many additions may have been made, from time to time, in the successive re-editings of the sacred writings (and especially 'what 'modifications they underwent in Ezra's time we know not,' vol. i. p. 351.) — granting that they have been subjected to interpolations, and 'the manipulation, so to speak, of particular 'passages' (p. 45.), besides errors and exaggerations on the part of copyists, especially in regard to the *numbers*, the correctness of which it is impossible consistently to defend — there is still (he argues) the strongest ground for believing with unshaken confidence that, in all essential points, we have the records and even the very words of Moses himself preserved in a written form from the beginning. The doubts so much insisted on during the last century (and, as it then seemed, not without much reason), whether in so early a stage of culture the art of writing, if known at all, were sufficiently advanced to achieve such a work, have been set at rest by the recent discoveries in Egypt*, while the same discoveries have amply proved that the arts and attainments ascribed to the Israelites in the desert were precisely those which intercourse with their Egyptian masters would most certainly have imparted to them.

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* Dr. Milman does not face the difficulty how the existence of a phonetic system of writing in Egypt at the time of the Exodus could account for the reduction of the Hebrew language to a written form. Granting that Moses was 'learned in all the wisdom of the 'Egyptians,' it will hardly be contended that he used Egyptian characters for the articulation of Hebrew; or, even admitting the hypothesis which derives the Semitic alphabets from an Egyptian system, that Moses and the Hebrew people were really the authors of the adaptation. It is a matter of extreme doubtfulness, however, and very variously determined, whether the invention of the art is to be assigned to Egypt at all. The probability is that the purely alphabetical system was primarily of Semitic origin. (See *De Wette, Introduction to the O. T., Appendix E.*; and, for the latest views on the subject, *Renan, Histoire des Langues Sémitiques,* livre ii. chap. i.) We must rather believe that Moses was instructed in Phœnician learning also; and no difficulty is now felt in admitting that the art of writing had been developed before his time among the Phœnicians.

The alleged impossibility of the received authorship is thus triumphantly removed; while in the very want of systematic order observable in the books, in their vivid pictures of patriarchal life, in the desert atmosphere which breathes through the regulations of the Law, and in the singular knowledge of Egyptian customs and institutions displayed in the Pentateuch, we have a strong confirmation of its authenticity. Whence and by whom (asks Dr. Milman) could such knowledge have been acquired, if not in the way which the history itself implies? For it is clear that, down to the time of Solomon, there was no further intercourse between Palestine and Egypt sufficient to account for it; and any hypothesis which would bring the composition of the books to so late a period as Solomon's is at once overthrown by difficulties too great to be surmounted. A strong presumption being thus established in favour of the Mosaic authorship, we find the substantial truth of the history as a contemporary record still further confirmed by inferential proofs derived from Egypt. To expect the native annalists to record on the tombs of the kings the story of their humiliation and discomfiture would evidently be most unreasonable; but the tradition which lingered in Egypt to the days of Manetho, and which is given in a more or less distorted form by Diodorus, Strabo, Justin, and Tacitus, must be presumed to rest on some independent historical foundation; and when we look to the monuments of those very kings, whom on other grounds we should identify with the Pharaohs of Moses, we cannot fail to be struck with a piece of negative evidence singularly confirmatory of the sacred narrative.

'It is certainly a most remarkable fact that, at the close of this mighty dynasty* there should be a period of obscuration. . . . . Not only have the stately structures ceased to arise, the expanding

* Following Lepsius, Bunsen, and Brugsch, Dr. Milman identifies the Pharaohs of the Exodus with the so-called 19th dynasty; the Pharaoh of Abraham having been, according to the view which he prefers, one of the Hyksos. The antagonist of Moses is supposed on this hypothesis to have been Menephthes, son of Raamses, and the Sesostrian wars to have taken place about the time of Moses's birth. One great difficulty in harmonising the Egyptian and the sacred annals is how to find room for conquests which must have affected Palestine, without doing violence to the Scripture narrative. The theory just mentioned has this to recommend it. But Mr. R. Stuart Poole, in his learned article on Egypt, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, adduces strong objections to it on other grounds, and proposes to place the Exodus before the 18th dynasty, during the most obscure and troubled period of Egyptian history.

walls to be decorated with processions of tribute-bearing kings and nations; but there is a significant silence in the existing monuments: the names and titles of their kings and their characteristic cartouches are no longer lavishly inscribed on them; but there are signs of erasure, of studious concealment, as of something which they would shrink from committing to imperishable memory. Some disaster seems to have fallen on the realm, which, rather than commemorate, the records break off and are mute. It were idle to suppose that such a calamity as the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea by a body of revolted slaves would have any public record: if the memory of such an event lived, it would live only in tradition, and tradition would disguise it and disfigure it to the utmost.' (Vol. i. p. 118.)

Dr. Milman's advocacy of the substantial genuineness of the Pentateuch—in its divisions, its arrangement, and in all but its subsidiary details—will be more generally hailed than his large concessions as to the extent in which it may have been amplified and altered, and the readiness with which he gives up as indefensible the numbers of the existing text. For our own part, while admiring the candour and courage, as well as the clearness and openness of mind, with which in advanced life he has faced this perplexing subject, we admire still more the wisdom and well-grounded Christian faith which leads him to maintain that all such matters are legitimate ground for full and free discussion, being 'utterly irrelevant to the truth of our re-'ligion' (vol. i. p. 208.); so that neither the consideration of them, nor the conclusions (be they what they may) to which a searching criticism may lead us in these things, 'imperil in the 'least the vital truths of Christianity' (p. 132.).

The question of the Mosaic authorship of this part of Scripture, even if it were triumphantly settled in accordance with prevailing opinion, always seems to us to leave questions of so much greater importance behind, that we hardly understand the extreme jealousy with which it has been regarded. As Luther said of the Book of Genesis, 'What matters it, even if 'Moses did not write it?' However interesting as a critical question, this involves no point of religious belief. For if, on the one hand, it be our conviction that all historical statements of Scripture are guaranteed by Divine sanction, it must be immaterial, after all, who was the human author of this or that of the Scriptural books, or at what period he lived. And if, on the contrary, we believe that we are neither bound nor entitled to assign such a character to Scriptural narratives, but must regard them as amenable to the same laws which govern other records of the past, then by the removal of the Mosaic books from the list of contemporary documents we are at most brought to

this, that we shall have the same amount of authority for the events of the Exodus as (on the existing hypothesis) we now possess for those of the Patriarchal and the primæval ages. Those earlier events are surely still more important for doctrinal purposes than any passages of Israelitish history; and if we are content to receive the former on the authority of a writer so long subsequent to the events as Moses, why should our faith be affected by a like necessity in the case of the Exodus?

What that authority precisely amounts to, for other than purely religious purposes, is doubtless a very grave question; but it is one which we do not avoid by establishing the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Even if that be incontestably proved, the question we speak of is forced upon us notwithstanding; forced upon us, at the very point where the facts involved in its consideration are of the highest interest and the most universal importance to the whole human race. And the determination of the question (a question which must be determined, approximatively at least, if our belief in these matters is to have a rational basis) will affect, in its turn, our whole conception of all Scripture narratives, our fundamental estimate of all Biblical history. Without touching, therefore, on other and more strictly theological questions connected with inspiration, our subject demands a brief reference to this one.

The popular opinion that an exact knowledge of all the facts recorded in the Bible was supernaturally imparted, or, at the least, supernaturally secured, to the inspired writers, though numbering among its expounders and advocates some of the best and most learned theologians, is by no means one to which the Reformation pledged itself, either in this or in other countries. Luther, resting firmly on the Christian Revelation as the one thing needful, felt himself at liberty to treat such points as these with a freedom which was not always reverential, nor always reconcilable with expressions of stricter import which may be cited from his works. Calvin, more careful and logical, while ever enforcing an entire submission to the Divine authority of Scripture, yet believed that the knowledge of primæval facts (for instance) was handed down from patriarch to patriarch by 'sacred tradition.' The paramount importance of the controversy with Rome, of which this question formed no part, caused it to be little mooted for some time; though doubtless the general language of the Protestant Confessions by their emphatic exaltation of Scripture favoured and fostered the popular belief. Grotius was the first eminent writer (with the exception perhaps of Erasmus) who expressly avowed and

advocated a freer view, calling attention to the essential difference between narrative and doctrinal statements. And towards the end of the seventeenth century the question, together with others kindred to it, was forced on the consideration of the Church, Catholic as well as Protestant, by the writings of Hobbes and Spinoza and the Jesuit Peyrera. For some time, accordingly, it attracted great attention throughout Christendom; Father Richard Simon among Catholics endeavouring to turn a freer theory of this matter to the advantage of his Church, while his principal Protestant opponent Leclerc, with far greater ability and consistency, though combating all such partial conclusions, yet maintained the entire compatibility of religious belief with concessions to philosophy and criticism which he carried further still. Neither among Protestants or Romanists, however, did these freer views find much acceptance. The discussion was in fact adjourned as inconvenient and premature: and such, indeed, was probably the wisest conclusion at the time; the right of resuming the discussion being precluded only in the Calvinistic Churches which had recently adopted that extreme theory of inspiration towards which they had always tended.* In England, where the broader views of the sixteenth century were happily left unmodified by minute definitions of doctrine, and where Leclerc himself was held in so much esteem that the attempt was made in high quarters to attach him to the Anglican Church, a larger liberty in these opinions was both assumed and allowed from the first: and this liberty was presently both encouraged and confirmed by the growing influence of Locke's philosophy. Even the opponents of Leclerc took grounds which would now be regarded with some jealousy. 'As to historical writings,' says the chief of them, the commentator Lowth†, 'I agree with him thus far, 'that the sacred historians were not usually inspired with the 'things themselves which they relate, nor with the words by 'which they express the things. . . . It is groundless to sup-'pose that God had revealed those particulars to the writers of 'the Old Testament History which they could come to the 'knowledge of by consulting the records and ancient monu-'ments in which these matters were related.' It has almost

* Dr. Stanley ('The Bible, its Form and Substance') dates the systematisation of this extreme modern theory from the Formula Consensus Helvetica, 1675. It had doubtless, however, been long commonly prevalent in the Calvinistic Churches; and finds some expression as early as the *Confessio Belgica*, 1561.

† Father of Bishop Lowth. 'Vindication of Divine Authority of 'the Old and New Testaments.' 1692.

been forgotten, since the revival of the Evangelical and Patristic schools of doctrine (almost alike in this respect, though opposed in so many others), that the views once prevalent among well-instructed English theologians differed widely from those which both these schools now insist on. It is no new liberty of thought and expression which has been vindicated and conquered afresh during the last thirty years. Doubtless such admissions as those we have just quoted were usually qualified (as in the case of Lowth himself) with the countervailing assertion that, since all Scriptural statements must be accepted as free from error, there must have been therefore a supplementary as well as controlling inspiration, furnishing the knowledge of facts when natural sources of information failed. But such a theory was never authoritatively imposed upon the Church, nor did its advocates themselves usually advance it as a necessary tenet of orthodoxy; while there were always to be found in the forefront of the English Church divines of a more thoughtful or more candid spirit, who either carefully guarded themselves from endorsing such an opinion, or even openly expressed their dissatisfaction with it.* 'We may observe' (wrote Bishop Law, of Carlisle, in a work dedicated to the then Archbishop of Canterbury,) 'how hard some good 'men strive to introduce this sort of inspiration indirectly, even 'when they are obliged to own that *primâ facie* it cannot be 'maintained. . . . This important subject has, indeed, frequently 'been discussed in different parts of the Christian world; but 'never (so far as I know) with that fairness, freedom, and impartiality which the thing requires.' The time seems now to have arrived when in England, as elsewhere, the adjourned discussion must be resumed; and even that modified conclusion

* Dr. Milman appeals to Tillotson, Secker, and Warburton, as entertaining sentiments on such subjects substantially identical with his own; and adduces at length the more familiar authority of Paley. The bolder sentiments of Bishop Law ('Considerations on the 'Theory of Religion') have been recently cited in full by Mr. Wilson in his able and elaborate defence before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, together with those of other eminent writers on kindred points which we do not touch. It would be easy to multiply authorities in support of the liberty allowed within the Church of England on the matter which we are discussing. But we content ourselves with adding Bishop Watson of Llandaff (see especially 'Apology for the Bible,' Letter 5, with the very pertinent quotation from Augustine): selecting him because he has been recently pointed out by the Archbishop of Canterbury as a safe and orthodox guide for the clergy in matters of present controversy.

which was current in the last century may be questioned, for it involves the paradoxical consequence that an inspired writer would be a positive gainer by the absence of knowledge derived from experience, since the more complete his personal ignorance might be of the facts he was charged to relate, the more certain would he be of the guidance of infallible wisdom and absolute truth.

We expressed our conviction in a recent article* that the same concessions which have been very generally made in the departments of science, natural history, and the like, must also be made by theologians to the claims of historical criticism. If the one set of facts be altogether outside the circle of inspired communications, can we insist on including the other? Is it necessary, is it reasonable, is it consistent to suppose that for the purpose of ascertaining and recording matters of fact the inspired writers were endowed with supernatural faculties, and exempted from the ordinary conditions under which men obtain and impart their knowledge? that either the inspiration of which they were recipients did more for them in this respect than clear their moral judgment and secure their veracity, or else that the narratives which they produced have been by some supernatural, though undefinable agency, preserved from the liabilities to which the writers were confessedly exposed?

In this, and in all similar questions, the only satisfactory method (as is now very generally admitted) is to examine what the Scriptures themselves assert respecting their own nature. Now, do the sacred historians claim this gift of infallibility, either for themselves or for their writings? Does the author of Genesis do so, for instance? Does he express his confidence that the materials he employed (documentary or traditional) were selected, arranged, preserved, or certified by divine superintendence, or that the result is guaranteed from admixture of error? Nowhere is there a hint of such an assertion. But can this conclusion be presumed from the analogy of other parts of the historical Scriptures? Nowhere is there a trace of such pretensions. On the contrary, the constant appeal to anterior documents (some of them evidently and avowedly uninspired), and even to popular traditions, poems, proverbs, etymologies, supplies by inference a very strong negative to the supposition. And, lastly, when we come to those who, according to our Christian convictions, present the very highest instances of inspiration, the Apostles and Evangelists, we find them resting

* 'The Bible and the Church.' Ed. Rev. No. ccxl., April, 1863.

their special claim to credibility (even with Christian readers) on having themselves been eyewitnesses, or instructed by eyewitnesses, of the facts which they record; nay, we find Christ himself, while promising them supernatural light, making this previous qualification indispensable to their character as his emissaries. The only approach in *their* case to such an inspiration as popular belief assigns to each and every historian of the Old Testament was, that the Holy Spirit of truth, granted them (be it remembered) in a degree far superior to any previous communication of that gift, should 'bring all things to 'their remembrance whatsoever Christ had said to them.'

Thus, then, stands the case when we ask whether, as historians, the writers of the Jewish annals were supernaturally raised above the incidents of humanity. If, on one side, the popular belief is favoured by the instinctive desire of the religious mind to think so, by the unquestioning assent of the less critical ages of the Church (Jewish as well as Christian), and also, perhaps, by some incidental expressions of inspired writers when speaking of the Scriptures as a whole—on the other side there is the significant silence of the sacred historians themselves (doubly significant, if contrasted with the express claims of the Prophets, when delivering messages of moral and of spiritual import, or mystically lifting the veil which hangs over the future), there is the still more significant citation of profane authorities (an inexplicable phenomenon indeed, if it only marked a departure from infallible guidance!), and, above all, there is the indisputable, and to the Christian mind the crucial, instance of the Apostles and Evangelists, subjected, in spite of their inspiration, to the ordinary conditions of humanity, as narrators of facts and discourses, liable (as their narratives prove) to discrepancies of statement even in recording the special subjects of their mission, and liable, as soon as they pass beyond that special circle, to all the errors and misapprehensions to which other men are subject.

For our own part, we cannot doubt to what conclusion these considerations point. And far from thinking such a conclusion dangerous to Christian faith, or detrimental to a reverent appreciation of the ancient Scriptures, we are convinced that it will lead to a more devout as well as a more intelligent use of them. Assuredly it is an inexpressible relief to a religious mind to find itself released from all fear of contradiction between the holiest and most awful authority, on the one hand, and the undoubted results, on the other, of scientific investigation and of discriminating criticism; and a still greater relief to escape the necessity of attributing trivial and incongse-

quent details, not to speak of things which the eye and the mind hasten to pass over, to the superintending care, if not to the actual suggestion, of the Spirit of infinite holiness and wisdom.

But although many of the historical narratives of the Bible do not appear to us to claim the same degree of divine authority as its declarations of spiritual and theological truth, we trace nevertheless throughout the Old Testament as undoubtedly as in the New (and not least in the historical Scriptures) marks everywhere of a divine presence and a divine informing mind which we should vainly seek in the highest works of profane literature; lessons of morality and religion, which, if God's own Word forbids us to consider them perfect, were still specially adapted by their very imperfection to the use of their first recipients; examples and illustrations of human character, which, if surpassed in some respects by later and better models, will yet continue to the end of time to be the delight and instruction of the Christian Church; types as well as prophecies, which, whenever promulgated and evolved from whatever conditions of society, still bear witness, with undiminished force, to the ulterior purposes of God; and a connected history, which, whether it assume the positive form of contemporary evidence, or the less direct authority of sacred tradition, records nevertheless the course of a unique and exceptional Providence, to separate one nation from the rest of mankind, to make it the special depository of Revelation, and to prepare it as the destined instrument for conveying at last to all men a more perfect knowledge of religious truth.

These views of Jewish History and of the Hebrew records had found no expression in the literature of this country, in the present age (at least amongst the theologians of the Church of England), until the publication of Dr. Milman's History; and it is this fact which renders him deservedly conspicuous as the precursor of a great and important change in the state of religious opinion. If any one doubts to what an extent this change has already advanced, let him turn to the concluding volumes of Dr. William Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' which we may fairly assume to represent the present state of belief and of criticism amongst the most zealous and learned living divines of the Anglican Church.

Dr. Smith's list of contributors comprises the names of many of the most distinguished champions of orthodoxy. The Archbishop of York, the Dean of Canterbury, Canon Wordsworth, the authors of 'Aids to Faith,' and the theological professors of many of our colleges and universities. Do these writers, speak-

ing the language sanctioned by criticism at the present day, repudiate the opinions set forth thirty years ago by Dr. Milman? Quite the reverse. We must confess that we are at a loss to explain the anathema which has lately been hurled against some clerical writers, accused of too great freedom of speculation, when we find that these right reverend and venerable persons are associated with many of the most liberal commentators of the present day in the propagation of opinions at least equally remote from the standard of implicit belief and rigorous orthodoxy. To quote but one or two examples. In the article on the 'Pentateuch' we find the theory of Dr. Astruc, as to the double origin of the Book of Genesis, carefully described and apparently adopted as irrefragable; and if we turn to the article on 'Noah,' we meet with concessions sufficient, we should imagine, to satisfy Sir Charles Lyell. It is distinctly laid down on scientific grounds that the Deluge was not, and could not be, universal; that the animals then existing on the earth were not, and could not be, collected in the Ark, nor fed there, if they had been so collected; that the description of the Deluge itself 'is framed with a kind of 'poetic breath,' and the description of the Ark surrounded by insurmountable difficulties. It may be so, and from our point of view we venture to say that the phenomena of the Deluge have but a very slight and indirect bearing on the great truths of religion. But we allude here to this point, solely, to show, by an example of great power, the progress which has been made in criticism by divines of the orthodox school, and the impossibility that men, who avail themselves to this extent of the liberty of discussing the records of Scripture, should deny to others the same freedom. In the same volume we may refer to Mr. Twistleton's article on the 'Books of Samuel' as a masterpiece of critical sagacity, equally remarkable for learning, ingenuity, and independence of judgment. We believe that there is nothing in the laws and articles of the Church of England opposed to the exercise of this freedom: we believe that the attempt to narrow the interpretation of Scripture to a standard adopted in the twilight of former ages, will fail; and that the Scriptures themselves, being eternal, are destined to witness the revolutions of the human mind in all its varied phases. But be this as it may, within the jurisdiction of the Church itself we have direct evidence before us that literature, which is at once the guardian and the ornament of the Church, claims a freedom which she will not forswear. This is the greatest merit of such works as those before us—this is what we owe to such writers as the Dean of St. Paul's and the Dean

of Westminster, whom we gladly welcome under his new title and his well-deserved honours; this is that priceless right of free writing and free thought, which even those who contest its conclusions are well content to share with their antagonists.*

The 'Dictionary of the Bible' is a colossal undertaking, which has been executed with extraordinary learning, research, candour, and boldness. It combines in three massive volumes the theological libraries of past ages, with the theological researches of the present day. It deserves a far closer examination than we can give to it on the present occasion; and we hope shortly to enter upon a review of it in detail. At present we refer to it simply as the measure of theological opinions in the Church of England at the present time, and we infer from it that modern criticism has not only reached the point adopted by Dr. Milman more than thirty years ago, but that it has, in some respects, gone beyond it.

We left Dr. Milman at the period of the Exodus; for the Scriptural account of which he vindicates, as we have seen, the character of a contemporary document, though ready to allow full and fair discussion of this point, and fearlessly maintaining that, if the books could be proved to be of later date, the result ought to have little or no effect upon our religious convictions as Christians.

In this last respect it is clear that Dr. Stanley entirely agrees with him, though the late Regius Professor carefully avoids the discussion into which the Dean of St. Paul's has more boldly thrown himself. Whether they would be equally agreed on the structure and composition of the Mosaic books

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* We observe with equal surprise and regret that Canon Wordsworth, who is associated with Dr. Stanley in the 'Dictionary of the 'Bible,' has thought it decorous to protest against the merited advancement of the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History to the chief seat of the Chapter of Westminster, on the sole ground, as it seems, of the interpretation which Dr. Wordsworth thinks fit to affix to the writings of his ecclesiastical superior. What claim or authority has Canon Wordsworth to offer any opinion on the matter? Is the pulpit of St. Mary's less orthodox than the pulpit of Westminster Abbey? Divines may differ, and yet belong to the same Church, or even to the same Dictionary; but we know not by what right one clergyman is to proscribe another, who is amenable not to private judgment, but to the broad law of the Church, as expressed in her articles and formularies. Happily the law of the Church of England is itself the most effectual barrier against the intolerance of Churchmen; but even the Decalogue might restrain them from bearing false witness against their neighbour.

is not so plain, for Dr. Stanley declines to enter into the question. The line which he has chosen instead is far more consonant with his own genius, and more attractive to the general reader; the charm and grace of Dr. Stanley's narrative hardly leaves us room to regret the absence in his writings of profound analytical sagacity or great logical power. Seeking rather to avoid than to solve the perplexing questions of controversy, he throws his whole strength into the picturesque illustration of the Scriptural narrative in its leading particulars; clothing with new life and speaking significance the story of the patriarchs in Canaan, and of Joseph and of Moses at the court of the Pharaohs; corroborating it in detail by the testimony of the Egyptian monuments, and the unchanging features of nature; setting before his readers in vivid colours the awful scenery of Sinai, and the circumstances of the march through the wilderness; and pointing out the traces which that passage of their history left upon the ritual and character of the Israelites — traces which demonstrate the substantial reality of the facts, whether Moses was their chronicler or not.

As we enter the Promised Land, we feel more strongly than ever, in comparing the two works before us, how immense is the gain to Biblical students which the researches of the last thirty years have effected, especially in that department to which Dr. Stanley himself has contributed the most. The fresh knowledge which has been gained of the geography of the Holy Land, and the light thereby thrown upon the history of the Israelites, is nowhere perhaps of such importance as in tracing the conquest under Joshua, in surveying the condition of the expelled or subjugated races, and in estimating the state of the new settlers during the long and turbulent period of the Judges. We may doubtless expect still further discoveries, and that to an incalculable extent, when the Holy Land shall be safely and fully open to European investigation. But of all that is known at present Dr. Stanley is master. Of this part of his work we can speak with the most unqualified admiration, and with a deep sense of its value, though much of it has already appeared under a somewhat different form in his 'Sinai 'and Palestine.' And here it is that Dr. Milman wrote at first under the heaviest disadvantages comparatively. No one can be more sensible of this fact than himself. He mentions the alternative which was open to him, of re-writing this part of his book or of reprinting what he had originally written with the confession of its palpable insufficiency. And if he decides against the former course as involving too great an enlargement of his primary plan, it is also because he willingly leaves to

younger hands the development of opportunities which have devolved upon a new generation. To Dr. Stanley more than to any living Englishman we must look for the accomplishment of the task he has so well begun; and we trust that his recent advancement to the Deanery of Westminster will in no degree retard the prosecution of it. We take leave of him for the present with regret, losing his guidance just at the epoch when the Monarchy was established under the superintendence of Samuel, and when the old Theocracy, with its sublime ideal, too often accompanied in practice with the license and barbarousness of idolatry or irreligion, gave place to a strong system of government, fraught with new elements of order and morality, no less than of wealth and power, and destined to nurture the expectations of that kingly Messiah who was to fulfil the highest aspirations of the Israelitish race.

We look for Dr. Stanley's second volume with the confident belief that it will exceed the first in value. He will be clear of the obscurities which have beset his path at the outset; standing now on ground unquestionably historical, and bringing to the further prosecution of the work commenced by Ewald qualities and attainments peculiarly his own, he will not fail to advance materially the knowledge and appreciation of the Jewish annals.

The era of Saul and David and Solomon, which even as it stood originally was, we think, the best executed portion of Dr. Milman's earlier narrative, is considerably improved in this new edition by important remarks and by vivid and judicious touches added by the author. We could wish that he had expanded to a much greater length the history of the Monarchy. It would be unfair to criticise as a production of the present day a narrative written before the accessions to our knowledge which have now been made, and before Ewald's two great works had revolutionised the treatment of this part of Jewish history. We should rather acknowledge with gratitude the masterly observations which the Dean has introduced here and there in the concise summary of events which formed the staple of the earlier editions. But we are sure that he will agree with us in pointing to this portion of his subject as that which, above all others, belongs peculiarly to the historian, and which would most abundantly reward the largest amount of research and thought. Here is the most copious supply of materials *ab extrà*; and here, too, Scripture unfolds its richest stores; the two Scripture narratives (however comparatively estimated) respectively balancing and elucidating each other, and often disclosing unconsciously as much as they expressly relate;

while the Psalms and the books of the Prophets furnish for historical purposes a perpetual illustration and supplement to both, just as the writings of the great orators of Athens explain and vivify the period of Grecian history to which they belong. Full of invaluable lessons, social, political, ecclesiastical, no less than theological and religious, this period also exemplifies most strikingly the subordination of the partial to the more general designs of Providence. Like the Theocracy which preceded it, the Hebrew Monarchy gave evidence from the beginning that it would only prove provisional and temporary. It had shown, even when most successful, that its success was chiefly owing to the personal merits of its great representatives —to the heroic qualities of David; to the singular ability, the imposing magnificence, the far-sighted statesmanship, of Solomon. But how were such qualities to be insured in a series of rulers? Even under David and his son there were not wanting signs that the exceptional greatness and capacity of such sovereigns could not secure their dominions from dissolution. The elements of personal freedom and of separate municipal government which gave, in some respects, a constitutional character to the Israelitish Monarchy, did not (as in our own country) serve so much to neutralise the demerits of unworthy sovereigns as to open a field for the action of family jealousies and conflicting local interests. Nay, the very progress of the country, both pacific and military, introduced fresh causes of weakness and disintegration. The union of agricultural, pastoral, and maritime districts under the central government, a union always difficult to maintain, was made the more so when the aggrandisement of the metropolis was itself an offence. Nor were the conquests which enlarged the national dominions unattended with a still greater danger. For it was impossible (as Dr. Milman has well observed) for the sovereign of Edom and Moab and Ammon to refuse toleration to the hereditary worship of those subject races. Yet such toleration was inconsistent with the duty and mission of Israel, and derogatory to the character of the vicegerent of Jehovah. There can scarcely be a doubt that had the empire of Solomon endured and spread, its very growth and prosperity would after a few generations have obliterated the sacred character of the chosen people.

Therefore, terrible as was the blow which descended on Israel by the disruption of the Monarchy, and although this schism was the precursor of its eventual destruction, it was nevertheless a step towards the realisation of a higher destiny. The area of the Divine influence was circumscribed by the loss of

the remoter territories—drawn into a compass which allowed the full authority of the Mosaic ritual and Mosaic doctrine to be felt throughout the dominions of the house of David; while a bulwark was erected by the outlying kingdom, to bear the first shock of the Syrian and Assyrian powers, behind which in comparative security the sacred germ was silently matured till the season for new growth should arrive.

Dr. Milman's treatment of the Babylonish Captivity, of the character of the Samaritan and Galilæan nations, and of the fortunes of returning Israel, exhibits in a remarkable degree his powers both as a historian and as a philosopher. He seizes with a happy discernment the leading features of those obscure times; shows a just perception of what a historian may confidently assert concerning them, what he must be content to leave in the haze of poetic distance; and, while following the transformation of the sacred commonwealth into a Church, traces with a masterly hand the modifications produced in the opinions and genius of the Jews by the circumstances under which they were restored, as well as by the contact into which they were brought with their friendly and welcome deliverers, the monotheistic Persians.

We fully agree with Dr. Milman in believing that the Samaritans must have been far more largely of Israelitish descent than was allowed by the prejudices of their Jewish rivals. But neither can we doubt that in the Southern Kingdom also a much larger remnant of the humbler population was left behind by the Chaldæan conquerors than is generally supposed. The portion that was carried away, even in the final captivity, can have embraced but few of the less wealthy or less skilful of the rural population of Judæa; and when the return from Babylon took place, it did but restore a head to those who had been left without their natural superiors. Of those superiors, too, it has only of late years been at all adequately recognised how large a proportion remained behind in the cities of Babylonia, losing there, however, neither their religion nor their national sympathies, but forming an important and wealthy Hebrew community which thenceforward played no inconsiderable part in Jewish history, contributing their share to sacred and apocryphal literature, animating, supporting, and influencing their brethren in Palestine, and at last (after the Roman desolation of Judæa) supplying once more a rallying point and centre of life to the Hebrew nation, which only ceased with the Moslem persecutions of the ninth and following centuries.

Our highest interest attaches itself, however, to those spiritual

heroes of the race, who, strong in hope and trust, dared to re-enter the land of their forefathers, the land with which their highest aspirations were bound up. To that little band, venturing in the strength of faith on their most disheartening enterprise, mankind owes a debt of gratitude difficult to exaggerate. Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, Ezra deserve to be ranked with Abraham and with Moses among the noblest worthies in the history of the faith, exemplifying as they do in the highest degree the eminent and singular qualities which have made the Jewish race foremost in one respect among the nations of the earth. To the courage and devotion of all three, we owe it under God that the nucleus of the Church was restored to that position where alone it could attract and assimilate the scattered elements of growth, and to the wisdom of Ezra in particular, that the treasures of the Scriptures, which have enriched the world, were preserved and made available for our use.

The period which followed the replanting of the sacred seed in the soil which was essential to its further growth, has been well sketched by Dr. Milman in its singular and characteristic obscurity. We shall quote one passage from this portion of his work, distinguished by its wisdom and truth no less than by its beauty, and indicative of the value of the additions made in the present reprint. Only the last paragraph but one is found in the earlier editions.

'After the death of Nehemiah (about B.C. 415) a curtain falls on the history of the Jews. This curtain remains, permitting only rare and doubtful glimpses behind its thick and impenetrable folds, till the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175), a period of 210 years,—as long, to compare it with modern history, as from the death of Queen Elizabeth to the accession of Queen Victoria; nearly from the death of Henry IV. of France to the accession of Louis Napoleon. For more than two centuries, therefore, the history of the Jews, as far as the record of events, even the development of human character, is hardly more than a blank; and yet during that period what a signal revolution must have been, if not initiated, yet wrought to a wonderful height in the character of the Jewish people! The nation which was somewhat contemptuously permitted by the mercy or the policy of the great Asiatic sovereigns to return to their native valleys, who lived there under the sway of Persian satraps, of the successors of Alexander, suddenly emerge as the magnanimous heroes of the Maccabaic wars, assume so much importance as to be admitted into alliance with Rome; and though with the rest of the world they submit to become a province of the all-absorbing empire, yet almost alone dare to revolt against her intolerable tyranny, and wage almost the last war of freedom against the sovereignty of the Cæsars. And all this time, during this silent period of more than

200 years, the religious and intellectual elements of the Jewish character were fermenting, untraced, untraceable. In the darkness of this same long period, Judaism, with its strong and settled aversion to all Polytheism, to Gentile influence, gradually hardened into its rigid exclusiveness. The canon of the sacred writings (it is not clearly known by whom or on what authority) rose to its perfect fulness; the Scriptures took their present shape; some at least of those remarkable books which we call Apocryphal, as Ecclesiasticus, came to light. Conflicting opinions, which grew up under the Asmonean princes into religious factions, those of the Pharisees and Sadducees, began to stir in the religious mind and heart of the people. The old Nazaritism grew towards the later Essenism.

'During the great age of Grecian splendour in arms, enterprise, and letters, the Jews, in this quiet and perhaps enviable obscurity, lay hid within their native valleys. The tide of war rolled at a distance, wasting Asia Minor, and occasionally breaking on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. The Grecian writers of this time seem quite unaware of the existence of such a people; they lay entirely out of the line of maritime adventure: Tyre alone on the Syrian coast attracted the Grecian merchant. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the Jews of Palestine, who were now in their lowest state both as to numbers and opulence, had commenced their mercantile career. The accounts of the intercourse of the earlier and later Grecian philosophers, Pythagoras and Plato, with the Hebrews, are manifest fictions of the Alexandrian Jews, eagerly adopted and exaggerated by the Christian fathers. The Greeks little apprehended that a few leagues inland from the coast which their fleets perpetually passed, a people, speaking a language which they esteemed barbarous, was quietly pursuing its rural occupations, and cultivating its luxuriant soil, yet possessed treasures of poetry which would rival their own Pindar and Simonides, moral wisdom which might put to shame that of Plato; a people who were hereafter to send forth the great religious instructors of the world.

'During this time, too, another capital, hereafter to rise to a commercial, literary, in its way religious, rival of Jerusalem, was at least founded in Egypt. While in Jerusalem the great body of the nation, the proper nation, was wrapping itself round in its hard impenetrable Judaism, the Alexandrian Jews were dallying at least with Grecian influences, with which in later times they entered into treacherous alliance. The Jews of Alexandria probably spoke in Greek—certainly wrote in Greek; they translated the national Scriptures into Greek; they allegorized the Mosaic system, to bring it into harmony with the Greek philosophy. Everywhere that silent preparation (among alas but a few!) for the reception of Christianity—among the many for the obstinate rejection of Christianity—had no doubt begun, which was to be continued and consummated during the two more eventful centuries about to elapse between the Maccabaic war and the promulgation of the Gospel.' (Vol. i. pp. 443–5.)

We are deeply convinced, with Dr. Milman, that the preparation of the world for Christianity — a preparation not only outward and circumstantial, but mental and moral also —was by no means confined to those methods and to those ages which alone are usually taken into account. Even among the Jews, the fulness of time was brought about by agencies and in methods which are not wholly known to us; and the traces of which, if discoverable at all, must often be sought in sources independent of, and posterior to, the ancient Scriptures. Nor was it among the Jews alone that this training of mind and conscience for the final revelation was going on. The history of the Jews is not commensurate with the religious history of mankind anterior to Christ. The discipline to which the chosen nation was subjected was the training of a portion only of the human race, and that for a particular end. The Jews were separated for a definite and peculiar purpose, which their own peculiarities were made to subserve; and further purposes, equally definite though not so clearly traceable, were effected in other nations also by the same Divine hand; without which, indeed, the special preparation of the chosen people might have been insufficient for the great result. Like the piers of some mighty bridge, all rising separately on their separate foundations, though buried for the most part in the hidden depths of the stream, so were Greek and Roman, and Oriental and Teuton, prepared for the edifice which in fulness of time was to throw its majestic arches over all, combining all in one vast and harmonious plan. And so, we doubt not, even now, among races still strangers to Christianity, are silently preparing other foundations also, which are eventually to bear a still extended superstructure. Christ was not the realisation of Jewish ideas alone, nor only of a Jewish ideal: though these were the most prominent, and, in some respects, the most important; like the central pier standing on an isolated rock, and displaying, as no other does, from its foundations upwards, the design and workmanship of the architect. There are many parts of the human character of Christ, and still more of the work committed to His Church to accomplish, which the Jewish mind (even in its best representatives) was little capable of appreciating, and which modern Christendom would even now appreciate far less than it does, had not Jewish culture been aided by the work which Greeks and Romans and other Gentiles too were guided to fulfil. Nay, who shall say even now that we apprehend these points as coming ages will learn to apprehend them, with the aid (it may be) of other races of the human family whose destined action in the Christian Church is unforeseen as yet?

At any rate, it is to Greek and Roman masters, more than to Jewish prophets and sages, that we owe the development of many of those faculties which find in Christ their highest object of contemplation, and in Christian duty their highest exercise. Nay more, it is a certain, though still but imperfectly established fact, that much of the Jewish culture itself, in some stages of its progress, was due to Gentile influences; that many of the moral, and some even of the theological, ideas which prevailed among the Jews when Christ came, and which He did not disdain to stamp with His approval, were due not so much to the inspired conceptions of Moses and the Prophets, as to the witness of conscience and reason and religious instinct welling up in the Gentile world both from the East and from the West, and silently combining with the diviner springs of doctrine which gushed from the sacred soil of Palestine.

When the curtain which fell over the Israelitish history rises once more, we hardly think that Dr. Milman does the justice we should expect to that great act of the drama which almost immediately presents itself. The era of the Maccabees deserves to be described with all the prominence and all the emphasis which can be given to it. Independently of the grandeur of character which marks the Maccabees themselves, and the magnificence of their achievements, the epoch was one of the utmost importance in the history of religion. The failure of the unwise though natural attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes, gave a new impulse to the faith which succeeded in baffling it. The spurious alliance already contracted with heathenism was (in Palestine at least) at once and altogether repudiated. The worshippers of Jehovah felt amongst them once more the Presence which had been manifested of old. Nor could the heathen world refuse its admiration, while marvelling at the rise of an armed hierarchy, in which may be seen some parallel (under a fainter but far purer form) to the later phenomenon of victorious Islam. The secondary results, too, were hardly less remarkable, or less manifestly subservient to the Divine purposes. Through the notice and favour accorded to the Jewish nation by the Ptolemies and the Roman senate, the conducting medium for the spread of Christianity was more widely and efficiently diffused among the Gentiles; while Jerusalem not only recovered its ancient prestige in the eyes of dispersed adherents, but drew more closely to itself (by a process which no historian has yet sufficiently traced) that outlying portion of Israel which, under the name of Galilee, was one day to occupy the foremost place in sacred story.

The heroic period of the Maccabees once out of sight, we could

wish that Dr. Milman had passed more rapidly to the destruction of Jerusalem. It being no part of his plan to trace the early history of Christianity, there is little in the annals of the later Asmonean princes, of the Herods, or of the Roman governors, to deserve a minuteness of detail which has not been accorded to the Jewish kings. Dr. Milman is, we think, too easily tempted to adopt the scale which, from some personal or incidental circumstances, happens to be that of his authorities for the time, instead of adhering to that which is consistent with the general perspective of his own plan. And the result is more unfortunate when Josephus is his guide than when he is following one of the sacred historians. He apologises to his readers for the length at which he has related the siege of Jotopata, pleading in his defence the curious illustration it supplies of Jewish and Roman character, as well as the stragetic details which have before attracted the attention of great military writers. But so little reliance can be placed on Josephus, with his vanity, his prejudices, and his mendacious exaggerations, that we cannot concede such importance to an occasion which derives its chief prominence from his own connexion with it; and even at the siege of Jerusalem his tale is evidently so strongly coloured and distorted by party bias and personal feeling, that it hardly deserves to be repeated with the fulness of detail which the magnitude of the crisis undoubtedly justifies. This second volume of Dr. Milman's work is the least successful portion of it. Vivid in his descriptions, admirable in his surveys of prominent epochs, he is less happy in his narrative of a long series of minor events. When he gets on the dead level of a table-land, which must often be the fate of all writers and readers of history, he is somewhat deficient in the art of dexterous abridgment, and in the equally essential art of warning his readers what to be prepared for, disclosing to them glimpses of the blue distance beyond, and cheering the way (if indeed it be necessary to traverse it in all its weary length), with remarks which show a sympathetic appreciation of its weariness, or suggest the benefits which may be anticipated from the unwelcome labour.

The third volume, which contains the varied tale of Jewish fortunes from the final victory of Hadrian to the present day, affords a better field for our author's peculiar merits, and constitutes, indeed, that portion of the work which gives it an undisputed place in English literature. We have so lately gone over much of this ground in our notice of 'Modern 'Judaism,' relying, indeed, to a great extent on the same authorities to which Dr. Milman appeals, that we are spared

the necessity of dwelling on it again at any length. We expressed at that time the confident expectation with which we looked forward to the promised enlargements of this third edition, especially in the mediæval portion of it; and we gladly say that we are not disappointed. At the same time we must also express our regret that we in some measure overlooked the merits of the work which Dean Milman had previously accomplished. After reading over again the summary of Jewish achievements, reverses, sufferings, which he recounts so effectively, we were surprised to find how much of it, and how much too of the very best kind, was contained in the earlier editions. The rich and graphic chapters, especially, on the Jewish Patriarchates of the East and West, and on the Golden age of Judaism, were written almost as they now stand in the original issue of the book, and are models of interesting popular sketches, based on careful and learned investigations though never encumbering the reader with superfluous details. The amount of research and knowledge which this volume displays, matured and perfected by the quiet accumulation of years, and set off by the charms of a liberal and accomplished mind, deserves our warmest admiration. And its value is now greatly enhanced by the copious references as well as notes introduced in this edition, besides a judicious enlargement of the text, and the supplementary continuation which brings the story down to the present day.

Highly, however, as we think of this book, it will be seen that we do not consider it one which either deserves, or will attain so long a term of life, as the Dean's 'History of Latin 'Christianity.' Indeed, we have doubts whether a continuous history of the Jews is a work which it is well to attempt at all; or which, in the present state of knowledge and feeling, could be executed throughout with a satisfactory consistency of plan. To execute it worthily requires, it is clear, deep religious feeling as well as high historical powers. Yet directly religious convictions come in, they act as a violent solvent, breaking up the subject into distinct fragments. To a religious Jew, indeed, all appears to flow on in one connected stream; seeing as he does in the national struggle against the Romans the same heroic virtue and constancy which we ourselves admire in the Maccabees, and in the long agony of his race in modern times the same trial of faith which claims our own sympathy under the Egyptian bondage and the Babylonish captivity; while even in their present dispersion he recognises only a continuance of the same state of things which he can point to as existing before the Christian era. But the Christian historian is perplexed by divided sympathies and wavering

judgment; while he is equally embarrassed by the sharp lines which separate the natural from the supernatural periods of his subject, or those (by no means coincident) which separate the eras of sacred authorities from the eras of profane. Religious instinct leads us to treat these subjects separately. And we think it better to do so than to attempt a grand connected epic, extending from Abraham to the nineteenth century, which, except by a very questionable assumption of insight into the Divine purposes, can have no organic coherency. Dr. Milman is far too conscientious and too wise to advance any such pretensions. And in his case we should greatly prefer to see his third volume formed into a separate work, with an appropriate introduction, and (if that might also be), with still further amplifications.* Such a work might long maintain its place in English literature; presenting as it does a candid and learned compendium of the History of the Jews since their final expulsion from Palestine—a history coloured by no prevailing theory, and inculcating no favourite conclusions save only the eternal obligations of humanity, justice, and charity.

For immediate purposes, however, and as a timely contribution to the cause of truth amidst the perplexities of the present time, we dwell with greater pleasure on his first volume, with its notes and comments, and not least on the wise and farsighted counsels offered in the Preface. To this Preface we will briefly advert in conclusion.

The Dean watches with sorrowful and prophetic eye the signs of approaching combat between the powers of science and religious faith; and deeply convinced (as every sincere Christian must be) that there is no real contradiction between revealed and philosophical truth, yet perceiving (as few do perceive) that the ground which theologians are bent on maintaining is in some respects untenable, raises his voice in favour of a calm and timely reconsideration of the points where conflict seems impending.

How hopeless to arrest the human mind in its successful though sometimes too confident career! how mischievous to do so, if we could! How unworthy of the Christian Church to repeat the part too often enacted by it heretofore, of obstinate resistance to irresistible light; of humiliating acquiescence at last in defeat which might have been joint victory! How

* We understand that Dr. Milman's principal authority, Jost, has been decidedly surpassed in the estimation of the Germans by Grätz, of whose elaborate 'Geschichte der Juden' five volumes have already appeared.

unwise and faithless to take it for granted that we can have nothing new to learn in theology, no new insight to gain into depths disclosed of old; that truth has been exhausted by the Fathers or the Reformers, that any further modifications of opinion must necessarily be error!

Frankly and unreservedly he concedes the right of science to maintain the certainty of its own established principles—the right of criticism to enter within the sacred precincts, and do its utmost there. When its pretensions are unwarrantable, let them be met as the late lamented Sir G. Cornewall Lewis met them: let us rebuke that 'dogmatism of rationalism,' which, basing its theories often on arbitrary conjecture, 'asserts them 'with as much certitude, and even intolerance, contemptuous 'intolerance, as the most orthodox and conservative writers.' Let crude and premature conclusions be boldly challenged; but let us not deny their rights to conscientious thought and legitimate inquiry, or blind ourselves to the continual necessity of modifying our conclusions under the light of increasing knowledge.

'If on such subjects (concludes Dr. Milman) some solid ground be not found on which highly educated, reflective, reading, reasoning men may find firm footing, I can foresee nothing but a wide, a widening, I fear an irreparable, breach between the thought and the religion of England. A comprehensive, all-embracing, truly Catholic Christianity, which knows what is essential to religion, what is temporary and extraneous to it, may defy the world. Obstinate adherence to things antiquated and irreconcilable with advancing knowledge, may repel, and for ever, how many I know not, how far I know still less. *Avertat omen Deus!*'

Most heartily we respond to these noble words. And we are impelled, before we leave the subject, to point to one important consideration, which the topics we have been considering suggest. In our opinion the discussion which the books of the Old Testament and the records of Jewish History are now undergoing must lead to a modification of the Jewish element in Anglican and still more in Scottish Christianity. The traditional view of the relation which Judaism bears to Christianity will be reconsidered and reduced to a form more consistent with the immeasurable superiority of the later dispensation.

There is a vague and fallacious impression existing very generally amongst us, that because the Mosaic Revelation came from above, it is therefore a permanent and essential part of the fuller Revelation which followed it; that because the Jewish dispensation historically preceded and introduced the Christian, therefore it must precede it still or at least underlie it in every

Christian mind; that because it was a schoolmaster (or rather a *guardian slave*) to bring the Jews to Christ, therefore it retains its functions still, entitled to exercise them moreover towards all the nations of the earth, and even to assume the rank of an indispensable instructor.

We hold this impression to be both mistaken and mischievous. We believe it to be quite inconsistent with a true estimate of the greatness and sufficiency of the Christian religion, of the independent evidence on which it rests, of the transcendent dignity and superhuman wisdom of its Author, of the intrinsic fitness of its doctrines for universal acceptance and use. Christianity does not stand on Judaism, but rather is its justification and support. Even historically viewed, Judaism did not bear to Christianity the relation which the blossom bears to the fruit—a causative as well as an introductory one. It was rather as the dawn to the full daylight, being itself the product of the completer manifestation which it preceded and heralded. And doctrinally viewed, even the relation of priority is reversed. We begin with Christianity now; and then turn back, so far as it is advisable or fitting, to the lessons of the earlier dispensation. It is an interest reflected from Christ which gives such value in our eyes to the history of the people and the land thus honoured above all others, making even their prehistoric records exceptionally sacred. Even the spiritual and moral truths contained in the ancient Scriptures are not taught, because we cannot learn those truths as well or better from the later and diviner source of doctrine, but rather as an accessory, which for purely religious purposes it would be possible to dispense with. We are not dependent on the Law and the Prophets for first principles of belief, to be worked up gradually into a Christian form. Those first principles we find at once in their purest, clearest, fullest form, exhibited in the Gospel. The doctrines of the Old Testament are not to the New like the earlier propositions of Euclid, which must necessarily be mastered before we can understand the later ones. They are rather like those more ancient methods in mathematics, which newer and better modes have practically superseded, but which still have their use for every intelligent learner, while to the scientific student they remain necessary subjects of research.

These principles will hardly be disputed perhaps in their naked form. Yet how grievously are they forgotten or denied in their practical application! For is it not a manifest violation of them to stake the very truth of Christianity on the alleged perfection of the Jewish Scriptures; to insist on Jewish forms

of thought in theology as the only adequate way of conceiving Christian truth; to treat the statements of the Hebrew records as essential tenets of our faith, and the necessary groundwork of Christian education; and even to make these matters part of the Gospel which we preach to the heathen, and force upon their acceptance if they are to be Christians at all?

We have often thought how little the example of St. Paul is studied or even noticed, whether in his missionary proceedings or his treatment of Gentile churches already formed. It is hardly observed by our theologians and commentators that his mode of dealing with converts won straight from heathenism differs materially from that which he adopts towards those who had passed as proselytes through the discipline of the synagogue. These Gentile churches he does not exhort to procure the rolls of the Law and the Prophets, to erect them into an authoritative standard, to read them publicly in their assemblies, to study them deeply and constantly, regarding them as the only accredited source of Divine truth; though this would surely have been an indispensable necessity in his eyes, had he shared the modern views of the Old Testament and of its relation to Gentile as well as Jewish Christianity. On the contrary, he seems rather to discourage a practice which, however advantageous if wisely pursued, was beset with dangers to the simplicity of the Gospel. He exacts no knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures from his Gentile converts. He makes no allusion to their teaching, except for the purpose of parrying Jewish encroachments, and showing how the advantages arrogated by Judaizers were already provided and supplied out of the fulness of Christian truth. In the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Philippians, and Colossians, St. Paul unfolds a system of Christian doctrine altogether independent of Jewish conceptions, carefully adapted and perfectly intelligible to those who yet may be wholly ignorant of the Mosaic Law. Converts thus trained and instructed he treats as nowise inferior to Christians (like those of Rome or Corinth) well versed in the Jewish Scriptures.

Not, indeed, that we are to rush into the extreme of an exclusively Gentile Christianity. That would be to abandon the larger cultivation which we have inherited from the past. It is our duty, doubtless, as well as our privilege, to avail ourselves of the ancient Scriptures to the full. And for us, besides their own intrinsic worth, they have acquired a still further use and value. For they are absolutely indispensable now for the understanding of the Christian Scriptures, not (let it be observed) for the understanding of the Christian *religion*, but (which is quite another thing) for the under-

standing of those narratives and documents in which Christian doctrine has been providentially embodied. Nor would we derogate anything from their intrinsic worth as inspired communications — communications (it is true) to other races and in other ages, but instinct with inspiration still. All we contend for is that they should be used in their proper place and for their proper purpose; and that place, we maintain, is wholly subordinate, that purpose wholly ancillary. To regard them as direct messages of the Almighty to ourselves, to force our Christian doctrine into their Oriental and Semitic mould, is as mistaken a use of them as to claim for their narratives an immunity from historical criticism, or to hamper science by the crude notions of physics which they necessarily contain.

If this view of the Old Testament prove new and startling to a class of pious and respectable persons who regard every portion of the sacred volume as the object of an identical and indiscriminate veneration, we are content to place it under the sanction of one of the most learned and strenuous prelates of the Church of England, the present Bishop of St. David's, who uses the following language in the masterly Charge addressed to his clergy in October last:—

'Another thought which may well be brought home to our minds by the controversies of the day, is that we have greater need than ever to distinguish between things which do and things which do not concern our Christian faith and hope. A great part of the events related in the Old Testament have no more apparent connexion with our religion than those of Greek or Roman history. It is true that even the minutest and seemingly most insignificant facts may have entered into the scheme of Divine Providence, as part of the process through which a way was prepared for the introduction of the Gospel. But this is no more than may be said of everything that has happened everywhere upon earth from the beginning of the world. The adaptation of the means to the end is one of the secrets of the Divine counsels; and we cannot presume to say that the same end might not have been attained by some other means. This, therefore, is not sufficient to invest the means with any share in the sanctity of the end. The history, so far as it is a narrative of civil and political transactions, has no essential connexion with any religious truth, and, if it had been lost, though we should have been left in ignorance of much that we desired to know, our treasure of Christian doctrine would have remained whole and unimpaired. The numbers, migrations, wars, battles, conquests, and reverses of Israel, have nothing in common with the teaching of Christ, with the way of salvation, with the fruits of the Spirit. They belong to a totally different order of subjects; they are not to be confounded with the spiritual revelation contained in the Old Testament, much less with that fulness of grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ. Whatever know-

ledge we may obtain of them is, in a religious point of view, a matter of absolute indifference to us; and if they were placed on a level with the saving truths of the Gospel, they would gain nothing in intrinsic dignity, but would only degrade that with which they are thus associated. Such an association may, indeed, exist in the minds of pious and even learned men, but it is only by means of an artificial chain of reasoning which does not carry convictions to all beside. Such questions must be left to every one's private judgment and feeling, which have the fullest right to decide for each, but not to impose their decisions, as the dictates of an infallible authority, on the consciences of others. Any attempt to erect such facts into articles of faith would be fraught with danger of irreparable evil to the Church, as well as with immediate hurt to numberless souls.' (*Charge of the Bishop of St. David's*, 1863, p. 123.)

The Bishop is right. Much of the infidelity which is rife among thoughtful mechanics, much of the perplexity which prevails among the more educated classes, most of the narrow and impracticable notions which impair the usefulness of the clergy, spring from the rigid connexion unwisely maintained between the peculiar conceptions or primæval traditions of the Hebrew race and the world-wide truths of the Gospel. We look forward with hope to see a gradual reform in this opinion — a reform necessitated by the growing thought and intelligence of the community. To England already the eyes of continental divines are very generally directed, with the hope that this nation is once more to bear its rightful part in the cultivation of the common field of Theology. Even among the rationalistic theologians of Germany there are some who, weary of the arbitrary methods, the baseless hypotheses, the barren or destructive consequences, of their so-called 'higher criticism,' are looking to the correcting influence of the English mind for the safer, soberer, and more fruitful results which may be expected here, when our traditional views shall be happily modified by a surer confidence in truth. And to this work the Church of England seems more especially called. Unfettered by any narrow theory of inspiration, uncompromised by any fatal assertion of her formularies, the Church of England is marked out for the free action of legitimate research; able, with peculiar advantage, to reconcile the claims of reason with the full reception of those truths which are beyond it.

ART. VI.—1. *Narrative of a Secret Mission to the Danish Islands in* 1808. By the Rev. JAMES ROBERTSON. Edited, from the Author's MS., by his nephew, ALEXANDER CLINTON FRASER. London: 1863.

2. *The Scots Monasteries in Germany.* MSS. of the late JAMES DENNISTOUN, of Dennistoun, in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.

3. *Necrologium Monasterii Scotorum Sti. Jacobi Ratisbonensis.* MS.

4. *Wattenbach, Die Kongregation der Schotten-Klöster in Deutschland.* (Quast und Otte, Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst.) Translated by Rev. W. REEVES, D.D., in the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology.'

5. *Réclamations auprès du Gouvernement de sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière contre un arrêté du Ministère des Cultes en date du* 6 *Novembre* 1848, *touchant le Monastère et le Séminaire de St. Jacques des Ecossais à Ratisbonne.* Adressées par Mgr. GILLIS, Evêque-Coadjuteur de Mgr. le Vicaire Apostolique d'Edimbourg. Liége: 1849.

6. *Georgii Conæi de Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos.* Romæ: typis Vaticanis: 1628.

7. *A breiffe Narration of the Services done to three noble Ladyes.* By GILBERT BLAKHAL, Preist of the Scots Mission in France, in the Low Countries, and in Scotland. Aberdeen (Spalding Club): 1844.

'THE end of an auld sang'—so the Earl of Seafield described the termination of the separate nationality of Scotland, as he touched the Act of Union with the royal sceptre—has in all cases an interest of its own, in a measure independent of the value of the institution, of which the last hour has come. The lictors of the Roman Consulate were not in themselves very different from other attendants on civic authority, yet not without some feeling do we learn that they not only survived the transfer of the Empire to Constantinople, but that, continuing to minister to the pomp of its Mahomedan conquerors, they were only abolished in our own times by the reforms of Sultan Mahmoud. And so it is not without a similar emotion that we contemplate the recent extinction of the Scottish monastery of St. James at Ratisbon, the last-surviving institution of those numerous centres of Celtic, or rather Scotic, civilisation which exercised so potential an influence on the state of Europe in the darkest period of the middle ages.

The British traveller who visits the ancient and beautiful city of Regensburg, the *Regina Castra* of the Romans, the *Ratis bona*, or convenient landing-place, of the middle age, where in early times the Latin merchant bartered the commodities of civilised life for the furs of the eternal forest; where, in the days of Arnulph the Bastard, a mighty commerce had established itself; and where for many a year the Diet of the Holy Reich used to assemble—will not have exhausted the objects of interest in that most picturesque cathedral-city unless he see what is termed the *Kirche des Schotten-Klosters zu S. Jacob.* He will there find a most remarkable Romanesque church, which owes to the later poverty of the monastery a comparative immunity from *sei-cento* restoration. He will note the two eastern towers, of great beauty and grace; the well-developed narthex, in the upper part of which is the Benedictine choir; the solemn cloister paved with the sepulchral stones of many generations; and, above all, the rich and elaborate Norman doorway, unique so far as Germany is concerned, and recalling the peculiar sculptured stones which are found most plentifully in the Eastern counties of Scotland, as well as the serpentine and interlacing decorations which are noted as the distinctive ornamentation of the ancient Celtic manuscripts. In this almost deserted spot he will recognise the dwelling-place for nearly 800 years of a small and interesting colony of his countrymen, who, after having done their work, have yielded to time and to circumstance, and, not without some remonstrance, have lately surrendered their property, for the use of the Episcopal Seminary, to the authorities of the Bavarian Government.

To account for the existence of this institution we have to go back to a period many hundred years before its actual foundation. It was the remote consequence of that marvellous Irish civilisation in the sixth and seventh centuries which is now beginning to attract the attention of the historian. Besides affording, from its insular position, a refuge for the remnants of the old civilisation, and receiving multitudes from other lands who came to sit at the feet of its teachers, Ireland sent forth her sons into every part of the then known world. From Iceland to Tarentum (where Cathal of Lismore is to this day venerated as the patron-saint, San Cataldo), we find them occupying the episcopal sees or forming themselves into religious communities. St. Kilian at Wurzburg, St. Gall at the town which takes its name from him—above all, St. Columban, first at Luxeuil, and then at Bobbio—may be cited as instances.*

* A man of letters, still living, to whom Scott dedicated one of

When we arrive at the ninth century, we place our foot on solid ground. In the year A.D. 845, only two years after the dismemberment of the Carlovingian Empire by its partition between three sons of Louis the Pious — Lothaire, Charles the Bald, and Louis the German — we find that an ecclesiastical synod was held at Meaux, and in its enactments there is testimony of the past and present condition of the Irish religious occupation. At Canon xl. (Baronii Annales ad ann. p. 33. *a.*) 'The king's greatness is warned about the Hospitals, which in 'the lives of his predecessors were set in order and cherished, 'but now are reduced to nothing. So also the hospitals of the 'Scots, which holy men of that nation have built in this 'kingdom, and according to their piety have endowed, are now 'entirely alienated from the duty of hospitality; so that not 'only those who claim it are not received, but even those who 'from childhood have warred the Christian warfare in these 'places have been ejected from them, and compelled to beg 'their bread from door to door.' A small fragmentary chronicle, belonging to the monastery of St. Martin, is still preserved in the Wallrafian Library at Cologne, but this is of the eleventh century; and this, with a few notices of the celebrated Marianus Scotus, brings us down to the epoch of the actual foundation of the Scottish convents in Ratisbon, about the date of the Norman Conquest.

A life of the founder, under the title of 'Vita Beati Mariani 'Scoti,' printed in the Acta Sanctorum*, is in fact an account of the Church itself and its affiliated houses. We learn from it, as well as from other sources, that another Marianus, a great scribe, left his native country, in accordance with the wandering instinct which at that time marked his compatriots. He was accompanied by certain others, whose names have been

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the cantos of Marmion, noted the following anecdote in his journal when travelling in Switzerland in the year 1802:—'Werdenberg, 1802. I am told a singular enough circumstance that from time immemorial the people of Werdenberg have been in the custom of praying for the Scotch and Irish, for what reason they would not tell me – but they have a set prayer for that purpose, which forms part of their weekly worship, and which they have used all their lives without knowing any reason for it. . . . It is a singular fact, for which I felt much puzzled to account during the remainder of my walk, that in the distant valley of the Alps, where the very name and existence of my country is hardly known to the simple shepherds, I should find it the subject of their prayers.'

* Februarii, tom. ii. pp. 365–72.

handed down to us, in one account as John, Clemens, and Candidus, in another as Machantius, Clemens, Milrehertacus, Gervasius, Isaac, and Donaldus. They were first received by Otto, Bishop of Regensburg and Canon of Bamberg, with whom they remained a twelvemonth. They then became Benedictines, in the Michelsberg at Bamberg; but, wishing to make the pilgrimage to Rome, they stopped at Ratisbon, where a Scotic 'inclusus,' by name Muriherdach, according to a favourite form of the devotion of the day, lived immured in a cell. They were received hospitably by Hemma, Abbess of the Oberminster. The legend of their adoption of Ratisbon as a home is picturesque enough. On Marianus communicating his intention of going to Rome, the Inclusus advised him to pray to God to direct him, whether it were better to continue his journey or to remain where he was. On the following night, Marianus was desired in a dream to spend the remainder of his days in the place where the rising sun should first shine upon him. Next day, starting with his companions for Rome, he stopped to pray in St. Peter's Church for a prosperous journey. Having finished his devotions, just as he was coming out of the church, the rays of the rising sun struck his eyes, upon which, recollecting his dream, he determined to go no further, threw himself upon his knees, and thanked God and St. Peter for pointing out to him the place where he should live and die. 'Here shall be my rest for ever: 'here will I await the dreadful day of doom.' The Abbess made over the church to the Scots, and the nuns retained the right of postulating any of the monks to be Prior. This foundation is termed 'Monasterium Sti. Petri Consecrati,' or Weih S. Peter. The citizens of Regensburg, and especially one Bezelin, built the monastery, which lasted till 1552, when, by order of Count Philip of Coerstein, the governor of the city, the church with all its buildings was demolished for military purposes, the revenues were transferred to St. James's, and the site of the church was turned into a Protestant cemetery: as the author of the 'Indiculus' expresses it, 'Et locus ubi stetit 'ecclesia, Lutheranorum cadaveribus profanatur!'

The monks of St. Peter increasing in number, and extending their connexions — partly religious, partly mercantile — as far as Bohemia, Poland, and Russia, in 1090 the Abbot, assisted by wealthy citizens, erected another monastery, in honour of St. James and St. Gertrude. It was consecrated in 1111, privileged by the Emperor in 1112, and sanctioned by Pope Calixtus in 1120. The next abbot, Christianus, after procuring bulls in its favour from Pope Innocent II. and Eugenius,

made a journey into Ireland in quest of money. Here were public schools, in which the long-neglected right to teach was resumed by Ninian Winzet. A prebend was bestowed upon them, *in frumento et cerevisia*, by the Abbess of the Niederminster, by reason of the fact of St. Erhard being buried there. Under the church were subterranean cells, for persons desirous of leading a solitary life, one of which, it is said, may still be seen beneath the sacristy. The first twenty abbots had no privileges of the mitre and pontificalia, which were first conceded to Abbot Paulinus by Pope Honorius in 1287.

The building, having been erected in a slight and hasty manner, very soon showed symptoms of decay; and, accordingly, the next abbot, Gregory, rebuilt the whole church, with the exception of the towers, and added a cloister. The historical evidence, that would place the erection of the grand old church between 1150 and 1184, agrees with the testimony of the architecture. Three times during the history of the abbey — in 1278, in 1453, and in 1546 — was it injured by fire; during the Thirty Years' war the monastery lay in ruins; but the work of Abbot Gregory still survives, an interesting link in architecture, between the pure Romanesque of the Rhine and the later pointed style which succeeded it.

The popularity of these foreign monks at this epoch suggests some curious reflections. The reasons that accounted for the earlier Irish civilisation had passed away. The Celtic monasteries in Scotland and Ireland had ceased to be the only asylums of piety and letters. The religious houses in both countries had fallen from their primitive strictness. The see of Armagh was handed down, by what St. Bernard calls an 'execranda 'successio,' from father to son, and the greatest corruption prevailed. Yet we find a number of wandering Scots commending themselves to the Germans by the extraordinary austerity of their lives, some leading the heremitic life as 'inclusi,' others as Cœnobites following the strictest rule of St. Benedict. In spite of the difficulties arising from the use of a language so different from the German as is the Gaelic, they became the favourites, not only of the pious nuns of the Oberminster, but of the burghers of the flourishing municipality. Wattenbach believes that they anticipated the work that was done two centuries later by the friars among the town populations. Certain it is that we find them extending themselves through Germany, and even reacting on the spiritual condition of their own countrymen, as in the instance hereafter to be mentioned of the Priory of St. Mary at Ross-Carbery, in the county of Cork.

It was naturally during the time of their religious fervour that the Scotic societies propagated themselves through the cities of the Empire. A bull, issued after the Lateran Council in 1215, declares that the houses affiliated to St. James Ratisbon, besides the Weih St. Peter, were in number eleven; and in a document, dated June 10, 1423, the Abbot Macrobius appeals to the charity of the faithful on its behalf, pleading that fourteen Scotch monasteries had sprung from its foundation. Of these we know only the following:—

1. At Herbipolis or Wurzburg in Franconia, where there is evidence that an Irish establishment had previously existed, St. Embricho, the bishop of that see in 1136, began to found a monastery in honour of St. James the Greater, apostle and patron of pilgrims, out of veneration to, and in memory of, St. Kilian the Scot, apostle and patron of Franconia. It was placed under the presidency of the saintly Macarius, the legend of whose turning the wine into water, when urged against his vow of abstinence by the bishop, to pledge the memory of St. Kilian, reminds one of some of the stories of 'Glamour' which are found in the early Irish accounts of the miracles of St. Bridget or St. Finbar. He was succeeded by Gregory and by Carus, previously prior of Ratisbon. Wurzburg was one of the three houses restored to the Scotch after the Reformation, and was occupied by Benedictines from Scotland till within the last twenty years. It is now turned into a military hospital, the old apsidal choir of the church being used as the chapel.

2. In Nürnberg, Carus having become chaplain to the Emperor Conrade of the house of Hohenstaufen and Gertrude his wife, received from them in 1111 the church of St. Giles in that town. It is believed that here also was an older Irish foundation on the site. It is now called the New Church, being rebuilt in 1718 in a heavy Italian style. In the arrangements it is curious to see how Charles V.'s 'Interim,' which hung up the Reformation for a time, and affected Nürnberg more profoundly than any city of Germany, preserved its power even at the time of the reconstruction of the church in the eighteenth century; the ornaments and decorations being nearly the same as in a Catholic church. As we shall see later, the Scots were thrust out for their ignorance and their crimes; and when in 1580 John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, tried to recover it for his countrymen, he was put off by the Nürnbergers with promises and civil words.

3. At Vienna, the new capital of the Duke of Austria, Henry the Lion in 1164 founded the Monastery of St. Mary and St. Gregory, 'pro Scotis monachis exulibus tum et frequenter

'ad terram Sanctam peregrinantibus.' Its first abbot was Sanctinus, who with twenty-four monks came from Ratisbon. Wattenbach connects this foundation with the presence of Ratisbon merchants in Vienna.

4. In Memmingen, seven German miles to the south of Ulm, the Monastery of St. Nicholas was founded in 1180 by Guelph, Duke of Bavaria. On account of its poverty, the Scots convent at Wurzburg presented as abbot one of their own number to the Bishop of Augsburg for institution.

5. At Eichstadt, before 1194, Volbrun founded an abbey for Scots monks under the dedication of the Holy Cross, endowing it with seventeen acres of land. The superior was first styled Abbas, then Præpositus; and the institution itself was called a Præpositura.

6. At Kellheim, at the confluence of the Altmuhl and the Danube, in 1260, Otto, Count Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, on the occasion of the murder of his father, Ludwig, in the presence of his family, founded a house dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, subjecting it to the Abbot of Ratisbon and to his successors for ever.

7. So early as 1036, at Erfurt, a monastery was said to be founded by Gualterus of Glisberg, Marshal of the Empire; it was also believed to be an offshoot of the old Irish foundations of St. Martin and St. Pantaleon at Cologne. It is certain that it was under the visitation of Ratisbon in the thirteenth century, and being restored to the Scotch was occupied by them till a little before the breaking out of the first French Revolution.

8. Bishop Henry, in 1142, founded at Constance a monastery dedicated to St. James, in connexion with Wurzburg. In 1500 Florentius was abbot. After that its revenues were lost, and all except the church went to ruin.

9. At Oels in Silesia was a Scotic house, also in utter ruin in 1505.

10. The last affiliated house which we have to mention occurs, strangely enough, in Ireland. The monastery of St. Mary the Virgin at Ross-ailithir, or Ross-Carbery, was founded by Nehemias Scotus, first a monk of St. James Wurzburg and then Bishop of Ross. After building this priory, he resigned his see and subjected the house to the visitation of St. James's. In the middle of the thirteenth century it had sunk into degeneracy. When the mother convent fell into the hands of the Germans, it lost its jurisdiction over Ross. Wattenbach implies that there were other 'priories' in Ireland on this footing, but no trace of them appears in the Ratisbon MSS.

The Scottish monasteries were in their perfection during the

twelfth century. But evil times succeeded. Following the law of all things human, they began to relax their discipline and 'to imitate the morals and laxer ways of living of the Germans.' Numbers began to fall off; but in the beginning of the thirteenth century they came more under those great European influences, which, emanating from the genius of St. Bernard, so profoundly affected the monastic life at this time. It was from the excellent effect of the Cistercian Reform, which consisted, among other things, in subordinating the separate houses of that order into regular congregations, that the whole family of St. Benedict came to be remodelled on this more efficient plan. The twelfth canon of the Lateran Council, in 1215, which commands all monasteries to form themselves into congregations, was enforced, and a special bull for the Scots constitutes their twelve houses into one congregation, ordains the summoning of a general chapter every three years, and appoints the abbot of St. James's as superior and visitator. The Emperor now permits him to bear on his arms half the eagle of the Empire, and so he becomes a prelate of Germany.

Seventy years pass. The discipline continues relaxed, the numbers are with difficulty recruited. According to Irish accounts, 'the new importations neglect to acquaint themselves 'with German, and therefore are useless alike in pulpit and 'confessional. The property of the establishments is squan-'dered, and the buildings fall to ruin.' According to the Scotch, all this was caused by the Abbot of Ratisbon assuming Irishmen to fill up the vacancies, the result of which was most unfortunate.

And here we come to a much-vexed question which ought, perhaps, to have been touched upon sooner — viz. who were the Scoti to whom the German convents belonged? The controversy was discussed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the very practical end of determining who was to possess the estates and buildings. The Irish Roman Catholics, led by D. Peter Lombard*, titular Archbishop of Armagh and Professor at Louvain, maintained on archæological grounds that they were originally founded for Irishmen only. On the other hand, Conæus, Dempster, and Camerarius spoke up so vigorously for their own countrymen, that since the Reformation they have been exclusively possessed by Scotchmen, except where they have been secularised or occupied by Germans. The controversy still remains unsettled. Wattenbach, supported

* See his very scarce 'De regno Hiberniæ, Sanctorum insulæ, com-'mentarius. Lovanii: 1632.' At p. 277. there is a curious account of the Sanctuary at Lough Dearg.

with singular learning and ingenuity by his editor Dr. Reeves*, defends the Irish claim. It is admitted by some Scottish antiquaries; but Professor Cosmo Innes, Mr. W. F. Skene, and the late Rev. G. A. Griffin, of New Abbey, all most competent judges, refuse to acknowledge it, while the Bavarian literati are said to have come to the conclusion that some of the houses were for the Irish and some for the Scotch.

It is not for us to attempt to settle so vexed a question, but a few considerations may be suggested with a view to its solution.

1. It is a confusion of terms to apply the modern nomenclature of nations to the times of the fall of the Empire. We have to deal with the fact of certain great septs migrating, occupying, and conquering, not only the different provinces, but also countries which never owned the Roman domination. We find the Franks possessing themselves of Gaul, the Longobardi of Italy, the Visigoths of Spain, the Saxons and Frisians of England. Race not place was the bond of nationality. A Celtic race of the great Indo-European family termed *Scoti* had wandered or been driven into Ireland, and while there, they were the subjects of that very remarkable religious civilisation to which we have before alluded. Their zealous missionaries spread themselves through many parts of Western Europe, and they founded the earlier religious houses both in France and Germany. There can be no doubt that to these are to be referred the 'Hospitia Scotorum,' mentioned by the synod of Meaux.

2. But the Scoti were not confined to Ireland. The narrow channel between the two countries formed no bar to their extension into Argyle and the Highlands. Iona was the civilising bond of both countries. The saints of Albain laboured in Erin, and *vice versâ* from Ireland came almost all the early names commemorated in the Scottish Calendar. There was a constant passing and repassing; and the title *Fer da leithe*, 'the man of two portions,' applied to St. Berchan the son of Muiredhach from his labours in both countries, might be with justice applied to many beside him.

3. The authentic materials for the history of these ancient

* We cannot help expressing astonishment that in these times the dispensers of the patronage of the Irish Establishment should have hitherto overlooked the merits of one of the most distinguished antiquaries and scholars in the United Kingdom. Dr. Reeves' edition of 'Adamnan's Life of Columba' is a masterpiece of critical erudition. A poor country vicarage, a minor canonry and librarianship, is no adequate reward for such a man.

epochs have not yet been sufficiently explored, although the labours of Dr. Todd, Dr. Reeves, and of other members of the Irish Academy deserve high commendation. We can, however, state with certainty that in process of time other races overcame the Scoti in Ireland, leaving only a depressed remnant; while in Scotland their fortune was better. Eventually united to the Picts under Kenneth Macalpin, they became a great nation, and gave their name to the country they peopled; so that, notwithstanding the influence of colonisation and conquest by other races, the blood of the original Scoti forms an integral part of the ethnical condition of the modern Scotsman.

4. The first author who applies the term Scotia to Alba in distinction from Erin is Marianus Scotus, whose real name was probably Malbryde, or Maelbrighte*, that is the tonsured servant of Brigitta. He was born in 1028, in the north of Ireland; and after living as an 'inclusus' at Fulda and Mainz, died in 1082. His chronicle, which is the most elaborate historical production of the middle ages, has always enjoyed the highest encomiums of the learned.† This author, speaking of Malcolm Ceannmohr, describes him as king of Scotland, and he uses the expression 'Scotos ex Hiberniâ,' showing that it was necessary to particularise in this respect. We may therefore conclude that by this time the distinction had taken place. That distinction is absolute in St. Bernard's 'Life of 'Malachi O'Morghair, Archbishop of Armagh.'

Yet it is right to say that this consideration does not remove all difficulties. On the part of the Irish there seems no reason to doubt the historical truth of the questing expedition of Abbot Christian to Ireland to seek the aid of Donnchaeth O'Brien, about the year 1148. Again the 'Vita Mariani,' an important document, whatever its date may be, assumes this side, as when it speaks of Macarius, the first abbot of Wurzburg, being celebrated for his knowledge of the divine law and of the liberal arts 'per 'totam Hiberniam;' and, lastly, the establishment of the priory in the south of Ireland is in favour of the Irish hypothesis.

But still there remains the primary difficulty that, if the Scoti of the German foundations were Irishmen pure and simple, they continued to be called by their original name

* The word 'Mael,' in connexion with a saint's name, is a frequent form of nomenclature in ancient Irish. It was rendered in Latin translations 'Calvus,' and, as mentioned in the text, is understood to be the tonsured servant of the saint. Thus we have Malcolm, Malmuire, names derived respectively from Columba and Mary.

† Wattenbach, ed. Reeves, note, p. 13.

more than a century after that name had ceased to describe them at home; and though 'Hibernia,' as in the extract from the 'Vita Mariani,' must mean Ireland proper, yet 'Hibernici' is frequently used as the Latin for the Highlanders of Scotland. The Scotch kings constantly called their Celtic subjects by this name even as late as the reign of James VI., when in a charter of the burgh of Nairn that expression is used for the neighbouring Highlanders who had made some depredations in the town. To this day the common expression for the Gaelic language among the lowland peasantry is Erse, e.g. Irish.

Neither can one entirely ignore the fact that in the quarrels between the old occupants and the new arrivals, when the matter was referred either to the Abbess of the Oberminster, or to the civil authorities of Ratisbon, these always decided against the Irish. The author of one of the Dennistoun MSS. lays stress upon the fact that the perpetual tradition and popular opinion were strongly in favour of the anti-Irish side.

But however the question may be settled, this at least is evident, that in the beginning of the fourteenth century the supply of Scoti, whoever they were, began to dry up, and the Abbot of Ratisbon began to assume Irishmen into the abbeys to fill up the vacancies. At first gentle and obedient, they soon began to assert authority—'assumpserunt cristas'—a curious piece of monkish vanity—'ac pauperes et miseri, ex alienis 'bonis facti sunt divites, superbi et insolentes.' Quarrels ensued between the two factions: the victors punished and imprisoned their adversaries, many of whom actually left Germany and retired, some to their native land, some to Italy.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in spite of the convocation of the two reforming councils of Basle and Constance, were ages of religious decline, and the decay was specially felt in the Scoto-German Houses, now filled by Irishmen. Some became extinct; in others the property was squandered, and the numbers so reduced that they sank into the condition of mere benefices. At Nürnberg they sold wine as in a tavern. The monks drank in company with women, so that the proverb went that if a man missed his wife, he must look for her 'at 'the Scots!' They caroused after the Scotic fashion; that is, they got so drunk that they could not say mass in the morning. When the Council of Constance ordered an inquisition into their conduct in 1418, matters were found to be in a deplorable state—the mitre and abbot's staff pawned; only two volumes in the library, and no vestments. They were subjected to the Germans. So at Vienna, everything was squandered; the bells and chalices pledged; the buildings in ruins, and the

monks a perfect nuisance to the town. The Papal authority, with the consent of the Council, was at length invoked; and after a strong resistance of the owners, in spite of all their privileges to the contrary, they were driven out in 1418; the house was reformed, made independent of Ratisbon, and handed over to the Germans.

The evil day was postponed at Wurzburg till 1497, when Abbot Philip, dying and leaving the monastery without any monks in it, heavily burdened with debt, it was bestowed upon the monks of St. Stephens, after which it was presided over, first by Kilian Kraus, and then by the good and learned Trithemius.

Ratisbon fared better. The end of the Irish occupation was brought about thus. A certain Walter Knaut, 'versipellis 'quidem,' who sometimes called himself an Englishman, sometimes an Irishman, got elected abbot, and so conducted himself that Leo X. interfered in 1515, made over the house to the Scotch, appointing a secular priest, John Thomson, 'commen-'sali suo,' who had been residing some time in Rome. Knaut resisted, and after both the bishop and the inhabitants had been called into the fray, the Pope wrote to the Duke of Bavaria, to the Chamberlain and Consuls of Ratisbon, commanding them to institute John Thomson, who at once introduced monks from Scotland chiefly from the Abbey of Dunfermline, from which he invited Thomas Massuell (or Maxwell) and his own nephew, Servanus Thomson, whom he made prior of the recovered establishment. John Gordon was introduced from Inchcolm, and William Fleming, a Cistercian, from Paisley.*

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* The catalogue of the abbots of St. James, from the foundation to Thomson's nomination, so far as the names can be ascertained, is as follows. The dates are the dates of charters in which the names occur.

1. Dominicus; 2. Dermitius; 3. Domninus, and others of whom nothing is known till 1100. After this, from documentary evidence we get the following:—4. Christianus. 5. Georgius, who is said to have obtained the privilege of exemption for the monastery at the Lateran Council. 6. Jacobus, 1225. 7. Paulinus, who in 1286 obtained the privilege of the Mitre. 8. Macrobius, 1287–1288–9. Mauritius I., 1294. 10. Marinus, 1296. 11. Joannes I., 1311. 12. Nicolaus I., 1328–1332. 13. Joannes II., 1343. 14. Mathæus I. 1343. 15. Gilbertus, 1347. 16. Nicolaus II., 1371. 19. Gelasius, 1383. 20. Mathæus III., 1386–1396. 21. Philippus I., 1397–1399. 22. Philippus II., 1400–1416. 23. Donatus, 1420–1429. 24. Cormacus, 1432–1436. 25. Alanus, 1438–1440. 26. Benedictus I.,

He was followed as abbot in 1523 by Andrew Ruthven, who had made his profession at Arbroath. To him succeeded David Cumin; but the institution did not thrive; for, during the life of his successor Alexander Bog (1548–1586) there were no monks beside himself; and when Abbot Thomas Anderson died in 1576 there were only two Fathers.

But better times were in store for St. James. The battle of the Reformation was lost in Scotland; step by step the new learning had made good its position, while proscription and banishment were the rewards of its zealous opponents. Among the ablest of these was the distinguished Ninian Winget, schoolmaster of Linlithgow, who occupies an important place in the history of the times. This able and excellent man was in 1577 appointed by Gregory XIII. Lord Abbot of Ratisbon. Assisted by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, he recovered Erfurt for the Scotch, and filled both monasteries with monks driven forth from Scotland. He restored the schools of the old foundation, and during a tenure of office of sixteen years administered the affairs of the abbey with consummate discretion.

In 1595 Abbot John James White, Winget's successor, who eventually resigned and died at Frauenzell in 1629, succeeded in obtaining from the celebrated Bishop Julius of Wurzburg (whose statue in front of his hospital, recently erected by King Ludwig, is a fair specimen of modern German art) the Schotten Kirke, which, as we have before mentioned, had first been seized by the Germans and then secularised. To occupy it Gabriel Wallace and six Fathers were sent from Ratisbon. In 1610 White applied for a coadjutor or for leave to resign. F. Benedict Algeo was associated with him to his very great discomfort, for the coadjutor proved contumacious, and, in spite of many orders for his removal, persisted in retaining his usurped authority till 1633, when Ratisbon being taken by Duke Bernard of Weimar and the Swedes, a subsidy of 75,000 florins was exacted from the clergy, of which about 1,100 at 1*s.* 8*d.* per florin was the quota of the Scottish convent. The plague also broke out, and carried off F. Hugh Wallace, the administrator and other monks. Never was the institution in such a calamitous position as during the Thirty Years' War,

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1442–1444. 27. Carolus, 1444–1445. 28. Mauritius II., 1447–1452. 29. Thadæus, 1455–1457. 30. Otto, 1457–1462. 31. Joannes III., 1479–1497. 32. Mathæus IV., 1479–1497. 33. David I., 1488–1494. 35. Walterus Knaut, 1500–1516. 36. Joannes Thomson, 1517–1522.

when it seems to have lain desolate for a time: so reduced was the income that it could only support two Fathers; its revenue at this time only amounting to 1,272 florins. At length, Cardinal Barberini in 1634 sent from Italy Alexander Baillie who, eventually chosen abbot, ruled the three monasteries of Ratisbon, Wurzburg, and Erfurt, to the great benefit of them all. In 1641 an attempt was made to hand over the Scottish Abbey to the Discalceate Friars, which was prevented by Urban VIII.; and in 1653 an Irish Benedictine, by name Colombanus Maccoloch, did what he could to recover it for his countrymen, but Innocent X. decided against him. Abbot Baillie, who died in 1656, was succeeded by Macarius Chambers, who, proving a bad economist and plunging the abbey in debt, resigned in 1672, and retired to Subiaco, the mother convent of the Benedictine Order, where he died.

A new career of prosperity was in store for St. James during the government of Placidus Fleming, a descendant of the Earls of Wigton, whose long career, from 1672 to 1720, was distinguished not only by able administration and strict discipline generally, but by the organisation of a seminary, connected with, but not identical with, the abbey, for the education of young Scotsmen of good family.* He exerted himself with equal success to restore the convent at Erfurt, which had fallen into great dilapidation, both as regarded the buildings and the funds: and he there effected the establishment of a professorship of philosophy in the University of that city, always to be held by a Scotch Benedictine.

At this time too we find traces of aged Scottish gentlemen, who had been engaged in foreign military service, weary of the wars, coming to pass a tranquil old age without the vows in this quiet cloister; such as George Gordon, a brother of the Earl of Aboyne. Sir George Etherege, the gay companion of Charles II., had kindly relations with St. James, for he left them a library of valuable books. Now also a new life, but not

* From its commencement in 1713 till 1848, 126 young Scotsmen and one Dutchman were educated in it. Thirty of these appear to have become monks, either at Ratisbon as Benedictines, at Waldsassen as Cistercians, or at Munich as Theatines. About ten were ordained as secular priests for the Scottish Mission. The greater part remained laymen, some returning to Scotland, some taking foreign military service. Among the names we find Gordon of Beldorney, Gordon of Dorleathers, Gordon of Lecheson, Gordon of Letterfourie, Anderson of Teinet, Arbuthnot of Rora, Duguid, Auchenleck, Drummond (of the Dukes of Perth), Leslie of Balquain, and Menzies of Pitfoddels.

such a life as St. Benedict would have enjoined, animated the old walls of Abbot Gregory. From the time of the abdication of James II., Ratisbon became the focus of the Jacobite intrigues in Germany for the restoration of the exiled family, and it is with regret we have to mention that a valuable collection of documents, comprising a secret correspondence with the Stuarts for nearly a century, was accidentally burnt a very few years ago at Strahlfeldt, the country house of the Scottish Benedictines.

In other respects the life and occupations of the Fathers were very much in accordance with what we know of Benedictine life from the journals of Mabillon and D'Achery. Regular and decent in the performance of their religious duties, careful about the music of their services, but without the severity of the Trappist or Carthusian, the Benedictine monk of the eighteenth century mainly laid himself out for that peculiar kind of erudition which has given an immortal name to the congregation of St. Maur. Though there may have been many houses where relaxation had taken place, there is no reason to suspect this of the Scotch in Germany. The professorship at Erfurt was not the only vent for their scholastic powers. We find them employed at Waldsassen and Munich in the cause of education, and in the special department of ecclesiastical antiquarianism we may mention, not only the 'Germania Christiana,' a valuable MS. by F. Bonifacius Strachan, but the more important work, also still unpublished, the 'Monasticon Scoticum' of F. Marianus Brockie, two copies of which are in the custody of the accomplished Dr. Gillis, Vicar Apostolic of Edinburgh.

On the death of Abbot Placidus, full of years and honours, Maurus Stuart succeeded, having been for sixteen years public professor at Erfurt, and part of that time administrator there with much prudence and success. He interested himself in the new seminary at Ratisbon, and made two journeys into Scotland to bring out students; but having suffered in health from these labours, he died five months after his election, and never was consecrated.

He was followed by Bernard Baillie, who, after teaching philosophy at Erfurt with much distinction till 1715, was recalled by Placidus to superintend the improvements at Ratisbon, and to be the architect of the buildings then in progress. He augmented the revenues and added to the library. In 1743 he died, leaving a character for piety, integrity, and learning. Bernard Stuart, also an able man, was his successor. He purchased for the establishment the Marquisate of Strahlfeldt in the Upper Palatinate, with the perpetual advowson of the chapel.

In 1745 F. Macdonell of the Scothouse family presented a memorial to King James at Rome, proposing to raise a regiment of Bavarians in support of the Stuart cause, provided he could get money for the necessary expenses. His zeal was commended, but the project deemed visionary.

The next abbot was Father Leith, who accompanied Charles Edward in the affair of the '45 into England, being associated with three other priests as chaplains to the expedition. Their names were Tyrie, M'Gillis, and Macdonald. The two last wore the Highland dress, with sword and pistol, and went under the title of captain.

On the death of F. Leith in 1775, Benedict Arbuthnot, the sixty-third and last Lord Abbot, was elected. His presidency was a very long one.*

At the peace of Amiens Napoleon exempted the institution from secularisation on the plea that it was an educational establishment. Of the habits of the monks during this period we get a little sketch in the commencement of Romana Robertson's journal. He says: 'The Abbot Ar-'buthnot and several members of the community were to be 'seen in the first circles of that imperial city, where their ex-'tensive acquirements, and of some of the number it may be 'said, their brilliant talents, gave them a conspicuous position.' The British envoy generally availed himself of their services as interpreters at the Diet, and 'not unfrequently commissioned 'them to act in his stead.'

Allusion was made in a late number of this Review to the secret mission of F. James Robertson in 1807. How he offered his services to Mr. Canning and Sir A. Wellesley; how he was employed to communicate with the Spanish army, erroneously

* In the year 1800 the abbey was visited by a Scot, who drew the inspirations of the noblest lyric in the English language from the sight which he witnessed there. Thomas Campbell, the poet, betook himself to Ratisbon, where 'he was most kindly received by his 'compatriots, the monks of St. James, from whose walls he beheld 'sights of horror which nothing could obliterate from his recollection. 'His first introduction to the miseries of war was in company with his 'new acquaintances; from their hospice he beheld a charge of Klen-'nan's cavalry upon the French, under Grenier. He saw the fire 'given and returned, and heard distinctly the sound of the French '*pas de charge* collecting the lines to attack in close column; then a 'park of artillery opened just beneath the walls of the monastery, and 'several drivers there stationed to convey the wounded in spring wag-'gons were killed in his sight.' (*Biographical Sketch of Thomas Campbell, prefixed to his Poetical Works*: ed. 1851, p. xxxvi.)

believed by the English ministry to be at Gluckstadt; how in disguise, proceeding by Heligoland, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, he penetrated to Nyborg in the Isle of Funen, where the Spaniards actually were; how, under pretence of selling chocolate and cigars, he had two conferences with the Marquis Romana, which led to the successful evasion of the army under his command; how finding a direct return to England impracticable, he took a circuitous route by Erfurt, Lintz, Munich, and Vienna, and after imminent perils in Dresden, escaped, tracked by hussars, through Berlin and Hamburg, to Cuxhaven, is graphically and simply told in his narrative published last year by Messrs. Longman.

Little now remains to be said. After the death of Arbuthnot in 1820, no abbot was appointed, and the house was governed successively by two aged men, F. Marian Graham and F. Benedict Deasson, as Priors. In 1836 there were five young Scotsmen receiving their education, but the society having been recruited by the profession of only one young person in 1848, the Bavarian government began seriously to take steps for possessing themselves of this ancient institution. The preceding pages will have shown how often attempts were made in the course of its existence to alienate from its original owners a feeble institution existing in a foreign country, poor and friendless; and these have at length been successful. In 1848 the government of Bavaria, founding on the difficulty of perpetuating a succession of Scottish Benedictines, determined to transfer the establishment to Bavarian members of that order. The Scottish Vicars Apostolic resisted on the plea that the government had no right to alienate an institution intimately associated with such a school for the secular education of Scotsmen as was the foundation of Abbot Fleming, and they succeeded for a time in staving off the evil day; but within the last three years a new enemy, in the form of the Bishop of Ratisbon, has succeeded in making good his point. Finding the remains of the ancient nunnery of the Oberminster a very insufficient episcopal seminary, he determined upon possessing himself of the Schotten Kloster, and in spite of a spirited protest by F. Anselm Robertson, the only remaining professed Father, and the last of the Scottish Benedictines, this prelate has induced the Bavarian government to possess themselves of the buildings, and to bestow upon the Scotch, in lieu of all their possessions, the inadequate compensation of 10,000*l.* And thus the venerable foundation of Marianus, the last record of a Scotic civilisation of nearly a thousand years' duration, has passed, it is to be feared, for ever into German hands.

We proceed to give some account of the Scottish colleges on the Continent founded after the Reformation.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland since the accession of Mary to the throne remains yet unwritten; but when set in order, it will be the record of patient endurance, and of social proscription gallantly borne in support of religious principle. The historian Ranke remarked with reference to the issue of the great struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 'Il a bien fallu que l'église Romaine 'fût conservée, car elle contient de grandes vérités, néces-'saires au cœur de l'homme, et surtout au cœur de la femme.' This is hardly true as predicated of Scotland. Perhaps, as Sydney Smith said of a strong-minded lady, the hearts of the Scotch women were made of brains. In any case the position was entirely different in England and in Scotland. In the former country the various risings in favour of the old religion, such as the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Devonshire and Lincolnshire insurrections, showed that the religious instincts of a great part of the population did not go in with the new order of things. In the English Reformation, indeed, the strong Tudor will, aided by the rapacity of the newly created noblesse, used very skilfully the old anti-Italian feeling of the country to give direction to the great intellectual upheaving, of which Luther's movement was as much an indication as a cause; but the great mass of the people had little individual will upon the subject. As Mr. Froude says, Catholicism without the Pope was what England wanted in the latter days of Henry VIII., and but for the terrible effect on the English mind caused by the burnings in Queen Mary's time, her successor Elizabeth might have had to treat with the Pope for the conservation of her Anglican system, instead of having all her days to humour and to manage the Puritans.

It was entirely different in Scotland. The old Church, as in proportion to the revenues of the country it was one of the richest in Europe, so was it the most corrupt. Conæus, out-and-out defender as he is of the old régime, admits this in its fulness:—

'Omnium malorum avaritia nobilium animos sensim invadens ita omnia infecit atque corrupit. . . . Abbates et episcopos liberos vix natos et adhuc a matre rubentes designare . . . vulgus naturâ pigrum ac iners . . . nil minus quam sacrosancti muneris Episcopi cogitabant, sed ventrem implere, syrmata dilatare, et sublimiora occupare subsellia . . . his omnibus accedebat libido impotens sacratioribus vitæ morumque lues teterrima. In multis sacerdotum ædibus scortum publicum; pernoctabant in tabernis viri Deo dicati:

nec a sacrilego luxu tutus erat matronarum honos, aut virginalis pudor . . . pro mendicantibus manducantes dicti fratres.'

Other causes conspired to make the Church hateful. It had become the symbol of a French alliance, which aspired to be a French domination. It was sapped by many influences from England, religious and political agents being constantly employed to undermine it in every way. The individual genius of one man, Knox, impressed itself as much on his nation's mind in the way of progress, as that of the great emperor Charles V. in his own dominions told in the way of reaction. The most rapacious and savage nobility upon earth glutted itself without scruple on the episcopal and abbatial lands. Wits, like George Buchanan, in Ciceronian Latin caught up the refrain of the satire which had been set to ruder measures by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Popular ballads brought home to every heart a deep and abiding sense of the covetousness and licentiousness of the clergy, in the same volumes in which the coarse popular songs were set to godly words, and 'John, come kiss me now' was endowed with a spiritual meaning, and the holy associations of the sanctuary were sought to be substituted for those of the tavern or of the village green. On the other hand, the old Church tunes were set to secular words, to strip them of their sacred influence, a circumstance to which, it has been thought, Scottish music owes much of its beauty and charm.

Moreover, the already powerful engine of the press was too much neglected by the Catholics. The excellent sermons of Adam Elder, or Senior, are veiled in the obscurity of the Latin language, and with the exception of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, the broadsheet known as the 'twapenny 'faith,' and some half-dozen works of no great merit, no evidence remains to show that the old hierarchy made any attempt to use the invention of printing in the direction of appealing to the consciences and religious feelings of the people. Even the pulpit, then perhaps the most powerful of all agents for swaying the popular mind, was not enlisted on the side of the old religion, although old Bishop Crighton of Dunkeld did make an exception in favour of an occasional sermon on 'a good 'epistle or good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy 'Church.' If we add the fact that there were a few religious disputations, of which the chief were those of Quentin Kennedy, abbot of Crossaguel, and Ninian Winget against Knox, and of Friar John Black, the Dominican, against Willock, we have stated all that was done in the way of appeal to the intellect, in opposing the Protestant aggression.

No sooner was the mass abolished, and the old creed put down, than the fiercest intolerance maintained the ground which had been gained. Queen Mary herself could hardly obtain permission for the celebration in her own chapel of the rites of her own religion. The old service books were so diligently destroyed, that one missal only of the fifteenth century, the 'Liber de Arbuthnott,' remains to certify the nature of the worship of that time. Priests were prosecuted for baptising and marrying 'in the auld and abominable papist manner.'* The vilest of the people were employed 'as seekers and apprehenders 'of Roman Catholics.'† 'Apostates' from the Kirk (a remarkable circumstance in 1580, showing that already a religious reaction was commencing) were to be punished 'as adulterers';‡ heavy fines were inflicted on those guilty 'of using of pilgrim-'age to some wells, crosses, and chapels, as also the observing 'of the festival days of the saints, sometimes nameit their 'patrons; in setting forth of bane fires and singing of carols, 'the dregs of idolatry.'§ Excommunication involving the most serious temporal consequences was most freely used, nor did the introduction of the milder spirit of episcopacy mend matters, for the fame of the otherwise perfectly respectable Archbishop Spottiswoode is tarnished by his complicity in the judicial murder of the Jesuit Ogilvie.

But notwithstanding the antecedent causes of the Reformation and the intolerant measures taken to maintain it, the old religion was not stamped out. The faith of so many centuries still exercised a power over many in the kingdom of Scotland. For about fifteen years after the legal proscription of the Roman Catholic religion in 1560, the cause seemed paralysed. Most of the clergy who did not conform to the new order of things fled, some to England‖, 'where a great number of monks and 'friars were officiating as curates in the north in 1563 and '1565,' some to the Continent, where many of them were promoted to benefices, or took their places among the scholars of Europe as professors in the different universities. But after a time, when the severe laws were not put in execution, or enforced only in an intermittent way, it was found that a considerable portion of the Scotch adhered to the Catholic religion. In 1592, according to a paper of Burghley's, thirteen of the nobility of Scotland, and in the northern counties a large proportion of the people, 'were attached to the same faith.' 'All

* Chambers's Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 19.
† *Ibid.*, p. 98.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 141.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 148.
‖ Blackal's Breiffe Narration, preface, p. xl.

'the northern part of the kingdom, including the counties of 'Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland and Aberdeen, with Moray, 'and the sheriffdom of Buchan, of Angus, of Wigton, and of 'Nithsdale, were either wholly, or for the greater part, in the 'interest of that party.'

Under the severe enactments of the law a system of exterior conformity to the reformed religion combined with real adherence to the ancient creed very extensively obtained, and the records of the Kirk for nearly one hundred years are full of perplexing cases of relapse and occasional conformity. Even the great Catholic nobles, Huntly, Errol, Angus, Home and Herries were not left unmolested. In 1601 the Assembly arranged that certain ministers should plant themselves in their families for the purpose of converting them from their errors—a pleasant position both for nobleman and minister; while four years previously to this the Earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus, 'after conference with the brethren appointed to deal 'with them, and hearing the Word at the places appointed 'them, acknowledged that all their doubts were solved, that '"the reformit Kirk of Scotland was the trew Kirk," and they 'were ready to join themselves thereto, hear the Word, partici-'pate in the Sacraments, and obey the haill discipline of the 'Kirk.' In the assembly at Linlithgow, in 1608, Huntly, mighty and almost regal as his position was in the North, was excommunicated because he had not satisfied the Kirk by taking the communion. In the assembly at Aberdeen, in 1616, Huntly was again reconciled to the Established Church, having been also previously absolved from excommunication by the Archbishop of Canterbury! *

Yet with all this there was a gradual reintroduction of the Roman Catholic religion. The assembly establishes a fast on account of the flocking home of Jesuits and Papists, and the 'defection of the multitude from the truth.' It witnesses to 'the 'increase of papistry daily within this realme.' 'Traffiqueing 'Papists, Jesuits, and Seminary Priests,' go about 'under collour 'and pretexte of doctors of physicke and apothecaries, deceiving 'and perverting the people from the new religion profest 'within this country.' Anne of Denmark, unable to obtain the confession to which as a Lutheran she had been accustomed (as is asserted) secretly conforms, and James, partly under this influence, partly in disgust of the tyranny of the Kirk, begins that inconsistent course of intermittent favour and persecution which so unfavourably distinguishes in this respect the policy of the house of Stuart.

* Miscellany, Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. lx.

Meanwhile, the Highlands remained untouched by the new opinions. On the principle of the Northumbrian squire, who accounted for his religion on the theory that the roads were very bad, and that the Reformation had not come beyond Newcastle, the fastnesses of the North and West were unvisited by the preacher. Indeed, the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining ministers even for the more civilised shires, and the Gael under his chief continued to adhere to that form of belief which has so many attractions for the Celtic nature, whether it dominate in Paris, or starve in Connemara. Lord Macaulay's picturesque account is well known, but it may be doubted whether the imputation of the remains of old paganism which he makes is not overstated, and whether there was any peculiarity in their religion which may not now be found in the simple Breton peasant who makes his prayer to St. Anne at Auray, or in the poor Irishman who toils his weary way to the island sanctuary at Lough Dearg.

In the Highlands feudal attachment to the chief strongly influenced religion. The clans generally followed their leaders. The traveller who at the present day passes from Ballachulish to Loch Lomond has a striking illustration of this. In a few hours he passes from the Stuart country, where a large proportion of the people are Episcopalians, into Glencoe, where they are mainly Macdonalds and Roman Catholics, and finally he emerges into the Campbell country, where they are Presbyterians to a man.*

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* A story, whether true or not, at any rate 'ben trovato,' illustrates this. In the island of Barra, Presbyterianism is said to go by the name of the Religion of the yellow stick. The reason is stated to have been on this wise. Some time after the Reformation the laird of the day conformed, and, representing himself as elder to the General Assembly, used to combine the duty of that office with an indulgence in the amusements and gaieties of the Scottish metropolis. Meanwhile the islanders remained unconverted, and having been turned out of the old parish church by law, had built themselves a sufficient chapel. On one occasion in the General Assembly an 'overture' was made to the effect that the laird of Barra, who was enjoying the light of the gospel in Edinburgh, still left his island in heathen darkness, and it was remitted to him to take what steps he thought right to remedy the evil. The story goes on to say, that on his return he stationed himself of a Sunday morning at the bifurcation of the two roads which led respectively to church and chapel, and proceeded with his yellow rattan to knock down any of the people who presumed to go to the latter; and so the island was converted, and its faith termed *Creidimh a bhata bhui*, the Creed of the yellow stick!

To meet a condition of things like this, we have seen that Scotland was filled with disguised clergy. The hierarchy seem never to have exercised any episcopal supervision after 1560, though Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, lived till 1603 as King James's Ambassador at Paris, and Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, survived till 1630. 'Between 1580 and 1600 Scotland was 'taken possession of as a missionary country by members of the 'Jesuit, Benedictine, Franciscan, Lazarite, and Augustinian 'orders, into which many of the refugee clergy had retired.*

The life of these 'traffiqueing priests' must not have been without its enjoyment. There is a great truth in Walter de Mapes'

Furto dulciora poma:

and it is said that the zest of smuggling and poaching very much exceeds the inducement from actual profit. To be conscious, while arrayed in the buff coat of the trooper of the day, that they were engaged in a higher warfare, the warfare of ideas—to feel as they dealt out the coarse medicines and simples of the medical skill of the times, that it was souls they really came to cure—to seek to elude the vigilance of the government by a clever disguise, and in spite of penal laws and cruel enactments to pull the strings of a great movement, was not without its charm; and then they had high hopes and unflinching zeal. That their hopes of reconquering the lost ground were at least plausible, may be assumed from what we know took place in Austria and other continental countries. There are no chapters in Ranke more remarkable than the history of the great Catholic reaction after the Council of Trent. It remains to be written in its fulness, but that painstaking historian, as well as Cesare Cantù, has given us enough to show that the disguised missionary of the seventeenth century, wearily toiling over the moorlands of Banffshire, was indulging in no impossible dream if he imagined that the day was not far distant when the new learning would break down under its internal dissensions, and the old faith, purified by what it had gone through, be restored to its ancient supremacy. We must also add the fact that the Reformation had done its work on the men themselves. From every evidence that remains to us, it is clear that they were men of personal piety. The old scandals were never heard of again. Nothing can be more healthful than the tone of Blackal's narrative, always making allowance for the habitual life of stratagem and the atmosphere of disguise in which he was

* Blackal's Narrative, pref. xxv.

forced to live; and the books of devotion printed at Douai and elsewhere, such as Adam King's translation of Canisius, making allowances for their distinctive doctrines, breathe a spirit of earnest piety.*

Of the work undertaken by the different orders we have little certain knowledge. Foremost among the rest, the Company of Jesus put forth its power for the reconquest of Scotland. The Acts of Parliament and records of assembly constantly mention 'the Jesuites.' Beside the ill-fated John Ogilvy, to whose tragic end we have already alluded, we hear of several members of the order. In February 1587–8 King James has a five hours' disputation with James Gordon, a Jesuit, uncle to the Earl of Huntly. Robert Abercromby, a Jesuit, becomes confessor to Queen Anne, so long as she remains in Scotland.† In 1601 'sundry Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and 'traffiqueing Papists, enemies to God's truth and all Christian 'government,' are stated in the Privy Council records to be daily creeping into the country. W. Barclay is declared infamous, and banished from the country, for the crime 'of 'being present at two masses which were said by Mr. Alexander 'M'Whirrie, ane Jesuit priest.' On the 14th August, 1615, three citizens of Edinburgh were tried for the crime of entertaining in their houses three Jesuits, of whom Ogilvie was one. They were condemned to death, but sentence was commuted to banishment during the king's pleasure. In 1622, George Mortimer is detected, and after lying in prison at Glasgow 'so 'heavily diseased, as it is feared he will hardly if ever escape,' is manumitted by the king, to the great disgust of the zealous Presbyterians.

The Jesuit stations in the north were Braemar, Glengairn, Glentanar, Strathglass, and Buchan. The Benedictine missionaries came mainly from Ratisbon. David Gray is stated in the 'Necrologium' to be the first who went to Scotland, in the year 1596, and from that time till the present day a succession of members of the order have continued the work.

What Lazarists, Augustinians, and Franciscans laboured in Scotland is not now known. Conæus mentions a Dominican, John Gray, a Franciscan, Buonaventura Hepburn, and three Capuchins, Roger Lindsay and the two sons of Lord Forbes, both of whom entered religion in Flanders, and one of whom dying from his exertions during the plague, has been enrolled

* Chambers' Domestic Annals, vol. i. p. 183.

† Conæus de Dup. Statu.

among the number of the 'Beati,' as a preliminary step to canonisation. It is of him that Thomas Dempster, in very Scottish fashion, says that he both asks and expects his prayers, because he was his cousin through the Leslies of Balquhain! There is, however, no evidence that any of these came to Scotland. Rinuccini describes, in exaggerated language, the mission of F. Archangel Leslie to the county of Aberdeen, magnifying the hamlet of Monymusk into a great city.

The influence of the Order of the Jesuits, however, on Scotland is not to be measured by the few Fathers who found their way into this country. It was felt by all who were interested in the matter, that beyond the facilities afforded by the actual organisation of the existing religious communities, something special must be done to keep alive the ancient faith in Scotland. The condition of the Catholics in that country and in England excited the deepest commiseration through Europe, and their wrongs were used as political capital by many of the enemies of Elizabeth and James. The newly-revealed disclosures from Simancas show that the name of Huntly was quite familiar to the wily Philip, and it is not to be wondered at that the piety and politics of foreign Powers should combine to make some distinct effort on behalf of their oppressed co-religionists. One obvious plan was the foundation of seminaries for the education of a native priesthood, and also of such of the laity as could escape the fangs of the Presbyterian establishment; accordingly we find that in Italy, Spain, and France a generation had scarcely passed from the date of the Reformation before they were in active operation.

It was during the pontificate of that able administrator, Ypolito Aldobrandino, afterwards called to the Tiara under the title of Clement VIII., just after the successful reconciliation of Henry IV. and his acquisition of Ferrara, that the Collegio Scozzese was founded in Rome 'with the view of providing 'the Catholic youth of Scotland with a Christian and religious 'education, which the circumstances of their own unhappy 'country did not then permit them to receive at home, and also 'to form a nursery for native missionary priests destined to the 'labours of the Scottish Mission.' It was put under the patronage of Cardinal Camillo Borghese, afterwards Paul V., and was opened in 1602, with eleven students. In 1604 it was transferred to the Via Felice, where it now stands; and in the next year Paul V. annexed to it the property of the Hospital of the Scottish Nation. Cardinal Barberini, afterwards Urban VIII., was its second protector. In 1615 it was placed under the government of Scottish priests of the Society of

Jesus, who, with the exception of a short period in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when two Italians were appointed, continued to direct the seminary till 1724. The first rector was F. Patrick Anderson, a maternal nephew of the well-known Bishop, John Lesley, of Ross. He was author of 'The Ground of the Catholicke and Roman Religion in 'the Word of God, 1623, 4to.' In 1644 the church was erected at the charge of the Marchioness of Huntly, and in 1664 the college acquired a farm at Marino, as a country residence for the students during vacation. In 1674 the college was presided over by F. William Aloysius Leslie, of the ancient house of Balquhain. He is author of a 'Life of St. 'Margaret of Scotland,' in Italian, written with reference to her canonisation about this time. In 1681 Barberini, the Pope's nephew, dying, Cardinal Thomas Howard of Norfolk became protector in his room. He was succeeded by Cardinals Sacripanti and Falconieri. In 1712 F. William Clerk, afterwards rector of the Scots College at Madrid, and confessor of Philip V., became rector. The college, as was natural, was the object of the interest of the exiled Royal Family. Queen Mary Beatrice endowed it with a sum of money to defray the journeys of the students to Scotland. In 1717 'James III., our 'king,' assisted at a solemn service, at which Clement XI. officiated, and in 1718 the obsequies of 'our queen and the 'pious mother of our king' were celebrated in the church to which she had been so munificent a benefactress. After the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, the college was placed under the care of Italian secular priests; and the students, instead of attending the lectures at the Collegio Romano, studied at the Propaganda, while some of them were put under the care of the Irish Franciscans at St. Isidoro. This arrangement being found unsatisfactory, in 1781 Bishop Hay from Scotland had recourse to the Pope to redress what was felt to be an evil, and in 1793 the Abbé Macpherson, well known for more than half a century to the English visitors at Rome, was appointed ecclesiastical agent for the Scottish Mission.

From 1798 till 1814 the college, so far as the education of the students was concerned, was virtually suspended by the French occupation; but the formality of the Protectorate was still maintained, that office being held first by Cardinal Altieri, and then by Cardinal Erskine, of the Erskines of Cambo, in Fifeshire. The Abbé Macpherson, at the Peace, being appointed rector, students were entered in 1820, and continued there till the death of the next superior, Angus Macdonald, when, no Scotchman being appointed, the students were transferred

to the Propaganda. In 1838 Macpherson was appointed a second time, and the funds being improved by the falling in of some legacies left by Cardinal York, the number of students was increased. The rector died at the age of ninety, and was succeeded by the present superior, Dr. Grant. It is said that the 10,000*l.* received for St. James's, Ratisbon, is to be laid out on the College Scozzese.*

But the ever-active Society did not confine its efforts in behalf of the Scotch to the superintendence of a college in Rome. The Company, which still bore the strongest marks of its Spanish paternity, though the astute Clement had begun to develope and foster the French element within it, did not neglect to promote the establishment of a similar institution in Madrid itself. Spain was beginning to decay under the indolence of Philip III. and the mismanagement of his minister, Lerma; but it was in entire consonance with the will of all orders of the State that something should be done for the Mission in Scotland. According to Dr. Oliver ('Collection towards illustrating the Biography of Scotch, English and Irish Jesuits,' p. 15.):—

'Much misconception prevails about the Scotch College which formerly existed at Madrid. The truth appears to be that a royal palace in that city, not being found sufficiently commodious for the residence of the sovereign, was appropriated in the first place to the use of the Scottish Embassy, and was so used for very many years; that on the accession of James I. to the Crown of England in 1603, the palace was abandoned by the Scotch ambassador; that King Philip III. proceeded to allot one side of the building to the purposes of a Scotch college, under the direction of Scotch Jesuits, and ordered that the other three sides should be let out to their tenants, and that the rents thus arising should go to the support of the said college.

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* Rectors of the Scottish College in Rome:—

1615. F. Patrick Anderson
1622. F. Geo. Elphinstone
1644. F. William Christie
1646. F. Francis Dempster
1649. F. Andrew Lesley
1652. F. Adam Gordon
1655. F. Gilbert Talbot, or George Bisset
1658. F. F. Dempster, *bis*
1663. F. Gilbert Talbot, *bis*
1670. F. John Strachan
1671. F. Hector C. de Marinis
1674. F. W. Aloys. Lesley
1688. F. Andrew Mackay
1692. F. W. A. Lesley, *bis*
1698. F. James Forbes
1701. F. Didacus Calcaneus
1704. F. John Bapt. Nasellus
1708. F. Thomas Fyffe
1712. F. W. Clerk
1721. F. Alex. Ferguson
1818. Paul Macpherson
1826. Angus Macdonald
1834. Paul Macpherson, *bis*
1846. Alex. Grant, D.D.

The king of Spain was, therefore, the founder.* Yet some other individuals, especially Col. Sempill, were very great benefactors.† Until 1733 the house was invariably governed by Jesuits, when it was thought advisable that the community should be transferred to Douai, with the liberty of receiving the rents as before. The fathers at Douai so continued to receive the rents until their expulsion from Douai by the French Government about thirty-two years later.'‡

This refers to the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in the reign of Louis XV. Upon this event, an asylum was found for the institution at Dinant, on the Meuse, in the Prince-bishopric of Liége, where, after a presidency held first by F. J. Pepper, and then by F. George Maxwell, they were involved in the general suppression of the Order by Ganganelli, in 1773.

Dr. Oliver's statement, which, it will be observed, is put forth with the marks of uncertainty, needs a certain degree of correction. We are enabled from the very best authority to correct it. The Scots College at Madrid was actually founded by Colonel William Sempill, a cadet of the noble family of that name, being son, brother, and uncle of the successive barons. He began life as a page of Queen Mary Stuart, and continued in her Court till her evil days began, when he passed over to Flanders as a soldier of fortune in the service of the Prince of Orange. Some years after, by the direction of his queen from her English prison, he, with many English, Irish, and Scotch officers and soldiers, abandoned the Orange for the Spanish service. Sempill signalised the change by an act of skill and courage, celebrated by almost all the historians of the times, in procuring the surrender to the Spanish Crown of a fortified

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* 'One Brugh, a Scottsman and a kynd of convertite, gave me the following account of the rents of the Scots Colledge in Spain:—

'They have 500 crowns from the Bishop of Cales. A marquis gives 1,100 ducats, every one 8 ryalls. From a countrie villadge they have 17,000 or 18,000 ryalls, every ryall being about 3*d.*, or a groate.' (*Dennistoun MSS.* 1684.)

† Conæus gives a curious account of this Sempill. According to his account he was sent to negotiate a marriage between James VI. and the Infanta Isabel; on the occasion of the destruction of the Spanish Armada, he was thrown into prison, and escaped with much difficulty; and he lived and died in Spain under the protection of El Conde-duque Don Caspar Guzman Olivarez.

‡ It is difficult to supply the list of the rectors of the Madrid College, but we meet with the names of F. Hugh Semple, sen., F. Hugh Semple, jr., F. Fred. Marshall, F. John Seton, sen., F. John Seton, jr., F. James Anderson, F. Wm. Grant, F. Alexander Clerk, also Rector at Rome, who became confessor to the hypochondriacal Philip V. in 1726.

town not far from Brussels. This obtained for him the commission of Colonel from the Prince of Parma. Ever after, during a long life, he remained in the service of the King of Spain, doing duty in various parts of his dominions. He married a Spanish lady, Maria de Ledesma, with whom, in the evening of life, he settled himself at Madrid. Having no family, he and his wife resolved to dedicate their means to found and endow a college for the education of Scotch youths, who, after receiving the priesthood, might return to their native land, and there maintain and propagate the Catholic faith. As the Spanish Government owed him heavy arrears of pensions and pay for his lengthened services, he accepted, as partial payment of these, the property of a large house in the heart of Madrid, which had formerly been the personal property of Philip II., and had passed as part of his succession to his executors, from whom Sempill received it. He repaired, and in a manner rebuilt it, and then established his projected college. The college was founded in 1627 by a joint deed of Colonel Sempill and his lady. The college was opened about the time of the Colonel's death, in 1633, and continued to be governed by Scotch or Spanish Jesuits till 1734. Few students, however, were educated in it, and scarcely any clergy came from it during that time. An arrangement was then made between the Madrid establishment, by which the former, sending to Douai the students that were at Madrid, obliged itself to remit yearly to Douai a certain portion of its revenue, in return for the education by the Douai House of a certain number of students to fulfil Colonel Sempill's intentions. The Madrid establishment still continued to maintain two fathers and two servants, who administered the funds and fulfilled the local obligations. The nominal rector for the most part was a Spanish Jesuit till 1776. The branch institution which remained in Madrid, the Irish, who had a college at Alcala, tried to seize in the same way that they tried to grasp Ratisbon.

When the goods of the Jesuits were confiscated in Spain, in the year 1767, an exception was made by Charles III. in favour of properties of which they had been administrators only; and consequently the funds of both these seminaries were spared, and the colleges themselves put under the administration of Scottish secular priests, who, first under Mr. Robert Grant, and then under Mr. John Farquharson, continued the work of education. But, so little communication had there been between Madrid and Scotland, that the Scottish Roman Catholic clergy did not know that they possessed the Madrid House, and of course no one appeared to claim it for

some years; but, as the Spanish Government was desirous to comply with the intentions of the founder, and the suppression of the great Order having placed the various buildings which it had possessed at the disposition of the Crown, the magnificent house at Valladolid, which was celebrated as the place where Suarez, the greatest of the theologians, and Puente, the most devout of the mystical writers of the Institute of Ignatius, had resided, was made over to the Scotch, together with a farm in the vicinity of the town, which formed one of the strategical positions in the Peninsular war. This was brought about by the good offices of Dr. Philip Perry, head of the English College there, who, having given notice to the Scotch bishops of the existence of the benefaction, Mr. John Geddes, afterwards bishop, was sent out in 1772 with twelve students.* There the Scotch College has continued ever since; and the visitor to the capital of Old Castile, should he be present at any of the services in the solemn cinque-cento cathedral, will observe among the swarthy worshippers fair, open, and ingenuous countenances, which recall to him his native land; and should his curiosity lead him to visit the college itself, he will be received with the courteous welcome of his countrymen, who, expatriated by a long absence from their homes, have not forgotten those virtues of hospitality which are said to distinguish the untravelled Scot.

Proximity to Britain, as well as the circumstances of the politics of the day, made France the most natural country for the foundation of seminaries. Rheims, Douai, and St. Omer are household words in the history of England, from the final rupture between Elizabeth and the See of Rome, down to the days of the infamous Titus Oates and the Popish Plot. As regards Scotland, the bitter recollections of the Guises, and the new-born zeal of Henry IV., alike induced them to interfere in the religious settlement of a country at this period, so far as its civilisation was concerned, almost entirely French.

The conveniences of the situation suggested to William Allen,

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* The rectorate of Mr. Geddes terminated in 1780 on his appointment to the Episcopate, and he was succeeded by Dr. Alexander Cameron, who in 1798 was raised to the same office as Coadjutor. Bishop Cameron was followed by the Rev. John Gordon, who in 1809 was forced to abandon Spain in consequence of his having taken an active part in favour of the Spanish insurgents against the French. During the time of the Peninsular war the house was without students. The next rector was the Rev. Alexander Cameron, who dying in 1833 was succeeded by the present excellent rector, the Rev. John Cameron.

first Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and afterwards Cardinal of the Roman Church, in 1568, that Douai, at this time a Spanish possession, was the fittest place for establishing a school for the purpose of educating for the priesthood the Roman Catholic youth of England, who were bound by oath to go upon the mission 'animarum sacrandarum causâ.' Philip II. gave his consent, and into it Scottish refugees were also received. In 1575, Don Luis de Zuniga y Requesens, Governor of the Low Countries, yielding to the representations of Queen Elizabeth, ordered its dissolution, whereupon Allen immediately obtained authority for its transfer to Rheims, under the patronage of the princes of Guise, the Grand Cardinal at that time being archbishop of that see. But three years later, in 1578, England having thrown herself into the cause of the revolted provinces, no opposition was made by Spain in the next year to the establishment of a Scotch college at Douai. It was nominally founded by Mary Queen of Scots, but she, being then in captivity, gave it nothing but her name. When, at the peace of Vervins, in 1598, France and Spain mutually restored their conquests, the existence of the college was secured, and the Pope placed it under the management of the Jesuits.

Previously to this a small community was founded at Louvain for his Scottish countrymen by Dr. Cheyney, a Canon of Tournay, in 1576. It was removed first to Pont-à-Mousson by permission of Clement VIII., then to Douai, and, after a short stay, it was removed again to Louvain, where it remained till 1608, when it finally was re-established in Douai. On the return of the community to Douai, the members applied to Philip III. of Spain for permission to purchase a site for the erection of a college, which was graciously accorded to them, with a considerable benefaction; and funds were eventually supplied to them by Hippolytus Curll, son of the Secretary of Queen Mary, who devoted the bulk of his property, 60,000 florins, to the use of the establishment. He was appointed Rector in 1633, and died in 1638. The college was governed by a series of Jesuit Fathers, one of whom, James Forbes, became chaplain to King James during the period of his residence at Holyrood in 1686. On the suppression of the Order, it came to be governed by secular priests.*

* The names of such rectors as we have been able to discover are as follows:—John Robe, Robert Gale, Thomas Robe, Gilbert Innes, James Forbes, Stephen Maxwell, Francis Xavier Strachan, William Christie, David Fairful, and Robert Fordyce. Bishop John Chis-

Beside the purposes for which the college at Douai was established, in the latter days of its existence it exercised an influence over Scotland which was never contemplated by its founders. It became a common practice to send the sons of the episcopalian lairds who adhered to the Stuarts, especially after the affairs of 1715 and 1745, to receive their education there. There were ugly oaths to be taken at home on entering the Universities; not to mention that Scottish education at that time was at a very low ebb. The lawyers sought a legal education at Leyden, and the Jacobites sent their sons to Douai. What was begun from political necessity was continued from mutual convenience; and as no undue attempts at proselytism were made, the system suited well the interests of either party. The Fathers found it to their profit to receive the well-born pensioners from Scotland, who might in after life facilitate the labours, or at least mitigate the difficulties of the missionaries, in remembrance of their early days; the young Scotsmen obtained an education which, so far as manner and bearing were concerned, very much exceeded anything which could be obtained at home; and old people now delight to call to mind the fine carriage and graceful address of some of those who had obtained the foreign training. These were at best but sad days for the Jacobite gentry. Heavy disabilities lay upon them; they could take no part in the government of the country; agriculture was not then the science it has since become; and men strove to forget the ruin of their cause in wine and in healths pledging their absent king. But with all this moral degradation, it was something that refinement and high breeding remained. The elegance of the *ancien régime* shed its lustre over what was otherwise unlovely; and the men who were far from awake to the duties of their position at least remembered that they were gentlemen.

Of course there were many much better specimens among them—men of piety, worth, and intellect. As we recall the names of the Betons of Blebo, the Murrays of Ochtertyre, the Guthries of Craigie, and many more, the memory of many still living rests on the amiable Colonel Spens of Craigsanquhar, the last survivor of those Douai students, who died at the age of ninety, about the year 1848. When Spens was at Douai, the Superior was the Abbé Farquharson, a man of elegant manners and much respected by every one. He was an accomplished scholar, and so popular among the people, that at the

holm, a name still recollected in the Highlands, was one of the last men educated by the Jesuits at Douai.

breaking out of the French Revolution in 1785, when the clergy were in great danger, his escape, and that of the Scotch collegians, was facilitated by the inhabitants of the town. He escaped with them in disguise, and after many perils succeeded in reaching England. Colonel Spens used to relate that once, standing at his own door, he saw in the distance a tall, handsome man of fine presence coming up the avenue. Viewing him through a glass, he said to his wife, 'If I thought he were 'alive, I should say that that was my good old tutor the Abbé; 'but I fear that he has perished.' However, his surmise was a true one, and he immediately had to welcome his ancient instructor. This was in 1792. Farquharson died at Elgin, at a very advanced period of life.

At the Peace in 1815, the claim of the Abbé Farquharson amounted to 1,484,363 francs. The tradition in Douai is that this indemnity was paid by France; but that so fearful was the English Government of promoting the interests of Popery, that they gave it to George IV. to build the Pavilion at Brighton with. This is not correct. The fate of the Scotch, English, and Irish establishments in France was a hard one. They were deprived of their property by a decree of the National Convention, as belonging to subjects of Great Britain; but on the Peace it was held that they were not entitled to any share of the indemnity, because they held their property under the letters patent of the King of France, and not as Englishmen or Scotsmen.

The Scotch College at Douai is still used for a religious purpose. It forms a Convent de l'Union, an aggregation of seminaries for the education of young ladies, which has been organised throughout the north of France by the energy of a simple priest. Some of the Scottish Roman Catholic clergy are said to be now educated by the English Benedictines, who have still a large and flourishing establishment there. The Bishop of Arras, and some of the prelates of the northern sees in France, train a few students free of expense, and the remainder of the Scotch property, to which we shall presently allude, goes to support some more at Issy and St. Sulpice.

The Scots College at Paris originated in an endowment given by David, Bishop of Moray, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was increased by his successor, Robert Pilmore. Its foundation was confirmed by Philip le Bel in 1326, and under the name of Grisy formed part of the University of Paris. Till the Reformation, the bishops of Moray for the time being, jure patronatûs, appointed the directors and superiors.*

* See Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 141.

It was placed under the visitation of the Chartreuse, and the libraries of both institutions became the receptacles of the records of the Roman Catholics and Jacobites of Britain. 'They 'became the place of deposit of the private royal memoirs and 'diplomacy of the exiled house of Stuart, and the collections 'altogether were regarded with something almost of a superstitious reverence by the Catholic, the nonjuror, and the Jacobite, and with much intelligent interest by those who valued 'them as the material for future history.'* These were much appreciated by the most distinguished of all the alumni of the College, the Rev. Thomas Innes of Drumgask (1662–1744), whose 'Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of North 'Britain,' and 'The Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scot-'land,' are the soundest and most accurate books of the period on the subject of Scottish antiquities†, and still are of the highest authority. Many of his relations were connected with the college, either as superiors or students; the most distinguished of whom was Lewis Innes, the confidential secretary of the son of James II.‡ Of the principals, we find the following names:—Robert Barclay of 1662; Lewis Innes, resig. and ob. 1738; Whitford, son of Walter Whitford, Bishop of Brechin, 1738; George Innes, 1752; John Gordon, ob. 1777.

Alexander Gordon, in 1792, refused to take the republican oath, and with the rest of the college escaped to Scotland. Alexander Innes alone remained, and being imprisoned narrowly escaped by the opportune death of Robespierre the day before his intended execution. He became principal of the college, and died in 1803.

The measures taken with regard to the Scotch colleges in France were as follows:—On June 5, 1790, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, addressed a note to the Comte de Montmorin to demand that the Irish and Scots colleges in Paris should be exempt from the decree of the National Assembly, observing that they were not French, but English, in their origin. The Comité Ecclésiastique in October of the same year, presented its report on the English, Scotch, and Irish religious establishments in France. Their number amounted to twenty-eight, comprising monasteries, nunneries, and colleges. The sum-total of their revenues was 329,000 livres, which supported about 150 individuals.

* Registrum Episcopatûs Glasguensis, preface.

† Preface, T. Innes's Civil and Ecclesiastical History.

‡ Four letters of some interest from Lewis Innes to Lord Middleton from January to May 1713, are preserved among the Nairne Papers in the Bodleian Library, vol. iv. No. 49.

The Scotch colleges at Douai and Paris were united by the law 24 Vendemaire an XI., and a joint establishment with the Irish sought to be formed. During the first consulate of Napoleon the presidency was bestowed upon Robert Watson of Elgin, whose connexion with the Stuart papers, political career, and strange suicide at eighty-eight, when seventeen wounds were found upon his body, form incidents in a life of almost unsurpassed adventure.

'The college was never restored to the condition it was in before the French Revolution. A considerable portion of the property was lost for ever; the Roman Catholic bishops of Scotland succeeded in saving the rest. The institution itself no longer exists, but the manor near Paris still belongs to the Scottish Mission—a link connecting the present day with the age of Bruce.'

And now, in conclusion, it may be asked what has been the result of all the efforts of which we have been speaking? What have Ratisbon, Rome, Valladolid, Douai, and Paris done by their nearly three hundred years' strenuous labour for the cause of the old religion? In the midst of the strife of tongues, in the babel of theological discussion which has afflicted Scotland, what position does the Roman Catholic Church hold to-day? We answer in the language of a witness, impartial, but not unsympathising:—

'Lord Clarendon,' remarks the eminent Dr. Döllinger, 'said in his time (1660) of the Scotch, "that their whole religion consisted in a "hatred of Popery." That "the Pope is Antichrist, the Man of Sin, "and the Child of Perdition," and that, consequently, all who attach themselves to it are lost, has always been, where Calvinism prevailed, received as an article of faith, and it stands as such in the Westminster Confession. All classes and authorities, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, have, since the victory of the Reformation, always zealously co-operated to destroy the Catholic religion. But in this they have not succeeded. In the year 1700 every priest who returned from banishment was condemned to death; and old men of seventy years of age, who had ventured to give their religious services to poor Catholic Highlanders, languished away their lives in pestiferous dungeons. The old Church stands, nevertheless; and it has in recent times—mainly through Irish immigration—considerably increased, and its churches and chapels have arisen from 87, in the year 1848, up to 183, in the year 1859.'*

* Döllinger's The Church and the Churches, ed. MacCabe, p. 197.

ART. VII.—1. *Instructions to the Commissioners for Emancipation in the District of Columbia:* 1862.

2. *The President's Message to Congress on his Plan of Gradual Emancipation:* July, 1862.

3. *Official Report on the Freedmen of South Carolina to the Secretary of the Treasury.* Washington: 1862.

4. *First Annual Report of the Education Commission for Freedmen.* Boston: May, 1863.

5. *Circulars of the Freedmen's Inquiry Commissioners, appointed by the Government of the United States:* August, 1863.

Two years ago we treated of the condition and prospects of that portion of the negro race * which has already past, or is about to pass, through the critical transition from slavery to freedom in the Western hemisphere. The emancipated negroes of the West Indies were our chief subject in that article, not only because we were discussing a book relating to those colonies, but because, in studying the case of our own former slaves, we stood on a solid ground of fact; whereas, in regard to the case of the negroes still enslaved in America, we had no certainty of the accuracy of any expectations we might form, or of the degree of fitness for the duties of freedom which the process of emancipation might disclose among them. The intervening two years have changed the condition and prospects of the race in the United States to an extent which few living men expected to witness with their own eyes; and with the changes have come results which render speculation on the future of the American negro much less wild or vague than it could ever have been before. We propose to consider some of these results, and to look forward a little in the direction in which they point. We shall say nothing on the politics of the white inhabitants of the States, because our topic is the character and probable destiny of the negroes, quite apart from the merits and demerits of the classes or parties by whose strifes they have been brought into their present position. If it is talking politics to assume that slavery is drawing to an end in the United States, then we must be political to that extent; but, as there is probably no one in Europe, and as there are certainly few in America, who believe that 'the peculiar institution' can ever be again what it was in the Slave States before

* Sewell's Ordeal of Free Labour, Ed. Rev. No. ccxxxiii. p. 42.

the war, we incur no charge of political partisanship in assuming that negro slavery in America has received its death-sentence.

Of the disclosures here referred to, the greatest and most interesting is that of the effective education the negroes have been receiving, for a long course of years, for the new destiny which is opening before them. Where the speculations of their friends or of their enemies are now found to be wide of the mark, it is because they were unaware to what extent the process of training for freedom had already advanced, and that it was becoming accelerated from day to day. By looking over the facts of the life of one or two generations of American slaves, we shall learn how the process went on, and see how easily all the parties concerned might be unconscious of it to the last moment.

So far as it is true that the first emancipation of a slave on the ground of personal or political right is a pledge of ultimate release for all, the doom of American slavery was passed before the Declaration of Independence. A negro woman was born in slavery in 1742 who obtained her own freedom on that ground, and thus brought about the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts first, and afterwards in the other Northern States. This Elizabeth Freeman, better known as Mum Bet, heard, while waiting at table, discussions of the Bill of Rights, and the new Constitution of Massachusetts; and it was clear to her that all but 'dumb 'beasts' had, under those provisions, a claim to personal liberty. She consulted an eminent lawyer—no less a man than Judge Sedgwick: he took up the case seriously, and obtained her freedom, with wages for her services from twenty-one years of age. This happened in 1772; and so many of her class followed her example that it soon became a matter of convenience to abolish slavery in Massachusetts, and drop the subject.

This story discloses a state of society entirely unlike anything that has existed in the Southern States within living memory; but there was less unlikeness between the two sections of the Union in those times than of late years. We know this by the testimony, express or indirect, of several of the highest order of citizens and observers. Washington, in pointing out for special honour the best regiments engaged in the revolutionary war, placed a negro regiment in the first rank. Moreover, he had no idea whatever of regarding them as aliens. He praised their patriotism exactly as he praised the patriotism of the other good soldiers. Lafayette also has left us his evidence. When he visited the United States for the last time, he declared himself painfully struck by the unkindliness of the modern treatment of the negroes. When he and they were comrades

in the revolutionary war, they were treated as comrades. They ate their suppers by the camp-fires, and shared the talk of the evening, as they had shared the service of the day, with the white soldiers. This kind of fellowship certainly existed, in the very heart of the Slave States, so late as 1814; for, at the close of the war with England of that year, General Jackson, slaveholder as he was, addressed the blacks and mulattoes of the South as patriots. 'I knew,' said his proclamation, 'that you 'loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you 'had to defend all that was dear to Man. But you surpass my 'hopes. I have found in you, united to those qualities, that 'noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.' To white citizens of both sections of the Republic, and to the freedmen of this year, it must seem almost incredible that such language should have been addressed to negroes, by a victorious general and a future President, within fifty years.

The doleful middle period of extreme humiliation was, however, drawing on. Events have shown that the easier and the harder period were both preparatory for freedom. The tradition of what the blacks were at the time of the great wars and dangers of the Republic may elevate the educated people of colour, and possibly encourage the general body of them; and how the succeeding time of deep adversity wrought upon them in heart and mind is now becoming known, in proportion as they find means of expressing their experience and their aspirations.

The first great step towards ultimate emancipation was taken blindly and thoughtlessly by the slaveholders themselves about two years after General Jackson issued his proclamation. Some of the leading members of that class, among whom Mr. Clay was conspicuous, established the Colonization Society, to meet an evil which was exceedingly troublesome to them, but without perceiving the tendency of their expedient. The patriotism and the praise elicited by the recent war had been very animating to the subject race; and it was found, or believed, to be necessary to humble them, and disable them for concerted sentiment and action. For some years the members of the Colonization Society made open profession of their intention to support and guarantee slavery by means of contrivances for the deportation of negroes whose presence was dangerous or unprofitable. It was not till abolition began to be discussed that the Society pretended to think of extinguishing slavery by deporting the slaves. The pretence was absurd, as the whole marine of the Republic could not have conveyed away the increase of slave population of any one year; and no society

could have been formed at all on the basis of such an absurdity. It was rash to set the negroes thinking which was their country, America or Africa. General Jackson said America was 'the land of their nativity,' whereas Mr. Clay and his associates told them they were to be restored to their native country by being sent to Liberia and Cape Palmas. Their unwillingness to go was a dead weight on the scheme from the first; and after some of the so-called 'colonists' had found their way back, and reported what life was like among the African savages, the resistance to this mode of exile was such that there was no getting rid of troublesome slaves through that channel, except by putting them under hatches, or flattering the vanity and ambition of a scattered few who, real curses as they were, came home to roost. These proceedings were highly exciting to all negroes who heard of them. The mere notion of a choice of homes, of a special country of their own, of freedom to be given, of enterprise to be recommended, was in itself a new stage of education. One sign of the awakening was the growing frequency of insurrections. There is no knowing what to believe when slaveholders utter the impressions of their terror; but, by the testimony of the residents in the Slave States at that time, risings, great and small, occurred monthly. For some years prior to 1832, there had been on an average twelve in a year. As a natural consequence, the severities of the masters increased; the depression of the slaves deepened; and it is made clear by every kind of evidence that the condition of American slaves was never so low as at the time of the great insurrection of 1831, called the Southampton Massacre. It is as important as it is interesting to understand the phase of negro character which presented itself at that time, because it is so far unlike that which has appeared under recent circumstances as to show that the ultimate destiny of the race or class really does depend very largely on the wisdom or the will of the whites among whom they live.

It was during this period that, without any sufficient reason publicly assigned, emancipation was, throughout the Slave States, rendered so difficult as to be almost impracticable. There was a reason, no doubt; and it was no secret to any slaveholder, though little known out of bounds. The mulatto race was increasing very rapidly, so that it was rare to see a plantation, or any slave-quarter, where light-coloured children were not intermixed with the black. The fathers were apt to be less ready to sell, and more ready to liberate, these than their blacker slaves; and it was apprehended that the free mulattoes would in a very few years become a too dangerous

element in Southern society. Laws were therefore passed which compelled the white fathers to sell their slave-children, if it was inconvenient to keep them. Though the change in the laws was for a limited reason, the evil to the slaves was unlimited. The chance of release, which had always existed before, was annihilated; and a new desperation took possession of the people whose *insouciance* had always been praised and despised by their proprietors. ' The new arrangement was presently found to be only a change of evils; and we have before us leading articles of the two chief Virginian newspapers, the ' Richmond Enquirer ' and the ' Richmond Whig,' published during the Session of the Legislature in 1832, avowing that the growth of the evils of slaveholding without liberty to emancipate was so fearful as to menace the utter destruction of society within the second or third generation.

The effect on negro character was evident enough. The newspapers exhibited more and more little pictures of a black man running, with a bundle over his shoulder; and the planters had to make larger deductions every year from their profits for losses by runaways. The negroes would not go to Africa; but some buried themselves in inaccessible swamps, and more made their way North, though abolitionism was not yet heard of there. Then there were more bloodhounds, and harder punishments for captured runaways. This was the period of strong passion on the part of slaves; and, as a necessary consequence, fear took possession of the masters also. Negro husbands became more ferocious when their homes were defiled, and murders of whites assumed a shocking character. Whether the practice of burning negroes alive had existed before, there seems to be no evidence; but at this time it became not infrequent; and four instances in the course of thirteen months became accidentally known to persons who were connected with the Southern States. There were still thousands of slaves who kept up the reputation of their race for contentedness, household attachment, and gaiety of spirits; and there were proprietors who sincerely relied on their attachment, and believed that all was well while laughter and singing went on; but there were more, perhaps, who depended on the terrors of their negroes. It was common to show strangers how any slave would, however black, change colour and tremble at a loud tone or angry word from master or mistress, and to ask what was to be feared from such a craven race. Yet the fear was growing daily; and with it, of course, grew the cruelty on the one side, and the desperation on the other. Certain well-known incidents of the time were illustrative of the particular state of affairs

then, and not before or since. Neither before nor since, for instance, could such an affair as that of Madame Lalaurie, at New Orleans, have been conducted and terminated as it was. Any visitor to New Orleans, thirty years ago — or, for aught we know, to this day — must have seen, and can never forget, the roofless house, standing ruined among handsome dwellings, as a public spectacle, and meant so to stand till it crumbled away. It was the abode of a lady who employed and amused her days in torturing her slaves with her own hands in secrecy, and with long impunity. Her cook, chained to the kitchen-range, at last set the house on fire; and this led to the discovery of the torture-chambers in the yard. The citizens sided with the negroes, in order to keep them quiet. They would, at all events, have reprobated and expelled the woman; but they assembled, in the sight of all the blacks in the city, to see that her victims were duly cared for, and to pull off, with their own hands, the roof which had covered her crimes.

On the other side were cruelties also — some sly, some reckless — poisonings by petted house-slaves, murders of infants, and the like; and also that singular form of revenge — men and women maiming themselves, in order to be a mere burden to those who were bound to maintain them for life. Where hope still existed, it was of escape by flight, and of learning meanwhile to read and write, for this purpose. Masters were proud of the superiority of some one slave of their household (and every household had some one superior negro to tell of), who had learned to read more or less, by hook or by crook. Drivers of carriages and footmen had the best chance, because, while waiting when the physician made his visits or the lady paid her calls, the negro on the box or the footman could get children in the street to name the letters on signboards or shopfronts, or in the headings of the newspaper left in the carriage; and the children would show, too, in the sand or dust, how the letters should be made. No doubt, there were fewer slaves then than now who could read; but there were enough for some masters and mistresses to be proud of, and others to be afraid of.

The effect on the negro character of these fears of the owners became more marked as they became more apparent in ordinary life. The negroes perfectly understood why the vigilance of the citizens kept watch over every street and every house; why a few hisses or catcalls at the theatre sent the whole audience home in the middle of a piece; why the whole city got up and dressed — dressed even the little children — at the first cry of fire; and why negroes, however young, were hanged for causing a fire, when a 'mean white' would have undergone a much slighter punishment.

Here were all the elements for insurrection, and a state of things in which the only hope for the greater number lay in insurrection. Any extended concert was impossible; and the little that was practicable was of a very imperfect kind. Restless negroes found occasional means of making known to each other that they were miserable; and this kept them in constant expectation of some great event—some deliverance from above or from abroad. This then was the fitting season for monthly insurrections, and for the frightful Southampton Massacre. Desperate and fanatical negroes, who believed themselves commissioned to 'slay and spare not,' butchered in that rising upwards of seventy whites, of both sexes and all ages. This event wrought strongly on both whites and blacks. The masters were aghast at finding that their 'attached servants' would not stand by them for a single moment after being summoned on the other side; and the negroes sank into deeper hopelessness on finding the chances of insurrection closed against them. They were henceforth to be more strictly confined; they were to have less liberty of meeting even for religious exercises, fewer suppers and dances, and shorter hours in the evenings. Life was to be graver and sadder henceforth, and they did not yet know that it was to be more secure from ill-treatment. They were soon to be less overworked and less flogged, safer from torture, and more comfortable in their homes; but they could not foresee this, and they bitterly felt the restraints put upon their dancing and feasting, and prayer-meetings in the woods at night.

Here the lowest period of American slavery may be seen to have closed. Dreary and hopeless as it seemed, it was, in its way, preparatory, and even disciplinary, in regard to the changes in reserve for the slaves and their masters. Both the free blacks and the slaves had obtained a firm grasp of the idea that they were Americans and not Africans. A few old people among them, and returned emigrants, could tell something about Africa; and a multitude more could boast of what General Jackson had said of America being their country. Moreover, they had learned that their removal from the soil had been proposed, and that the first men in the States were consulting what to do with them. These ideas were widely spread among them when that happened which put a stop to negro-risings at once and for ever.

Though the Colonization Society was of Southern origin, and formed avowedly in the interests of the slaveholders, it was likely to meet with support in the Free States from the very large proportion of the citizens who were troubled by the presence of free negroes, and uneasy as to the issues of slavery.

The scheme was introduced with great caution in the North; and the agents who took charge of its interests were prepared with a diversity of statements as to its objects, supposed to be suitable to a variety of listeners. The success appeared at first to be considerable, as far as promises of money and interest in the removal of the blacks were concerned; but the game was a dangerous one. Among the most eager and early inquirers were two sorts of persons who were 'colonizationists' only for a very short time; and after that, adversaries who would have ruined the scheme if its authors could ever have got it to work. Practical and sincere men soon perceived that the proposal to deport the slaves was absurd. And how were the multitude to be fed when landed in Africa? These questions were so trifled with that sincere men inquired further, and became satisfied that the only righteous, safe, and profitable course to take with the slaves was to free them. Thus arose the Abolitionists. The time of their appearance on the scene was a marked one. It was the year after the Southampton Massacre, and when the slaves were at the lowest point of their fortunes and their hopes. There is no saying whether the rise of the Abolition question could have been under any circumstances concealed from them; but some ill-judged proceedings of the Colonization managers made the fact known in every negro quarter in the Southern States. They prosecuted for libel a Northern citizen who exposed the false pretensions and real tendencies of their scheme, and thus fixed attention upon an adversary whose words of those days have become a tradition which will never be lost. When they fined and imprisoned Garrison for saying what was proveably true, they destroyed their own cause to set up his.

The other class of temporary adherents and ultimate opponents to the Colonization scheme was that of the free coloured people of the North. A few restless men, and a few vain men, delighted to be courted by whites on any pretence, agreed to go out to Africa; but the more intelligent and prosperous refused to go, and used their influence to warn others from going. They would not be expatriated. They were Americans; and they chose to remain so. Moreover, they would not abandon the oppressed part of their race. They would stay by them as long as a man, woman, or child of their colour remained in bondage, well knowing that if the intelligence and property of their body were shipped off to another hemisphere, no chance of emancipation would remain for those who were left behind.

The free people of colour were at that time about 400,000 in all the States; and though their social position was low, and could not be much raised while their colour marked them as

members of an enslaved race, there were not a few educated and wealthy families among them. An American novel, 'The 'Garies and their Friends,' written by a man of this class some years ago, opens to us a clear view of the life and ways of these prosperous and educated free negroes, of whom wonderfully little can be learned from books or by actual association with them. Though the tale treats of a time before the colleges and schools of the Free States were opened to negroes, it discloses a mode of life very unlike what the owners of slaves believe to be possible to any but whites. Whatever the Southern or the Northern aristocracy might think, the negro owners of houses and ships, the merchants, surgeons, schoolmasters, and clergymen of the despised race, had influence to discredit the Colonization scheme among the people of their own colour, from the capitalist to whom brilliant prospects were held out in the colonies, to the stupidest slave whom his owner was anxious to get rid of.

By means of the influence of opinion, white and black, the minds of the slaves were at once turned against the proposed deportation, and inspired with hope of deliverance by some other chance. Through the scattered population of free blacks, knowledge and opinion were certainly transmitted to the remotest corners of the Slave States; and so marked a change came over the temper and manners of the slaves that their owners assumed without any evidence that a secret agitation was carried on by 'prowling Abolitionists.' There is not, and there never has been, any reason to suppose that white travellers in the Slave States have ever been abolition agents; and it is hardly disputed now that the proprietors themselves have put their slaves in the way of knowing all that they are accused of having learned. Our concern here, however, is with the effect of the new information and the new hope on the negro mind and character, and not with any controversy as to how the blessing came to them.

It was absurd to marvel how the desire, or the very idea, of freedom should have occurred to the slaves, while liberty was the bribe held out to make them willing to go to Africa, or when liberty was 'the reward' conferred on a slave at Charleston, amidst the acclamations of the whole city, for saving St. Philip's Church, or a part of it, in a great fire. The runaways were a standing evidence, from year to year, that the idea of freedom was active in the negro mind, before Abolition was heard of as well as afterwards. But from the time of Mr. Garrison's imprisonment—from the day when the news spread that a white man had taken up their case—they became a changed people.

Their outward condition improved, markedly and steadily, in the first place. From the hour when the attention of the outside world was directed to the condition of the slaves, there was a natural anxiety among all but the most sordid and shameless slaveholders to satisfy the world that the Southern 'peasantry' were a highly-favoured class. They had less and less liberty, because of the prevalent terror of 'prowling' seducers—the more dreaded for being invisible—who were supposed to want to set them running northwards. They had less liberty; but they had more comfort and better superintendence. In religious observances they were indulged and encouraged, because it was safer to have prayer-meetings within sight and hearing; and the shocking fanaticism which certainly was fostered by the whites was intended to divert their thoughts from dangerous aspirations. As it happened, so much reality got mixed up with the visions that the result baffled all anticipation. However the prayer-leader might use the imagery of the Book of Revelations ('Come down, O Lord God! on your great white 'horse, a kickin' and snortin' '), there was a rational allegory connected with it. The captive people had a Moses ready to lead them out of their land of bondage, by whom they were waiting to be led. The mingling of fact and aspiration was to them a real inspiration of faith; and the proof of this appeared in the improvement of their character and manners. Not only were there no more risings, but the murders and other acts of violence became fewer and fewer. This improvement took place in full view of a reverse process among the whites. The sermons, newspapers, and other chronicles of the South show an increase of homicide within the last quarter of a century which has been appalling to society. Much of this is owing, no doubt, to the panic excited by the mere name of Abolition. The great majority of the murders, duels, floggings and burnings of the last thirty years, which have disgraced American society, were caused by disputes connected with slavery. Blacks were killed on the merest suspicion, and whites were lynched or shot: strangers were punished by the roadside and in market-places, neighbours, and even intimate friends, were challenged, warned, beaten, banished, or killed in duels, on some supposition of an offence against slavery. While society was thus becoming barbarised, the effect on the negroes was more favourable than mischievous. Many resident whites, who abhorred the system under which they were living, and even slaveholders, saw this, and stimulated the abolition movement to the utmost of their power, sending money to the North, and earnest entreaties to perseverance till the slaves should be converted into free

labourers. They dared not speak; they dared not take in Northern newspapers; but they could send money and encouragement, and promises of co-operation when the day of escape from the curse of slavery should come.

When the time arrives for the blacks to write their own history, the world will learn that the millions who seemed to be living so quietly and, as their owners boasted, contentedly, were undergoing a process of education in the expectation of something great which was about to befall them. Their vices grew, as well as their intelligence and their courage. The runaways are always the best and brightest specimens, for obvious reasons; and some of them have told us what their latter years of slavery were like. They were more industrious than before, because they wanted a store of money. They were more cunning and lying, because they had more to conceal and misrepresent. The absurdity of the popular notion that the negroes are like children in the matter of ingenuousness has been abundantly shown within the last few months; for it now appears that the body of slaves has been living under a mask for a generation at least. The slaveholders have always assumed that nobody knew anything about negroes but themselves; they have been excessively amused when assured, now and then, that none knew negroes so little as themselves: but at length they are finding this to be the simple truth. Their grandfathers probably did establish a genuine intercourse with their negroes; but, in the present generation, both slaves and owners have changed so essentially that their relation is something new even to their own imaginations. Once placed in antagonism, avowed or secret, the slaveholder is sure to become violent and reckless, and the negro to grow intelligent, cunning, hypocritical, and firm in purpose. Thus is explained the present high position of many negroes who escaped from Southern slavery during this period. It is probable that some of our readers may have heard the public speaking of Frederick Douglass, or of William Wells Brown, or of William Craft; and, if so, they will have seen how inadequate the slaveholders' notion of the capacity of these people is to account for the elevation they actually reach, after their own energy has put them in the way of education.

Year by year the slaves, generally speaking, were growing more reserved and occupied, and less gay. Somehow or other, they always knew what was the tendency of affairs in the Free States. They knew of the establishment of colleges for the instruction of young people of their own colour. They knew of the opening of schools to children of all complexions. They knew when great men were discussing at Washington whether

or not to make the whole Union slave territory, as far as Canada; and the dire import of the Fugitive Slave Law; and the chances that remained that good friends might prevent all runaways from being remanded to their old hovels and whipping-posts. There was much to occupy them in all this; and other observers besides Mr. Olmsted have expressed surprise at finding, not gaiety and childish mirth, but a silence and sadness among the slaves which they had never heard or dreamed of.

It will be interesting to learn, some future day, how these depressed creatures, watched incessantly and punished for every approach to transgression of bounds, came to know what they did know of affairs in the North. Since their emancipation on the South-east coast, we have learned that it had long been customary for some house-servant to carry off, before the family came down to breakfast, the newspaper left on the table over night. In all neighbourhoods there were negroes who could read, little as their masters suspected it. When there was any particular news, the paper was sure to disappear; but it was seldom asked for. When it was not interesting, it lay in full view. This was one way. Again, these house-servants stole down to the negro quarter at night; and, when it was certain that the overseer was in bed, the fastest runner started for the next plantation, to send on the news of any disclosure made at table, or in the dressing-room, in the hearing of waiters or lady's-maids. The messenger was always at home before the overseer was up.

Another resource was the 'underground railway,' an institution or enterprise which our readers can hardly need to have described to them. As passengers could go North by this means, so news could come South. Tidings of escapes, completed or baffled, almost always reached the old comrades; and a good deal of other news naturally came to them.

There was yet another, seven years ago, which was worth to the negroes all other facilities put together. When the Presidential election of 1856 seemed likely to go wrong, the Southern politicians lost their heads, and sealed the doom of their great institution. They made public speeches all over the country—from balconies, in market-places, and at barbecues—appealing to Southern society to save the country from Fremont and the overthrow of slavery. This rashness marked a new period in negro history. The slaves were allowed to know that Fremont would make them free, if he could, and that he was very likely to be able to do so. The passion of their masters was well noted by them; and it is astonishing that they were not driven into insurrection by the wild suspicions of the slaveholders. All

along the Cumberland River slaves were flogged to death, and hanged in rows, for no other reason than the panic of their masters. They had done nothing but listen to white oratory; they had planned nothing but to welcome the God-sent Fremont. The rumours of risings along the Cumberland, and the sight of the panic created by the reports, taught them a lesson, of which we now see the fruits. They learned that their prospects depended on Presidential elections, and that they must be ready when the hour of deliverance came. 'Contraband' who now arrive with money in the Federal lines, mention six years as the time during which they have been accumulating their cash.

Whenever that hour arrived, it was sure to find among the slaves the same diversity of character and faculty that exists wherever human beings are. Mr. Olmsted gives us this description of the basest quality in the lowest region of slave territory:—

'The field-hand negro is, on an average, a very poor and very bad creature; much worse than I had supposed before I had seen him, and grown familiar with his stupidity, indolence, duplicity, and sensuality. He seems to be but an imperfect man, incapable of taking care of himself in a civilised manner; and his presence in large numbers must be considered a dangerous circumstance to a civilised people.' (*A Journey in the Back Country*, p. 432.)

These are the creatures whom the South boasts of having introduced into the Church. The figurative language employed — that 'the Church has opened its doors to them'— is very highly figurative indeed. The religion of the slaves need not be described to anybody who has read Mr. Olmsted's reports of religious conversations with plantation negroes. What concerns us here is, that at the head of the negro prayer-meetings we find an order of men about half-way between the lowest and the best. When the slaves from two or three plantations meet for worship in the woods in the evening, there is sure to be a sufficiency of leaders, at all events—several fluent and excitable fellows, who love to hear their own voice, and the groans and cries they can call forth by it. As some white person is always, by law or custom, present at these meetings, to prevent mischief, the character of negro worship is well understood. Their religion is all emotional; and the Christian hope of these people is, in truth, an indulgence of vanity in being petted by the Being they cringe to in prayer, and an exultation in an expected deliverance from whatever vexes them. This sort of religion is usually encouraged by the proprietors as a safety-valve; and the leaders of the worship are tools of the masters. Their

vanity and their enthusiasm alike fit them to do and say what best suits the proprietor; and neighbouring planters have no objection to allow their negroes to attend (if they must have prayer-meetings at all) the services led by a fluent speaker, who is well pleased that his eloquence should be borne to the ears of the higher race, and win him a compliment the next day.

This is the common sort of religious observance. There have been, from time to time, assemblages in the midst of the swamp, or in the small hours of the morning, at which no white was present, and where a higher order of speakers have given their hearers clearer ideas, and incitements to hope and confidence from the example and fortunes of the Hebrews in Egypt. But these superior persons more commonly keep their own counsel, for personal reasons, and, at all events, do not let their voices be heard aloud in the open air.

There can hardly be a stronger test, both of the force of the desire of liberty and of the personal heroism of certain negro slaves, than the mode of escape adventured by some few of them when the Fugitive Slave Law rendered the old methods too hazardous. We can understand how men and women may have stood in the swamp, up to the chin, for days; and how they may have borne hunger and fatigue, and have thrown themselves into the broad Ohio or Potomac, preferring to drown within sight of the free shore to being caught by the horsemen who are shouting behind. We can understand the daring of the young mother who, with her babe, was almost in the grasp of her pursuers, and sprang upon a fragment of ice floating past. From one swirling fragment to another she leaped, sometimes apparently without a chance, and then making another spring for dear life and for her child — her pursuers themselves standing fixed in wonder and admiration at the heroism of her flight. Such adventures are conceivable enough; but to escape by being coffined in a chest, and thrown about among the cargo of a steamer or the luggage in a railway-van, requires uncommon courage and power of endurance. There are several men of colour in the Free States—some of them now educated persons—who for years laid by money from extra work, prepared by unknown means for a peculiar reception in some Northern city, trained wife and children to bear the suspense of the adventure, and finally obtained secretly a large chest, bored it with holes for air on all its sides, put in the money, and the necessary food, and then lay down to be nailed up in what might prove only a living grave. The reception of such fugitives was indeed a peculiar one. Some citizen of colour in Philadelphia, probably, as the nearest

safe point, was on the wharf, inquiring for a chest of goods consigned to him by this steamer; and he had a truck and men of his own colour waiting to carry it away. There was no use in impatience, but much risk: so the inquirer must keep calm. When put ashore at last, the chest might be set on end, or bottom up. Not till it was in the hall at home, and the door shut, did the host venture the signal, which he had scarcely strength by this time to make. If his knocks on the lid were answered, the fugitive was alive. Perhaps the failures have been unreported. We have heard of none; while there have been several men known in the Free States by the names of Box Brown, Box Smith, Box Jones, &c., in honour of some such adventure. The hero is found in dreadful condition, of course; sometimes speechless for hours. The cup of broth is ready, and the warm bath, and the comfortable bed. In a wonderfully short time, his wife knows the issue of the experiment; and she is probably aware what the next news will be. It seems to be always the same. He goes to work with intense diligence, buys first his daughter or daughters, then his wife, and afterwards his boys, if they have not been sold away out of reach. Then follows the education of the children: at school first, and, if there is yet time, at college. In one form of expression or another, such families as these are always calling attention to the fact that negroes can use their freedom like other people, when allowed to try.

These successful fugitives are the very best of the slave race, as the plantation field-hands are the worst. The higher sort show that negroes are capable of taking care of themselves; while the lower do not prove that they are not. Some respectable free men of colour in the North were once field-hands; and they look back with amazement on the notions and feelings of their early life. Still, through all the heights and depths of their destiny, one universal tone is always sounding, prophesying of liberty at length to all. Whatever the slaves, old and young, wise or foolish, grave or gay, may say in answer to questions before strangers, the desire of freedom is absolutely universal among them. It has certainly been so for many years; and there is every reason to suppose that it always was so. Some may be too lazy, some too luxurious, some too timid, to make any effort on their own behalf, and all are too cunning to admit that they feel anything that is inconvenient to their owners; but no one fact about them is so well ascertained as that they all regard freedom as the one desirable thing in life, and the crowning blessing which is in store for their race, sooner or later.

Seven years ago, the free coloured people of New England had to make an important decision. The Legislature of Massachusetts declared the Common Schools open unconditionally to all the children in the State. There were anxious consultations among the people of colour in Boston whether to accept this concession, implying as it did the closing of their own schools. They made the venture, and have rejoiced ever since. For seven years their children and those of the white citizens have been on perfectly equal terms in the schools; and the managers and teachers have neither found nor made any difficulties. The opening of colleges in the same spirit—so that negro students have been and are now seen even at Harvard University—had by this time caused the free people of colour to have educated men and women of their own race. There was wealth among them before; and now they had physicians, clergymen, tutors and schoolmasters, engineers, and men of business; and of the other sex a considerable number of well-cultivated schoolmistresses, governesses, music-teachers, and artists.

All this evidence that a new period in their social history had arrived wrought strongly in the Free States, and had its effect in the remotest corners of the Slave States. But the most striking sign of the times was, perhaps, the New Bedford Convention, which was considered an annual observance till the march of events showed that it was no longer necessary. This Convention was an assemblage of free coloured citizens, who met to consult on the fortunes, the duties, and the policy of their class. The resolutions passed on these occasions will be found by future generations to throw a strong light on some features of American society in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is enough for us here to say that the whole interest of the united members was pledged to raise and strengthen the depressed spirit of their class; to encourage the pursuit of the objects of social ambition; and to rebuke and put down the assumption that the dark race were fit only for menial employments and the drudgery of society. There was another point on which they expressed themselves with a steady determination which has since been of great advantage to them. They avowed their resolution to abide by their own country and their own people till the controversy between the oppressors and the oppressed should be settled for ever. As Americans, they would live and die in America; and while colour was a badge of slavery, every man of colour would stand by the slaves till every one of them was freed. Such, we see, was the conclusion arrived at, through long years, whenever and wherever these people could utter their will.

Even in the most barbarous districts of the interior cotton lands these movements and their purport could be more or less followed and appreciated. Importations of African negroes were still going on in the creeks of the Gulf, and the re-opening of the African slave trade was under discussion in the legislatures, the councils, and the newspapers of several of the Southern States. The raw Africans who were thus occasionally landed were a very exciting spectacle to even the lowest of the American slaves. For the first time, the degraded field-hands saw people lower than themselves; but, if they felt any complacency on this account, they suffered more mortification in having this exaggerated image of their own condition placed before their eyes. The spectacle made them at once more eager for a change in their lot, and more unwilling than ever to be sent to Africa. Their masters pointed out with great complacency the contempt and aversion their hereditary 'hands' had for the strangers; and it really seems as if they did not perceive the effect this contrast was likely to produce.

The only point which remains to be noticed, before the date of the civil war, is the avowed and increasing alarm of Southern society at the results disclosed by each census. Small as the negro increase has been, it has borne an ever-increasing proportion to the white element in South Carolina and several other States. There is no evidence that the fact created any special hope among the blacks, but it inspired a strong fear in their proprietors; this fear induced greater severity of control, and greater severity again caused more escapes. In one free State on the Ohio, fifteen hundred fugitives were known to have passed through in a single year; and there was no getting them back again.

A new Presidential Election had now come round. That of 1856 had not brought any good to the slaves; they had heard nothing more of Fremont; and they had heard a great deal of the DRED SCOTT decision, as rendering escape almost impossible. Nowhere short of Canada could they now be any safer than in the Gulf States. Would Fremont come forward again? From the talk at table and in the carriage, and in town and country meetings, the listeners, who never failed to have their ears open, learned that there were other men as hateful in the South as Fremont; and at length it appeared to be Breckinridge who would keep all straight at the South, and Lincoln who was the Fremont of the day. They would never have found out for themselves what it was that Mr. Lincoln was expected to do or to inflict: but the citizens had not learned prudence from the events of 1856. They talked as eagerly and as rashly about Lincoln as they had about Fremont; and thus gave their

negroes a new idol. Discovering this, after having begun the war, the proprietors in the districts where the Federal troops were most likely to be seen, did their best to undo the mischief wrought by indiscretion. Some sent their people away southwards or westwards; some employed them on defensive works, and stimulated them by rewards and by hints of pressing danger; some informed their negroes that the race called Yankees were a sort of monsters, with horrid faces and horses' teeth, and mouths always watering for negro flesh as the greatest of dainties. Others told them that the errand of the Yankees down South was to catch as many negroes as possible, in order to hamstring them or to sell them into a sort of hell called Cuba, where negroes were always tormented beyond bearing. The dread of Cuba is a traditional superstition among all orders of American slaves, as it is a traditional custom of the slaveholders to inspire it. As for the description of the Yankees as monsters, it must be remembered that it was addressed, not to intelligent 'house' or 'body-servants'—the men and women who overhear conversation and learn to read—but to field negroes—beings who have seen nothing beyond the plantation and the neighbouring woods, and who have heard nothing but what the whites, and prayer-leaders sanctioned by the whites, have told them. They half-believed till they saw; and it was not for some time that they identified 'Yankees' with Fremont and Garrison, and the deliverers who were to come. This identification is said to have taken place, when it did happen, through a vision or dream related in evident sincerity by one of the early 'contrabands.' 'The Lord appeared' to him 'in the night in 'the form of a Yankee,' instructing him to warn his brethren to welcome the Yankees, who were coming to make slaves free, and set them to work on their own account. The disciple discharged his commission with excellent effect—probably within view of some kindly 'Yankee,' who had accepted this opportunity of producing a desirable impression.

The effect of such instructions was seen for some time after the arrival of the Northern troops in any new district of the Slave States. Many of the negroes came down openly at once to the shores of the river or creek, bundle in hand, begging to be admitted on board the boats; and if refused or unanswered, they swam till they were taken up to save their lives; but others peeped from some ambush in the forest or the sedgy banks (looking for the big teeth); and when they came in at last, they were in a state of trembling fear, and ready to start off home at every turn, till satisfied that nobody was being sent to Cuba. It is certain that reckless Southern politicians

sent many more negroes to the Federal camps than they kept away from them by these goblin stories. The practical point of the case was that the first alarm was well-grounded, and the second was false. Mr. Lincoln's election, greeted with secession, would put an end to slavery, while the fanciful description of the Yankee would hold good only at a distance: and the negroes would be wiser accordingly.

Here we have reached the ground of the great speculation—what the future of the negro will be in America. The best material for a judgment is, unquestionably, our knowledge of the character of the negro—of his ideas, his capacities, and his moral state and tendencies—under the test of the present crisis of his fate. Of this material there is a great deal at our command, derived from official sources, and vouched for by the direct testimony of the Federal Commissioners for Freedmen. Relying on the accuracy of their statements, the facts they describe are in the highest degree interesting and important.

For some time after the opening of the war, the freed (or escaped) negroes were as miserable in their circumstances as could well be imagined. In their eagerness to escape from bondage they cast themselves upon the mercy of camps and cities, by tens of thousands; and they found, for many weeks and months, little enough of mercy anywhere but among people of their own race. It should be remembered for ever that long before any sort of provision was made for these destitute creatures, and before either the Government or general society in the North took their case into consideration at all, they were fed, clothed, comforted, and assisted to get into work, by the despised free blacks of the Northern cities. In Washington, and Philadelphia in particular, the humblest dwellings were open to all who came from the South. So great was the crowding in the houses, and so reduced was the condition of the fugitives, that fever, cholera, and dysentery soon created alarm wherever the 'contrabands,' as they were by this time called, had assembled. The state of things was truly appalling at the beginning of 1862. Nothing can be said in justification of the Washington Government for its apathy and its delays in making up its mind what to do with the multitude of negroes who were sure to come into its hands when the war was carried into the South. Up to that time the fugitives who arrived in the Free States were provided with employment without much difficulty—the demands of the war having perceptibly reduced the supply of labour. The negroes who took occasion to quit Virginia and the Border States which were the seat of war were presently in demand, as far north as the wharves of

Chicago and the farms of New England. But only a small proportion got so far; for they were in demand in the camps, to relieve soldiers of the coarsest duties, and be the personal servants of officers. The women washed, cooked, and cleaned. The men did everything else required in camp. Even northern citizens were surprised to see how well and diligently they worked under the stimulus of pay; and thus, on the whole, the state of affairs, so far, was not so alarming or vexatious as to rouse the Government to its duty. The able-bodied of both sexes seemed to be taking care of themselves; and the helpless were taken care of by friends of their own colour.

The case was very different when the war was carried down to the South and the Southwest; and the Government must have known that it would be so. There, every negro who escaped being driven into the interior, with the planter's cattle or goods, would be sure to appear in the Federal lines; and some principle of action in regard to them ought to have been decided on and promulgated throughout the United States' armies. The whole matter, however, was left to chance. Negroes came flocking in from the deserted plantations, or plantations that were not yet deserted; they issued from the woods by day and by night; they swam from the main to the islands; they all refused to go back again, and said that their wives and children, and the old people, were all coming as soon as they should get some news which was on the way. On the whole, and in most places, the next state of things was terrible. The commanders had their several opinions as to what ought to be the fate of these people. While one declared that he could have done nothing in this hostile territory without negro guides, scouts, messengers, and channel pilots, others regarded every black as a nuisance, and encouraged all overtures from claimants to come and take them back. The 'contrabands' were too often baulked of their pay, or made to work without it; they were kicked and cuffed and sworn at by the soldiers (especially the Irish and Germans); they were robbed, abused, and (worst of all) tempted in every way; so that there was every prospect of the negroes within the influence of the camps sinking to even a lower depth of degradation than they had known in slavery.

Where the commanders refused to open their lines to negroes at all, the poor creatures fled wherever river or rail, or their own feet, would carry them. The worst spectacle of all seems to have been at Cairo, where, at the best, residents ought to bear a charmed life to escape the perils of damp and malaria. On that comfortless point of land, at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio, the fugitives sickened immediately, and died very fast.

If the able-bodied could have got on to Chicago, their fortunes would have been made: for Chicago was getting rich at only half speed for want of labour. The wages proffered by advertisement were enormous, if these poor people had but been able to read the papers, and to get on the right road to the lake. But the farmers in Illinois wanted hands too; and being from the South, for the most part, they had a mind for negro labour, and for an absolute command of it. They helped themselves first, before allowing the Chicago people any choice, even if the fugitives could have made their way out of the swamps of Cairo. These Illinois settlers threw the fugitives into prison, and then paid the fine to get them out again, on condition of unlimited and unpaid service for a term of years, in consideration of their involuntary debt. Thus did Southern men who were too poor to settle in a slave country find themselves slave-owners in a free State; and the negroes were involved in a slavery on free soil harder than that they had run away from on the plantation.

Possibly the President's strange proposal of deportation grew out of the bad news which poured in from all quarters about the escaped negroes, and from the perplexity of his ministers, and of his own mind, as to what to attempt on their behalf. The absurdity of his scheme of emigration saves the necessity of discussing it. If it were a less serious subject, it would be easy to laugh at the scene in the presidential mansion, when a select company of men of colour, sent for by Mr. Lincoln, appeared before him, to be told that they and their four millions of comrades had no chance in the United States, were not liked there, and had better submit pleasantly to be carried away somewhere, he did not at present know where, but to some unappropriated region where they would be out of the way, and safe from ill-usage. Mr. Lincoln must by this time be amazed that he could within two years have thought such things as these, and said them to men who were Americans by birth, patriots in heart, attached to their homes, and their business, and their neighbours. The wondering listeners asked for time to consider before giving any reply. But the great majority of their class perceived that the proposal would come to nothing, and simply declared that they would not go. Already the great want of the country was labour; already new and costly efforts were making to stimulate immigration from Europe; already large districts of plantation land were found deserted and lapsing into waste, from the removal or absconding of the labourers; and this was the moment chosen for the proposal to ship off to some distant wilderness four millions of the natural and trained

labourers of the country! Such an absurdity had only to be let alone. We heard a good deal at the time of the organising of the first expedition; and the people of colour were vigorously canvassed for volunteers 'to leave their country for their 'country's good;' but no site was ever fixed upon that there could be any hope of obtaining; so that doubts were thrown on the sincerity of the proposers and promoters. We need hardly add that the time has long passed by when any one would desire or dare to bring forward any such project. As an indication of the spirit and manner of the roused free negroes of the North, it may be worth while to quote the resolutions passed at a public meeting of their colour in Boston, in May 1862, and published in the newspapers.

'*Resolved*, That when we wish to leave the United States, we can find and pay for the territory that shall suit us best.

'*Resolved*, That when we are ready to leave, we shall be able to pay our own expenses of travel.

'*Resolved*, That we do not want to go now.

'*Resolved*, That if anybody else wants us to go, they must compel us.'

The first effectual step out of these accumulating difficulties seems to have been made by some of the generals in command of various expeditions. Widely as they differed in the treatment of the negroes when claimed as property, they seem to have been all of one mind as to their value in the campaign. One tells of a boy of eighteen who drew a plan of the forts at Roanoke, with the true number and position of the guns, and who accurately described the neighbouring battery, with its approaches and surrounding swamps. Another commander mounted his man, well clothed, on a good horse, and made him ride at his right hand during the whole of an important day—relying wholly on the local knowledge of the slave for guidance, and finding that the good fellow kept his head clear and his manners respectful in so unheard-of a position. Another lamented his readiness to laugh at a negro who came into camp at the top of his horse's speed, to tell of an advance of the enemy through the woods. The negro was laughed at, and the enemy obtained a success; and there was no more laughing at negro scouts in that camp. The story of the pilot, Robert Small, who brought over to the Federal commander the steamer 'Planter,' with nine brother slaves and 30,000 dollars' worth of ammunition, has been related in the newspapers. The act would have been remarkable, for courage, presence of mind, forecast and skill, in any man.

One of the most decisive instances of negro energy is the

story of James Lawson, the slave of a Virginian master, who escaped from slavery in December 1861, and offered his services on board the flag gunboat 'Freeborn' in the Potomac, commanded by Captain Magaw. Lawson arrived so well furnished with intelligence of the movements of the enemy on land and at sea, that he was soon found to be a great acquisition. Captain Magaw sent him on a scouting expedition, in a direction in which he did not need intelligence, in order to prove the man's accuracy and fidelity. Lawson went the whole round of the enemy's fortifications, passing through many and great dangers, and brought back a very able, full, and accurate account of them. This exploit fixed his position. He was employed in other hazardous explorations; and, when he needed comrades, he picked out men from the 'contraband' camp, of his own cast of character and ability; and none of them ever disappointed the authorities. They ran the gauntlet for days together, pursuing their course under fire from point to point; but fire was never an excuse for defective information. James Lawson and his aides counted numbers and measured distances thoroughly under all circumstances. Every gunboat on the Potomac rang with their praises; and General Hooker transmitted to the War Office at Washington an account of one of Lawson's reconnaissances, with an intimation from the military and naval commanders on the Potomac that an acknowledgment of Lawson's merits by Government would be highly acceptable to the officers who were witnesses of his services. Lawson requested leave to undertake a little enterprise of his own, when he had satisfied the authorities that he might be trusted. He brought off his wife and four children from the plantation in Virginia before he had been six weeks a free man. He evaded the pickets or escaped their shots, baffled the vigilance of the watchers of his old home, and was on the shore with his family punctually at the time appointed for his captain's boat to meet him.

We might fill a volume with testimonies of the highest officers in the Federal service to the abilities and good sense of the newly freed men: but we have room for no more. If the phenomenon seems scarcely credible, we ought to remember the fact which we have already mentioned, that every slave-holding family throughout the South boasts of one singularly clever slave. Such a revolution in negro history as is now taking place cannot but animate the minds so long depressed by the deferring of their hopes; and the highest ability of the class may well appear on the surface in this great crisis of their fate.

There is no longer any doubt that at this time—in the early

spring of 1862—when the Federal authorities were hesitating what to do, and counteracting each other, and sorely trying the patience of the fugitives by their uncertainties, there were armed negroes in the Confederate service. However few, there were some: and the practice of making soldiers of the slaves was certainly begun by the Confederates. Among the Confederate property picked up at Manassas, when the United States' troops entered the fortifications, was a letter from a M. Paul Viallon of New Orleans, to one of the Confederate officers, Captain Bourges. The letter, which was dated December 31st, 1861, contained this passage:—

'You inquire of me who are the superior officers of the regiment of negroes here in this city. As far as I have been able to learn, the colonel is Labatut, the lieutenant-colonel, Ogden; the major, Bezou. As to the captains, they are negroes or mulattoes. Ever since they have been allowed to command companies they think themselves greater than the whites; they take airs upon themselves, and act with such insolence towards the ladies on Sunday at the church of St. Augustine, that there are few of them who any longer attend there. But they will be put down very quickly; for two or three of them, within a few days, have barely escaped being killed.'

At Yorktown, the batteries were seen to be manned by negroes: and one, who had his hands frightfully burned by handling hot shot, was a prisoner in the Federal lines. At Murfreesborough, a company of negro guerillas captured some Federal soldiers. These facts did not at once overcome the President's reluctance to permit the enlistment of free negroes in the Federal army; but the news prepared the negroes themselves for the introduction to military life which was now near at hand. The wealthy and educated free blacks in the North offered their services in defence of the Union; and the lower sort in the camps and colonies on the Southern seaboard were about to enter on their trial as soldiers. Meantime large rewards were offered by the Confederate officers for the bringing in, alive or dead, of the negro guides, scouts, pilots, teamsters and camp labourers employed in the Federal armies. For one man, Dabney, 'the scout of the Rappahannock,' 1,500 dollars were offered in the summer of 1862. Mr. Seward's testimony, in a despatch to Mr. Adams, shows that more than a sprinkling of remarkable men of colour were engaged in this kind of service. The Secretary of State says: 'Everywhere the American general receives his most useful and reliable information from the negro.' Everywhere, in fact, the slaves were found looking out for their deliverers, and eager to help them against the masters, and the savage landless

whites, their masters' desperate troops. When they found that their troubles were not over, and that the Northern soldiers could be as brutal in their hatred and as insolent in their treatment of negroes as the lowest 'mean whites' of the Slave States, it was feared that this usage would make them abscond to the woods and swamps, there to lead the life of banditti. In some of those wild places there doubtless were assemblages of fugitives; but they were there only for want of means to reach the Federal lines, or from ignorance. There is absolutely no evidence at all of any marauding on the part of those people. On the contrary, they behaved well under this great trial. The grand question was, whether the mixed multitude of freed slaves, assembled near the Federal camps without anybody's leave or anybody's wish, were capable of self-support by honest work. This will always remain the salient point of the history of negro emancipation in America. The result has for some time been clear; but the value of the proof cannot be estimated without some knowledge of the circumstances.

The Sea Islands of South Carolina have maintained a denser slave population than perhaps any other region in the Southern States. After the battle of Port Royal, the white inhabitants fled, taking with them as many negroes as they could compel to go, and as much cotton and other produce as they could carry. More slaves were left behind than could be driven off. When the long-desired 'Yankees' appeared on the plantations, they observed one half of the recommendations imposed on them from Washington: they collected what cotton was left, but they did not provide for the negroes. They carried off the mules wanted for the ploughing, and the rails for the fencing, besides the corn, the pigs, and the poultry. The collection of the cotton was done by agents, who suggested to Government that the estates should be let to be worked by speculators. As this would have left the negroes as much slaves as ever, and probably to a worse set of masters, the advice was opposed, and in good time set aside. The whole future of the freed negroes depended on their being now incited and encouraged to labour; and this could be done only by leading them to regard work as honourable in the eyes of free men, and the basis of the workers' own fortunes. It was proposed to the Government that associations should undertake the management of the deserted estates, for the benefit at once of the negroes and of the national treasury; and to this the Government assented. It agreed to furnish transport and rations for superintendents and teachers. Whatever else was wanted must be otherwise provided. The responsible person, the head of the Commission,

was Mr. Pierce, a barrister of Massachusetts, selected for his well-trained ability, and his lawyer-like coolness and impartiality of temper, at a time when a pronounced abolitionist would certainly have had less influence over the minds of the timid and the hostile everywhere.*

Associations were formed in the chief Northern cities for providing clothes, in the first place, for these poor people; and next, the means of education, both in books and work. The Special Agent received his appointment in February 1862; and so early as the 9th of March a body of teachers and trainers landed at Beaufort. Forty-one men and twelve women, under Mr. Pierce's direction, went to work at once. These missionaries were not only clergymen and teachers, but farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, and physicians—all volunteers in the service, and selected with care from a larger number.

Nothing could be more forlorn than the scene in which they found themselves. The soldiery had stripped the estates, and overthrown all order; and they had terribly corrupted the negroes. Which way to turn themselves, the strangers did not know. Mr. Pierce traversed his dominion in the first place, making a survey which enabled him to assign stations to his assistants, and appoint their work. There were ten islands, containing 189 estates, and a negro population (before accessions from the mainland arrived) of 9,050. Before spring was over, there were seventy-four teachers and managers of the men, and nineteen women to take care of the women and children. The proportion of helpless persons among the negroes was, of course, very large, as the most burdensome were left on the hands of the Yankees; and the field-workers of all ages and qualities were less than half of the whole number. All of them were of a feeble habit of both body and mind. Their vegetable diet, their poor dwellings, their practice of sleeping on the floor in their day-clothes, their incapacity for any employment but the particular one to which they had been accustomed, their indolence, weakness of will and resolution, their levity, and the wretched destitution in which they were living, made up as desperate a case for missionary effort as could well be conceived.

First, they must all be vaccinated, for small-pox had broken out on many plantations. A hospital was opened, and six physicians worked at that job till it was finished. The missionaries, male and female, had much to do before they could

* We have extracted the details which follow from the Official Reports, but some of them will be found set forth at greater length in Mr. Baptist Noel's 'Rebellion in America' (pp. 348—377.).

open schools. They distributed clothing, visited the sick, tried to improve the household ways of the women, and soon were rich in eggs from the negro quarters — the slave-woman's form of paying compliments being a donation of eggs. The season was already six weeks late for sowing when the managers arrived, and there was a grievous deficiency of implements and stock. Each superintendent had to deliver in an account of the condition and appropriation of his lands before any arrangement as to tillage could be made. Yet it appears from the tables prepared for Government, dated June 2., that above 16,000 acres were bearing flourishing crops at that time. The cotton was then from six to twelve inches high, and properly thinned; and the corn, potatoes, rice, peas, and other vegetables all looking well. Though six hundred able-bodied men had been withdrawn from the plantations for military purposes, the energies of their comrades were by this time so awakened that they undertook nearly the whole work. Scarcely any of it was, in fact, abandoned. After going through these difficulties, and finding that some of the best lands could not be used, for want of fencing, and that the gang-system worked badly when wages were to be paid, and that four months of listless idleness had put the negro out of gear, it was really astonishing to the managers to reap such results as they did at the end of their first season. By that time the superintendents were taken into the service of the Government; a sufficient testimony of the value set upon their achievements at head-quarters. The number of negroes under tutelage was eighteen thousand, and an increasing proportion was withdrawn on military service; yet those who remained behind had stored up corn enough for the whole community till the next harvest, and cotton enough to pay the entire expenses of the experiment. Not many months later, the balance paid over to the United States Government was declared to be 40,000 dollars, after all expenses were cleared.

The opinion on the spot of the value of free negro industry is shown by the following paragraph of the First Annual Report of the Educational Commission for Freedmen (p. 8.):—

'The success of one of our superintendents, in conducting two of the largest plantations for the Government, was so great, that he has, in connexion with some friends at the North, purchased eleven plantations, comprising about 8,000 acres, and is carrying them on this season by means of the old men, the women, and the children— most of the young and able-bodied men being now enlisted in the army of the United States. We are fortunate in having had among our superintendents one of sufficient means to enable him to undertake this operation upon business principles, with strict justice and fair, honest treatment of the freedmen.'

Something of great importance is proved by the next passage. Our readers may have met with descriptions, in recent narratives of travel, of the intense eagerness of the freedmen and women to have a home of their own, and of the toil the men choose to undergo in building their own dwellings, working at the walls and the roof till a late hour in the night. How these men have arrived at building houses for themselves we may now see:—

'It is intended to sell a large portion of the plantations thus purchased, to the freedmen at cost, as fast as they shall prove, by industry and frugality, that such a course will be beneficial to them.

'Several plantations, amounting in all to about 2,000 acres, were purchased by the freedmen themselves, at the Government sale for taxes, they having combined the small savings of last season's work for that purpose: and these freeholds are being cultivated this season, in corn and cotton, by these men who, less than two years since, were slaves without hope of deliverance, the most isolated, and consequently the most ignorant of their class.' (*Report*, p. 9.)

There is something more yet in the way of results. The supporters of this Commission looked beyond their own particular enterprise, and spared no pains to arouse the citizens of other parts of the country to do their duty to the freed negroes. The Report is able to say, at the end of the first year (p. 9.):—

'From the statements recently received from the West, we have reason to believe that an entire reform has taken place in the treatment of the freedmen. They are now paid for their labour, and are eagerly sought for in all departments of the public service. A large number, who were suffering very much at Cairo, have been removed to Island No. 10, and the plantations of that island assigned them for cultivation. Measures have been taken by us to induce the formation of societies like our own, in several of the principal cities of the West.'

As for the other functions of the missionaries, they opened schools on all the plantations, and taught the women to be clean, and to sew, to keep the clothes neat, to cook, wash, &c. The book-learning was sure to prosper: for it is a passion with freed slaves to share the white man's privilege of learning. The demand for spelling-books, and alphabets, and copy-books was enormous; and the shaky hands and dim eyes of the superannuated 'darky' were as busy with the lesson as the brightest of the children. After a time, the aged scholars seem to have dropped off, more or less; but the children have prospered admirably. There were from two to three thousand of them, in high glee and credit, at the date of this Report; and the testimony of their teachers is this:—

'The progress made by the children in their studies is generally

fully equal to that of white children of the same age in our schools; and by many teachers is considered to have been more rapid than in any schools they had ever before taught.' (P. 13.)

Meanwhile small incidents occurred in the life of these people which went further towards convincing observers of their mental and moral progress than any proofs of competency in school. A scheme was put forth for opening the school-house, or some other public building, for evening study or entertainment. Some point arose on which the darkies wished to form their own decision, apart from white management. They assembled—they went through all the forms, as they had doubtless learned from the political discussions so rashly carried on in their presence—they chose their chairman, and the resolutions were ready. It had struck somebody that, if this evening assembly was to be permitted for their sakes, they ought *to pay for the candles.* The thing was discussed and put to the vote. They decided to subscribe so much each per week for the candles, voted thanks to the chairman, and sent up a deputation to inform the managers that they would not be troubled to light the house.

We have devoted some space to the South Carolina experiment because it was the first; but if we seek guidance in speculating on what the future of the great body of the slaves may be hereafter, we should look to the West, where, along the course of the Mississippi, seventy plantations were in full work with free labour within six months of the promulgation of General Banks's order for the Department of the South-west. This most significant story is worth the gravest attention.

When General Banks, at New Orleans, found himself compelled to form some plan for the great negro population under his charge, and for such of their masters as consulted him, the institution of slavery was virtually abolished throughout the region, and was apparently admitted by all parties to be so. The District of Columbia and the Territories had been decreed to be free soil for ever; and the newest event at the time we speak of was the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. Every slaveowner and every slave knew of these events; and all arrangements thenceforth made were under that knowledge.

The negroes were flocking to General Banks and his officers by hundreds every day. They were in bad health, and fell into bad habits. They huddled together in damp and dirty shanties, getting little work and food, but spirits and other bad things from the camps. At one station, 172 died in three months out of 1,000. General Banks offered to them the alternative of work on the levée or the roads for rations from Government, or

work on some plantation (not necessarily the one they had escaped from) for fixed wages, which Government would guarantee on the security of the crop. The planters, on their part, understood that the negroes were to be treated as hired hands; the power of the whip was taken from everybody, but there was a provost-marshal within reach, to whom resort might be had when the negroes failed to fulfil their share of the bargain. No punishment was to be awarded which would not have been inflicted on whites in the same circumstances. If the negroes were willing to work, but shrank from intercourse with their old masters or their neighbours, they were to be placed on Government plantations. The plan took effect immediately. The planters were willing to make sacrifices to get their crop into the ground; and they bound themselves to pay wages, in kind and in money, well as they must have understood that their labourers could never be slaves any more. The negroes saw the advantage of getting pay as well as food, and of having a home on a plantation for their families. Some masters refused to take back their slaves; in which case the Superintendent of Negro Labour gave a pass to each negro, authorising him or her to seek employment as a free labourer. Other masters were anxious to recover their old hands; and in this case the influence of the Superintendent was at their service, and they, if they deserved it, received this form of notice:—

'Office of the Superintendent of Negro Labour:
'New Orleans, ——— 1863.

'Mr. ———

'Sir—I have induced ——— of your negroes to return to their 'homes, with the understanding that they are to be kindly treated.

'I am authorised by the Commanding General to see that the 'negroes not only perform their duties, but that they receive proper 'and humane treatment.

'Very respectfully yours,
'(Signed) George H. Hanks,
'*Lieut. and Superintendent of Negro Labour.*'

From the moment the planter has signed the agreement which procures him this notice, his people are practically free beyond dispute. He cannot sell their persons or their services, nor obtain their labour without pay. On the other hand, he is not bound to keep them an hour in idleness. If he be ten minutes late in the morning, the labourer forfeits ten cents; and bad work is a reason for dismissal. What the benefit to the planter really is may be learned from a hundred incidents which show how the quality of the labour has improved. One of the planters, who had always insisted that negroes never would work but as slaves,

hired negroes in February last in what he considered due proportion to his land. He presently found that his 'force' was far too great, and he hired other deserted estates to occupy his surplus 'hands.' One of his managers has borne testimony in writing that the crop will exceed all former experience; that he manages three estates now with less trouble than one in past times, because the negroes work as if they had an interest in the crop; and that the fines for any sort of misconduct, on the three estates, did not amount to five dollars for the preceding month.

The interest of the negroes in the crop has been taken advantage of in not a few cases by planters who have admitted their labourers to partnership. The schemes seem to be diverse; and it cannot yet have been ascertained how they are likely to answer in the long run; but, as regards the year 1863, it is certain that some planters have declared their expectation of larger gains from their estates, after dividing the proceeds with their labourers, than they had ever before obtained. The main consideration on behalf of the slaves has always been how to get the experiment of free labour instituted by an owner, or a few owners, of large estates, so that they might learn by actual experience that the money value of the slave passes into the land at the moment that the slave is made free. In other words, land had scarcely any selling value at all in the Slave States, apart from the negro stock upon it; whereas, when there is no property in negroes, the land immediately recovers what may be called its natural value. As for the rest, the testimony is uniform that the cost of wages to a free labourer, in proportion to the value of his work, is less than that of the maintenance of a slave.

General Banks's arrangements are avowedly provisional. A higher authority than his, he says, will hereafter settle the great questions involved in this department of his rule. But there is probably a universal conviction in that South-western region that slavery is at an end. Many of the negroes there did not come under the terms of the President's proclamation; yet their former owners are voluntarily employing them as hired labourers; and if the experiment goes on through a second season, it is in the highest degree improbable that there should be any prevalent or effectual desire for a return to the former system, even if it were possible.

Where, it may be asked, is all the devastation threatened in regard to this region above all the other regions of the Slave States, as a consequence of the Proclamation of Emancipation? The apprehension was a mistake altogether. A little more

knowledge and reflection would have shown the most timid that the negroes do not burn and slay and ravish and lay waste when they have got what they demand, but, if at all, when they are disappointed and desperate. A little more knowledge still would have shown that the American slaves in particular were unlikely to break out into acts of revenge when their long trial was over. The same influence which kept them quiet under the yoke for the last thirty years of their bondage was not less powerful when the provocations of slavery had ceased. From the moment when they had the Abolitionists to look up to, the negroes rebelled no more: the same moral power, without any direct communication, trained and disciplined them for the great change which it promised; and no one who had any real knowledge of either the facts or the philosophy of the case can have felt any dread of evils which have occasioned as much virulent invective, and as much noisy menace, as if they had not been merely imaginary.

The part of the negro case best known in this country is the opening of a military career to a race supposed to be equally unfitted for it by constitution and by training. It is already demonstrated that negro troops do not turn tail in the battle-field, and that they are amongst the most orderly and trust-worthy part of the United States forces.

The military resembled the industrial opening in occasioning a sore trial to the candidates before they were permitted to enter on the new career. The indecision, the inconsistency, the mutual conflicts of the authorities as to admitting the people of colour to military service were great and perplexing, and many more months passed away before the policy of the Federal Government on this important question was distinctly settled and avowed. Our business, however, is not with the faults of the Government, but with the military capacity and conduct of the negroes.

From the first hour, they surprised their patrons by their aptitude for drill and the use of arms. General Saxton reported of the first experiment to the Secretary for War as follows, so long ago as last January:—

'I have the honour to report that the organisation of the 1st Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers is now completed. The regiment is light infantry, composed of ten companies, of about eighty-six men each, armed with muskets, and officered by white men. In organisation, drill, discipline, and *morale*, for the length of time it has been in service, this regiment is not surpassed by any white regiment in this department. . . . In no regiment have I ever seen duty performed with so much cheerfulness and alacrity. As sentinels they are peculiarly vigilant.'

Already they have turned the scale in several combats; they have won battles for themselves; they have borne fatigue and privation with spirit; and, by the testimony of their officers, and of the police authorities of military districts, they are better behaved than any other soldiery now or formerly afoot in the country. As far as they are concerned, the provost-marshal has nothing to do. The phenomena were the same at the two extremes of negro life. General Hunter began with training the raw refugees from the plantations; and the expedition of the First South Carolina regiment into Florida proved them true soldiers—spirited and brave in conflict, and orderly and harmless after it. In New England and other Northern States, meantime, the higher class of free coloured men were bestirring themselves, and demanding to be called out for the defence of the Union. Governor Sprague of Rhode Island, and Governor Andrew of Massachusetts, gave timely encouragement to the movement; and after they had done so, and commands in the Black Regiments had become objects of keen competition among white officers, the Washington authorities were sure to yield the decision to public opinion. They did so with a good grace. Clothing and arms for 100,000 men were soon provided by the War Office, and the work went on with but one hindrance. The men of colour having claims to the rank of gentlemen insisted upon open promotion; and there is no doubt whatever of their moral right to hold commands in case of desert; but it appears that they have prudently determined to wait—aware, no doubt, that time will give them what they want. Meanwhile, their gain exceeds all estimate; for they have at once risen into acknowledged citizenship, and find themselves in possession of that social consideration which they had looked forward to as a remote hope for their children's children. Where they have been ill-used as soldiers, it has been at Baltimore, or in the haunts of the pro-slavery banditti of the Northern ports. On the other hand, the 54th Massachusetts regiment, commanded by some of the choicest officers of the Federal armies, received its colours, on the old Boston Common, from the municipal dignitaries, with the blessings of the citizens, and the honourable avowal that the people of the State committed their destinies into the hands of these their guardians. After such a recognition as this, and after the whole city had turned out to cheer them, from the Common to the wharf, there can be little further trial of social debasement for this soldiery. No opposition could live; and none seems to have arisen. There is no saying what the strength of this force is at any one time—it increases so fast, and in so many directions. At the end of the

summer we heard of estimates ranging between 20,000 and 40,000 actually engaged in the war; but since that there have been very large accessions by the transactions in Tennessee and other parts of the West. The President declares, in his Message, that 100,000 negroes are in the service of the Government, of whom 50,000 are under arms. The further the Federal troops go, the thicker are the swarms of negroes which arise around them; and the order of the War Office is that the able-bodied men, as many as are disposed, shall be at once put under military training. The eagerness on the part of the negroes is extreme; and their aptitude seems to be a perpetual astonishment to their instructors; so that it is publicly declared that the Black Regiments are already becoming a strong and essential element of the armies of the Republic.

An anecdote which appears in the record of transactions in the South-west Department, shows one of the aspects in which this greatest of changes in the life of the slave presents itself to all the parties concerned. In the fifth volume of the 'Rebellion Record,' Part III. p. 41. we find the following incident of the time:—

'*New Orleans.*—A gentleman, who the other day missed his "boy" (slave), learned that the lad was at Carrollton. He at once repaired to the head-quarters of General Phelps, and stated his case—that he was in search of a runaway negro. "You have lost a man, have you?" observed the General, inquiringly and drily. "Yes, sir," responded the other. "Very well," said the General, "the negroes are over yonder, *he can* go with you if he wishes." The gentleman asked further that a guide might be sent with him, as he did not know the road and paths. "Certainly," said the General. "Orderly, call Major Scott." Presently the Major presented himself, and the General instructed him to conduct the gentleman to the negro camp, and assist him in finding his "boy," and to say to the "boy" that he had his (the General's) permission to return with his master. Thereupon the Major spoke:—"General, I am the 'boy' the gentleman is in search of. I do not want to return." "This is all I can do," observed the General. The droll part of this incident is that the General was ignorant of the fact that the gentleman was Scott's master. The "Major" has hitherto been known in darkey circles as a great orator; he is now known as "Major Scott of the Black guards." Queer things have come out of secession.'

Of the improvement of public feeling in regard to the people of colour, no stronger evidence can be afforded than the way in which the citizens of New York are now exerting themselves to compensate the sufferers from the violence of the Irish and the Southern faction in the New York riots. The best counsel have offered their gratuitous services for them, their suits for

damages are promoted for them, and a careful estimate of their losses has been made by professional valuers, in order to the State paying the whole. This could not have happened at any time before the war.

After all these transactions, after large numbers of fugitives had sickened and died, after the civil and military officers who had found it necessary to act in one way or another had taken their part, and had been alternately snubbed and countenanced, the Federal Government at length decided on one step in the way of its duty towards protecting the negroes. Last spring it appointed the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission—the three Commissioners being men admirably fit for the duty—viz., Dr. Howe, well known in this country on many grounds, and everywhere as the educator of Laura Bridgman; Mr. Robert Dale Owen, of Indiana, the writer of some striking public letters in the course of the present war; and Dr. McKaye, who will do great things in the physiological study, as well as the sanitary management, of the negro and mulatto race. By their researches into the condition of the negroes these gentlemen rendered great service in the first weeks of their office; but their Circular, and the Questions they have prepared to go with the Circular, indicate a scope of inquiry which will do more than has yet been done to determine the destinies of that part of the negro race which has gone through the experience of slavery. The first paragraphs of the Circular are these:—

'The undersigned having been appointed by the Government a Special Commission to inquire into the condition of the Coloured population emancipated by Acts of Congress and the Proclamations of the President, and into the experiences of other communities in like crises; and to consider and report what measures are necessary to give practical effect to these Acts and Proclamations, so as to place the Coloured people of the United States in a condition of self-support and self-defence, deem it their duty to invite to their assistance the deliberations and advice of all earnest and thoughtful friends of Christian civilisation and progress.

'The subject is one of great difficulty, involving, as it does, the question of the wisest practical means of conducting the transition of four millions of people from a state of involuntary servitude to one of free, compensated labour, thereby transforming the slave society of the South into free society. The transformation itself is no longer in question, it has become a necessity of our national existence. To effect it, so as the least to disturb the great industrial interests of the country, and at the same time afford the surest guarantees for the future well-being of both the white and coloured races, is the problem to be studied.'

The free blacks in the Northern States are shown by the

Census and other returns to yield fewer criminals and fewer paupers, and to exhibit a lower mortality in proportion to their numbers, than any other class in the Republic. The love of a warm climate, and the attachment of the people to the soil on which they have lived from birth, afford the best promise that the negroes will not desert the territory where their labour is needed, and to which it is adapted. At the same time, it is plain to all eyes that slavery can never exist again where the labouring class has tasted freedom, and shown itself worthy of the freeman's privileges, and adequate to the freeman's duties. The territory which is now practically exempted from slavery is so large, and so rapidly augmenting, that it is already inconceivable that any remnant of it can preserve its 'peculiar 'institution' after the close of the war, whatever the issue may be. The depressed race may be regarded now as having received an authorisation to try what it can do to obtain a free social position, after having gone through the discipline and training by which it can be raised. It has made a better beginning than could have been hoped; and its own manifestation of high qualities of mind and conscience has had a larger share than any working of events in releasing it from the contempt and dislike under which it has hitherto suffered in the freest States of the American Union. That species of oppression can never be renewed when colour ceases to be a badge of slavery; a consummation which we may now regard as nearly attained.

At the beginning of this article, we expressed our intention of treating the case of the negroes in America without diverging into any political or other discussion. In giving the briefest possible sketch of the position of the slaveholders under recent changes, we are not forgetting our own proposal. We shall speak of the negroes' masters only so far as their present situation affects the prospects of the slaves.

The little history that we have given of the latest generations of the American negroes shows that events had long been tending to their release from the yoke. The events of the war have demonstrated that the slaveholder also has had his course settled for him. Emancipation has been long prepared for, in his case as well as that of his slaves. Slavery could not go on as it was. There were contentions in the legislatures about reopening the African slave-trade; there were considerable importations of native Africans, under very slight pretences of concealment; and, on the other hand, there was a strong effort made to extend the condition of slaveholding over the whole territory of the Republic. Not only did these proceedings indicate

that a revolution in the slaveholding system must be impending, but incidents were perpetually occurring which showed that the time had arrived. From Virginia to Texas, from Missouri to Florida, manifestations were made from year to year, leaving no doubt of the tottering state of the 'peculiar institution,' which, while declared to be perdurable, like Christianity, was ready to fall at the first shock from without. Western Virginia had demanded, on occasion, for some years, and has now passed in her legislature, a scheme of gradual emancipation which was from the first too strongly supported to be very uncivilly treated by the State generally. The State, as a whole, discussed openly and fully in its newspapers the part it should take, in case of a secession in the South; and the proposition that Virginia should join the North, rather than be used as a police force for preventing Southern slaves from crossing the frontier, was steadily urged by writers and speakers who seemed to incur no disgrace by thus admitting the perilous condition of slave property. At the other extremity, the free-labour settlements in Texas were discrediting slavery there. Missouri had elected an anti-slavery citizen for Congress. In Florida, the conditions were so favourable to free labour that the State was always regarded as one of the weak points of the slaveholders' domain. As for the great belt of mountain-land which nearly divides the Slave States, from the Ohio into Georgia, the farming population there had always been known to suffer by slave-owning, and to dislike the institution accordingly; and some of the most recent news from Tennessee is that 200 resident slaveholders, besides other citizens, have sent a memorial to the President, by a deputation, to entreat that he will make emancipation immediate and universal for the sake of all the inhabitants.

Such were the openings for hope on the one side, and fear on the other, before Secession took place. The alarmed slaveholders ascribed every danger as it arose to the Northern Abolitionists; but events were working round naturally, and with little help from any party in the Republic. To escape from their perils, the Southern leaders cut themselves and their territory off from the Republic, thinking to preserve slavery by making it 'the corner-stone' of their new polity. But in the earliest days of the war they must have found, what the world now sees clearly enough, that the war was the very shock which was to overthrow the system it was invoked to save. By the war, the slaveholders found themselves suddenly placed in circumstances in which their cherished 'property' became mere loss, their idolized 'power' a galling weakness, and their 'peculiar institution' a peculiar curse. What is known of this

singular revolution is this. It is but little, but it is enough for our guidance.

In the early days of the war, there were more white than black fugitives crossing the frontier into the Free States. These were, for the most part, planters and farmers, bringing their families — some with money in their pockets, but many with scarcely sufficient clothing on their backs. They declared themselves beggared by the Confederate Government, and the requisitions of the war. They had paid the new taxes as long as they could, but the heavy poll-tax on their negroes was too much for them. They reported that the wealthiest planters were plunged in difficulty by that tax, which at that time was 16 dollars a-head on all negroes. The slaves were seized when the tax was not paid; and these fugitives had either sold their negroes for whatever they would fetch, or had left them to be taken possession of by the authorities, or to run away if they could, or to sit down in the family dwelling to eat their bacon and corn and enjoy themselves. Another reason for the flight, however, was that the bacon and corn were gone, and there was nothing left to live upon. The requisitions of the authorities and the pillage of the soldiery had emptied the granaries and storehouses; and if the negroes were to be fed, somebody else must do it, for their masters had nothing to give them. It was a grave trouble to the wealthier citizens who remained that their negroes, on whom they were paying a heavy poll-tax, were levied by the authorities for the public service. It was by them that the defences were made; and while they were at work on the fortifications, their masters' fields were lying waste. It has recently become known, by way of Spain, that some cargoes of American slaves have been landed in Cuba, in order to preserve them as property, and save their cost. The device, however, has not answered, as by the law of Spain negro slaves from other countries become free on touching Spanish soil. The negroes thus released are reported as making their way to the Free States very intelligently and in high spirits. It is declared by those who know most about the case that the real reason why there are not black regiments on the Confederate as well as the Federal side is, that the chief slaveholders will not allow it. They ask how they are to be compensated for the loss, if their negroes are killed or maimed. The most spirited, the most wealthy, the most bigoted of the planters have been as energetic as the humblest in driving their able-bodied slaves into the interior, away from the scene of war, leaving behind (dead or alive) the adult negroes who refuse to be thus driven, and usually giving up the old, the weakly, and the children to the mercies of the advancing Yankees.

This is not a state of things favourable in any way to slave-holding. Slavery is less like being the corner-stone of a national polity than it ever was before. Yet the slaveholders have themselves brought their affairs to this pass by rushing into war for the sake of an institution which cannot stand shocks.

It is stated from the Department of the South-west, now administered as a province of the Republic by General Banks, that more and more of the planters are making the best of their position by agreeing to the Federal Government's terms for the cultivation of the estates, or by entering into some form of partnership with their own negroes, or with others who may offer. The refusal of one here and there to sign the form of agreement, on the ground that this would be signing away the right of property in the negroes, indicates that the great majority understand that these paid labourers will never again be saleable property. The cargoes of cotton sent down to New Orleans this autumn by Mississippi planters, with promises of more, have been created under such methods as these; and we need not dwell on the impossibility of slavery being set up again on estates where the negroes have had experience of wages or of profits, and the planters of the economy of free labour, and release from the charge and cost of negro 'stock.'

These are some of the modes, called irregular, but thoroughly natural and inevitable, in which slavery has come to an end in the Southern States. The regular way, the method of compensation, our readers must know as much of as there is at present to be told. There has long been a Committee sitting at Washington to manage the compensation business for the District of Columbia. Missouri has accepted the terms of the Government, has decreed the gradual emancipation of her slaves, and will doubtless give up the intermediate stages of servitude, as all emancipating countries do, because immediate liberation answers better. Delaware has few slaves, and does not desire to have any. Maryland is not so 'Southern,' as a whole, as Baltimore is, with its Southern commerce; yet the recent election is a clear decision in favour of immediate emancipation. The other Border States are busy discussing the case — selling their negroes to the Government for the army at the price of volunteers (300 dollars each) or otherwise losing them from day to day. The Federal Government has shown every readiness to pay, in order to facilitate the process of emancipation.

We thus see how inconceivable it is that Slavery can ever again be an established and supreme institution in the Southern States; and unless supreme, Slavery cannot exist. The Con-

federacy, aware of this, but apparently unaware of the certainty of failure in the then condition of their own fortunes and of their negroes, struck a bold stroke for their social system, putting everything to hazard for assurance on this one point. Nothing better could have been desired by the friends of liberty and the deliverers of the negro than that the end of the oppression should be brought about by the oppressors themselves. Slavery would soon have become impossible except by a fearful social retrogression — an extension of its bounds, and a re-opening of the negro trade. Such a retrogression has been rendered impossible, and the slaveholders have sought to avert the gradual disintegration of their system by a sharp and perilous effort at isolation from outward influences. The result proves that they have miscalculated their chances, and have precipitated the revolution in their labour system which they intended to prevent. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more remarkable example of that power which 'shapes our ends, rough hew them 'as we will,' than this result of the American Revolution, opposed alike to the original intentions of the Seceding States and of their antagonists. If it be true that the object of secession was to extend and perpetuate slavery, that object has signally failed; nay more, emancipation has been its direct consequence. If, on the other hand, we are to believe that the seceding States are fighting not for slavery, but for their own independence, then it becomes their first interest to accept and complete the abolition of slavery, for it is that which cuts them off from the sympathy of mankind. Of this their own statesmen are aware. But the time is past when they had any option on the subject. Whatever be the political result of the war, President Lincoln declares in his last Message that he abides by the policy of Emancipation. One million of the four millions of men of colour who were slaves two years since are now free under express Federal protection; many more have found their own way to liberty; and now the distinct purpose of the Federal Government is to emancipate the rest as far as its power extends.

ART. VIII.—*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. Vols. V. to VIII. [Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth.] London: 1860-63.

A GREAT improvement takes place in Mr. Froude's History directly Henry VIII. is off the scene. Some vestiges and some effects of that paradox still remain, as we shall have to point out. But on the whole we read the last four volumes with the pleasure derived from interesting materials worked up for the most part in an attractive form, as well as from a clear and graceful style, and though not with entire agreement or confidence, without any violent shock to our moral feelings or to our common sense. The change will perhaps not be appreciated by those who read history with a feminine craving for strong emotions; but it will be appreciated by those who read with a manly love of historical truth.

When Henry died, power passed into the hands of the men trained in his councils; and these men were for the most part worthy of the training they had received. Their cunning had been sharpened by a long series of cabinet intrigues and cabinet revolutions, in which each gamester had played not only for his fortune but for his life; their sense of justice and their regard for humanity had been obliterated by complicity in attainders, wholesale executions, and judicial murders; their cupidity had been inflamed to a ravenous height by the enormous plunder of the Abbey lands; they had learnt their maxims of home government in a school which maintained public order, not by regular justice but by occasional holocausts of the common people, and their maxims of diplomacy in a school which could form a plan for securing the English interest in Scotland by the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. The characters of these men, like that of their master, were typical of the general character which prevailed among the upper classes of Europe on the downfall of the Catholic faith and of the morality which that faith had supported; the new faith and the sounder morality which the new faith was destined to support, not having as yet had time to gain a firm hold. As it was in the land of the Borgias and in the land of the Guises, so it was to a great extent in the land of Henry VIII. and his Norfolks, Dudleys, Seymours, Riches. With sincere religion, honour and good faith had vanished, and intrigue, conspiracy, and murder had come in their room. It was in lower regions of society, among the inhabitants of the great

towns, and among the yeomanry and peasantry who at a later period of our history produced the army of Cromwell, that the new faith was forming itself under the teaching of the great apostles of Protestantism, and preparing the mould in which a better world was soon to be cast.

The reign of Edward VI. is depicted by Mr. Froude as an anarchy, social and religious, ensuing upon the removal of a strong and beneficent government; and he has impressed this view upon his readers with great descriptive power. But, in the first place, a government upon which an anarchy ensues, though it may have been in a certain sense strong, can hardly be said to have been beneficent; and, in the second place, we believe Mr. Froude overrates the evils of the state of things which prevailed during the reign of Edward VI., at all events by comparison with that which had preceded. 'Amidst the 'wreck,' he says, 'of ancient institutions, the misery of the 'people, and the moral and social anarchy by which the nation 'was disintegrated, thoughtful persons in England could not 'fail by this time to be asking themselves what they had 'gained by the Reformation.' It was a period of transition, both economical and intellectual; and all periods of transition are necessarily attended with more or less of suffering and disorder. The period in which we are ourselves living, and which is, both economically and intellectually, one to a great extent of transition, involves suffering among the classes which are the victims of economical change, and, in a certain sense, disorder in the intellectual sphere. And with regard to our times, in like manner, very bitter and desponding language has been used by social and religious pessimists, who, nevertheless, if closely questioned, would scarcely maintain that they were living in the midst of a moral and social anarchy. We do not mean to say that things in the time of Edward VI. were not much worse than they are in our time. But we mean that with regard to that period, as well with regard to ours, we must distinguish transition from anarchy, and be cautious how we take the jeremiads of disappointed reformers, or even the angry utterances of baffled and wearied statesmen, as if they were the deliberate conclusions of a social observer such as Arthur Young.

There was, undoubtedly, in the reign of Edward VI. a terrible amount of social suffering, arising from two causes, on one of which Mr. Froude has dwelt in a very interesting manner, while, on the other, the views to which he was previously committed have unfortunately forbidden him to dwell. The first cause was the debasement of the currency, commenced by Henry VIII., and continued by the heirs of his system, until

it reached a frightful pitch, and brought on, as might have been expected, terrible derangements and convulsions in the economical life of the people. The effects of a debasement of the currency, even to the extent which it attained in the time of William III., have been painted with as much truth as force by Macaulay, who has also correctly stated the tendency of debased coin to drive the good out of circulation, whereas Mr. Froude less correctly states that 'where a small quantity 'of debased coin is thrown into the midst of a circulation gene-'rally pure, the good will inevitably sink to the level of the 'bad.' Of course the Statutes of Labourers, so far as they were operative, would aggravate the sufferings, and still more aggravate the wrongs of the people; since these statutes would keep the price of labour stationary, while the price of all the necessaries of life was rising at a tremendous rate. In the case of Henry VIII. Mr. Froude persists in calling the debasement of the coin 'a temporary loan from the Mint,' and in representing it as not distinguishable except in form from the suspension of specie payments in 1797. In the case of Henry's executors, he is alive to the fraudulent and iniquitous character of the transaction. Probably he would have been alive to it in the first instance, had he devoted his attention less exclusively to a special period of history; for he would then have been aware that the debasement of the coin was the common resort of bankrupt and dishonest governments at this period, and that it formed a standing grievance of the French people under the worthless kings of the house of Valois. We are grateful to him, however, for the information which he has collected relating to the currency, and especially for the paper from the Harleian MSS., printed at the end of his chapter on this subject.

The second and, as we suspect, the more important of the two causes, is one on which, as we have said, Mr. Froude's preconceived ideas unfortunately forbid him to dwell. The dissolution of the monasteries has been regarded too exclusively as a measure of religious change, and too little as, what it really was, a vast proprietary revolution. The monks probably held a fifth part of the land of the kingdom. They were, at the same time, the most indulgent of landlords. It is said—and Mr. Hallam cites the statement without any expression of disbelief—that through granting easy leases they did not enjoy more than one-tenth of the value of their land. Thus, in fact, a large body of yeomanry and peasantry must have existed in the virtual enjoyment of small properties on their estates. No doubt they also respected the rights of common, so dear and so essential to the peasantry in those days. But the court harpies who succeeded

them were, as landlords, hard and rapacious. They racked the rents; they evicted the people from holdings which they must have almost learned to look upon as freeholds, in order to form great sheep-farms, then becoming, from the rising value of wool, the great speculation of the day. They would thus turn upon the community a number of outcasts in much the same frame of mind as the peasants evicted by the Irish middleman to make way for improvements of the estate. It is probable that the same thirst of gain, when there was no effective law to defend the poor man's rights against a local magnate, led, as Carte says, to encroachments on the rights of common. The substitution of sheep-farms for arable must, moreover, have thrown a large number of labourers suddenly out of work. In other respects, too, the change must have been felt by the people to be for the worse. The monks resided on their estates, while the grandees who succeeded them frequently resided at court. They were great almsgivers, and if their almsgiving was open to economical objections, these were not likely to be much felt by the recipients of their bounty. They offered hospitality as a matter of duty, and also, probably, for the sake of society and gossip, to the traveller, who, when the abbey gate was desolate, was left, in the wilder parts of the country, without an inn. They spent the surplus of their wealth, down to the day of their destruction, not on the sumptuous mansions which bespeak the selfish though graceful luxury of the Tudor nobility, but on churches and other public buildings which gave pleasure as well as employment to the neighbourhood. And being sprung from the people themselves, they mingled with the people on easy and familiar terms; in which respect, again, we may be sure, the upstart lords who took their place did not fail to make the change keenly felt.

The disturbances in the reign of Edward VI. appear to have been mainly social, not religious, and to have had their origin in the social causes which we have mentioned. In the less advanced and more superstitious parts of the country, such as Cornwall, religious discontent perhaps predominated. Everywhere, ejected monks, without home or occupation, and maddened by their wrongs, would naturally present themselves as ringleaders, and give an ecclesiastical complexion to the movement. To these were added another set of ringleaders described by Strype: 'There was now in England a set of lewd, idle fellows, 'the most part whereof had neither place to inhabit nor sought 'any stay to live by; persons, many of them condemned for 'felony or prisonbreakers, run from the wars or sea-rovers, de-'parted from the King's garrisons, and loiterers.' Not only

men who had 'run from the wars,' but large bodies of discontented soldiers must, we apprehend, have been thrown upon the country after each expedition into France; for the Tudor government kept no standing army in time of peace.

That against which we must protest as contrary to reason and to all apparent fact, is the suggestion that these social evils and disturbances arose from Protestant doctrine, or that Protestant doctrine is to blame for not having immediately effected a social and economical reformation. It is perfectly true that the grievances of enclosures and a debased currency were not likely to yield, directly at least, to 'the most correct formula of Justifi-'cation.' Nevertheless, the most correct formula of Justification was very far from being the proper object of contempt, if it guided the people to the true source of spiritual life. That spiritual life circulating through the veins of the nation would in time bring forth 'good laws,' 'good education,' good rulers, and the other elements of a political and social reformation. 'A national reformation,' says Mr. Froude, speaking of the Protestant movement, 'if the name is more than a mockery, 'implies the transfer of power, power spiritual, power political, 'from the ignoble to the noble, from the incapable to the capa-'ble, from the ignorant to the wise. It implies a recovered 'perception in all classes, from highest to lowest, of the infinite 'excellence of right, the infinite hatefulness of wrong.' But to expect from a newborn religious faith the immediate transfer of political power from baseness to virtue, and from incapacity to wisdom, is to expect a direct effect from a cause which has no direct tendency to produce it. By this method of reasoning, Christianity itself might have been pronounced a failure, because the teaching of the Apostles failed to transfer political power at once from the hands of a Nero to those of a St. Louis; or to heal, as by a miracle, all the social maladies of a depraved and oppressed world. That the Protestant faith suffered disgrace in the persons of some of its professors, and notably in the persons of those who used it for the purposes of faction, or as a cloak for their pillage of the Church, is, again, no more than may be said against Christianity, which numbered among its professors many false brethren. If these remarks seem truisms, they are truisms which we think the reader will do well to keep distinctly before his mind in his progress through the fascinating pages of Mr. Froude.

To turn from the general facts to the personages of Edward's reign. The character of the Protector Somerset, the most important figure in the scene, is drawn by Mr. Froude very graphically, but under the influence, we suspect, of a desire for

pictorial effect, which somewhat conflicts with the requirements of historical justice. Henry VIII. was the pattern of a strong ruler; Somerset is to be the pattern of a weak one. The government of the first was the *chiaro* in the political picture; that of the second is to be the *oscuro;* and in working out the contrast the artist has, we are convinced, laid too deep a shade of unfavourable colouring on the Protector's administration. That administration commenced with the repeal of the Six Articles, and of the persecuting Acts of Henry IV. and Henry V. against heretics, and with the abolition of those tyrannical extensions of the law of Treason, which had formed the deadly instruments of the preceding Reign of Terror. This provokes a sneer from Mr. Froude: 'the spirit of the hour was of universal 'benevolence.' But it is easier to sneer than to show on any rational grounds that credit is not due to those who remove injustice. The repeal of the Act passed by the servile Parliament of the late reign empowering a king, on coming of full age, to annul all laws made during his minority—an Act which would have consigned the kingdom to many years of legislative paralysis for the gratification of a despot's jealousy—was a measure which it is impossible to condemn or to deride. Nor does Mr. Froude deny that the Protector deserves some credit for attempting to mitigate the butcherly severity of Henry's Vagrancy law. Yet he conveys an impression that all Somerset's actions, however just and benevolent in themselves, flowed at best from a weak philanthropy, and were destined to deserved failure. In all this there is perceptible, we conceive, a love of the emotions produced by the exhibition of tyrannical force, with which we have not yet been induced to sympathise. To us it seems that Somerset was, on the whole, the most respectable of the English statesmen of his age. His assumption of the Protectorate was unquestionably irregular, but it was almost a matter of necessity that there should be a head to the Government, and constitutional principles were not more violated by this proceeding than they were by the Act of Parliament conferring on Henry VIII. the power of disposing of the crown by will. When personal ambition coincides with the public interest, a strict analysis of motives is neither very easy nor very fruitful. The usurpation, if it is to be called one, was ratified by the general acquiescence not only of the co-executors, but of the nation. The main difficulties and the most glaring malpractices of the Protector's administration were, as we have already intimated, legacies from his predecessor. His predecessor had commenced the fatal debasement of the coin; his predecessor had, in spite of the

vast accession of wealth to the Crown from the Abbey lands, brought the finances into desperate disorder, and had entered on the system of borrowing and of paying premiums on the loans in the most objectionable form of colourable purchases of useless goods from the money-lenders; his predecessor had destroyed the credit of the Government by his repudiation Acts, the last of which was singularly flagitious; his predecessor, by a policy of vanity and meddling, had involved the kingdom in diplomatic embroilments, the source of ruinous wars. If the Protector's invasion of Scotland was reckless and calamitous, it could not be more reckless or calamitous than the cruel raid of Hertford and the burning of Edinburgh in the previous reign. If the plunder of the Church property by adventurers flushed with booty still went on, it was but as the slight gleanings of the caterpillar where the palmer-worm, the locust, and the canker-worm had been before; nor should it be forgotten that in this reign some of the property taken from the Church began to find its way back to education. The Protector himself was enriched from this evil source; but in his case there is the excuse—a poor one perhaps, but still an excuse—that he had not only to gratify his private cupidity, but to keep up the state of his office. That he was a good soldier, Pinkie bears witness. It is certain that he was beloved by the people, nor do we see any reason to doubt that his sympathy for them, however mingled with ambitious motives, was in itself sincere. We may say the same of his religion. Its profession placed him at the head of a great political party; but there is every reason to believe that it sustained him in the hour when all political and worldly objects had passed away. Mr. Fraser Tytler has, we think, satisfactorily proved in his 'Edward VI. and Mary,' that Somerset fell a victim at last to a foul conspiracy; and that the evidence of Sir Thomas Palmer, on which he was mainly convicted, was that of a suborned and perjured bravo.

In one instance Mr. Froude does Somerset justice. He fully admits, and we think substantiates, against Lingard and others, the guilt of Seymour, who, there can be little doubt, had formed a wild plan of overturning the Government. Whether the Protector should, even under the pressure of an official necessity, have set his hand to his brother's death-warrant, is another question; but he at least absented himself from the passing of the Act of Attainder, and nature as well as humanity had been set at nought in the tribunals of his master. That which was not justifiable was the substitution of an Act of Attainder for a fair trial; yet this Mr. Froude, with his customary partiality for strong measures, is inclined to justify;

and he uses rather a singular argument to convict of absurdity those who object to the Tudor method of taking a short course with State offenders. 'Where there has been a trial,' he says, 'they set it aside as of no authority; where there has been an 'attainder, they exclaim against the want of a trial; as if the 'unscrupulous abuse of power which could carry an Act of Par-'liament by intimidation, would not equally have infected a 'court of justice.' We do not see the practical force of this reasoning. Surely it is open to us, without inconsistency, to object both to an unfair trial and to the want of any trial at all. Hallam, with perfect truth, describes the Tudor courts of justice in cases of treason, as 'little better than the caverns of 'murderers.' Where is the absurdity of holding that the sentence of such courts is bad evidence of the prisoner's guilt, and at the same time that an Act of Attainder is an open violation of justice?

The point, however, on which Mr. Froude's account of Somerset's administration and of the reign of Edward VI. generally seems to us to be most defective, is that he fails, if not to notice, certainly to bring out with adequate breadth and distinctness, the fact that this was the real period of the Protestant Reformation. His vision here again is obscured by the theory to which he has previously committed himself. He has represented Henry VIII. as the author of the Reformation. Henry VIII. plundered the monasteries, made himself Pope instead of the Pope of Rome, and judicially murdered eminent and virtuous Catholics for not acknowledging his spiritual supremacy. But if he made some progress towards Protestant doctrine at one period of his reign, he retraced his steps before its close. The Six Articles re-established and enforced upon the conscience under pain of death Transubstantiation, communion in one kind, vows of chastity, private masses, celibacy of the clergy, and auricular confession; in a word, all the cardinal points of Romish doctrine and discipline. The use of the English Bible was placed under restrictions which, for the mass of the laity, amounted almost to a prohibition. And certainly the supremacy of Church authority over conscience and the Scripture was not less decided or less oppressive, when the Church was somewhat strangely represented by the lover and murderer of Anne Boleyn, than when it was represented by the Pope. The obsequies of Henry were performed with the full Romish ceremonial; and masses were sung, by his own desire, for his soul. Nor did he ever enter into communion with the Protestant Churches on the Continent, or ally himself with the Protestant interest in Europe; on the

contrary, he allied himself with the Emperor when Charles was attacking Protestant princes in Germany. The compliments which Mr. Froude addresses to Henry as the great chief of a Protestant Reformation would, if addressed by him to the living Henry, have gone near to send him to the block or the stake. Now Somerset was a Protestant; and, whatever may have been the value of his personal religion, he frankly embraced the Protestant cause, established Protestant doctrine, promoted leading Reformers in the Church, and placed the Church of England in full communion with her Protestant sisters abroad. A synod of Protestant Churches was even to have been held at Oxford or Cambridge, and the scheme seems to have been frustrated only by the death of Edward. The complete accession of England to Protestantism under the Protectorate compensated to the Protestant interest for the blow dealt to it in Germany by the disaster of Muhlberg. An asylum was afforded to eminent Protestant refugees from the Continent at their utmost need. The dilapidation of the Church under the Protectorate was, no doubt, deplorable; but this was not a part of the policy of the Protector, nor of that of his divines; and the destitution of parishes may probably be traced in many cases to the reckless spoliation which, in handing over the monastic estates to private hands, had not even restored to vicarages the impropriated tithes. The ecclesiastical settlement of Elizabeth was a political compromise, the resultant of the forces arrayed respectively on the side of Protestantism and Reaction; and that the force of Protestantism was so great, and the result so much in its favour, was due in a great degree to what had been done for it under the Protectorate. Regarded in this, its most important aspect, the short reign of Somerset was very memorable; and its results were most momentous and enduring.

It is perfectly true that there was one grand Protestant doctrine, as we now see it to be, which the Protector and his ecclesiastical councillors failed to establish—liberty of conscience. But had they established liberty of conscience, they would have been two centuries in advance of their age. Not only so, but they would have shown a power, nothing short of miraculous, of reconciling the principle of an Establishment, as it was understood in those days, with the principle of freedom. To all minds alike at that time it appeared that government was bound, as the highest part of its duty, not only to provide the people with a true religion, but to force that religion upon their acceptance. And here, not in dogmatism, however narrow, lay the real root of the mischief. Mr. Froude says that 'the

'doctrine of persecution is an essential part of all dogmatic 'systems.' Not at all. The first community based on freedom of conscience was the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland; yet Roman Catholicism in Maryland was as dogmatic as at Toledo. It is from dogmatism invested with political power, and authorised to use that power for the inculcation of its dogmas, that persecution really springs. The utmost that could be expected of the government of Edward VI. was that it should be humane and liberal in the exercise of its power compared with other governments; and it was humane and liberal compared both with the governments which preceded and with the governments which followed.

Mr. Froude pours contempt upon Hooper, whom he seems to regard as the type of a dogmatist of the silliest school. But he is mistaken if he thinks that Hooper was one of a class of men to whom 'it was enough that a certain speculative system 'which they called the Gospel should be patronised and the 'opponents of it punished; they asked no more.' Hooper did care not only for 'the Gospel of faith,' but for the 'Gospel of 'works.' 'His charities,' says Mr. Tytler, 'were extensive and 'unwearied; his hospitality generous and noble.' Mr. Froude himself afterwards recognises this fact. In Mr. Tytler's collection * is a letter from Hooper to Cecil, evincing the deepest and most affectionate interest in the condition of the people. In the Surplice controversy Hooper showed a narrow though conscientious mind. But Laud was as anxious to bring the surplice in as Hooper was to keep it out; and each was right in thinking that it was, in their time at least, a symbol of the sacerdotal system, which was not a matter of small importance.

With the death of Edward arrived the Nemesis of crime. One alleged reason for the divorce of Catherine of Arragon was that it was necessary to settle the succession and give the kingdom a male heir. Between marriages and divorces, bastardisings and legitimatisations, hereditary claims, Acts of Parliament, and testamentary dispositions, the succession was by this time in a state of unsettlement beyond any to which it could have been brought by the most untoward accidents of nature; and the result was that after an interlude of conspiracy and rebellion, the daughter of Catherine ascended the throne inflamed with her mother's and her own wrongs, as well as a bigot to her mother's faith.

To Mr. Froude the movement which set aside Jane Grey and placed Mary on the throne appears to have been mainly a great

* Vol. i. p. 364.

national reaction against a religious reformation, which in the hands of religious revolutionists had gone beyond the limits prescribed to it by King Henry VIII. He has given expression very gracefully to this view:—

'The deliverers of England from the Egyptian bondage of the Papacy had led the people out into a wilderness where the manna had been stolen by the leaders, and there were no tokens of a promised land. To the universities the Reformation had brought with it desolation. To the people of England it had brought misery and want. The once open hand was closed; the once open heart was hardened; the ancient loyalty of man to man was exchanged for the scuffling of selfishness; the change of faith had brought with it no increase of freedom, and less of charity. The prisons were crowded, as before, with sufferers for opinion, and the creed of a thousand years was made a crime by a doctrine of yesterday; monks and nuns wandered by hedge and highway, as missionaries of discontent; and pointed with bitter effect to the fruits of the new belief, which had been crimsoned in the blood of thousands of English peasants. The English people were not yet so much in love with wretchedness that they would set aside for the sake of it a princess whose injuries pleaded for her, whose title was affirmed by Act of Parliament. In the tyranny under which the nation was groaning, the moderate men of all creeds looked to the accession of Mary as to the rolling away of some bad black nightmare.' (*Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 28.)

If Mr. Froude thinks it wrong that the creed of a thousand years should be made a crime by a doctrine of yesterday, he will perhaps be led to revise some of his former judgments. But let that pass.

'It is certain,' says Hallam, 'that the re-establishment of Popery on Mary's accession must have been acceptable to a large part, or perhaps to the majority, of the nation. There is reason, however, to believe that the Reformed doctrine had made a real progress in the few years of her brother's reign: the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, which placed Mary on the throne as the lawful heir, were chiefly Protestant, and experienced from her the usual gratitude and good faith of a bigot. Noailles bears witness in many of his despatches to the unwillingness which great numbers of the people displayed to endure the restoration of popery, and to the Queen's excessive unpopularity, even before her marriage with Philip had been resolved on.'

We apprehend that Hallam's view more exactly expresses the truth, and that the mainspring of the movement in favour of Mary was attachment to the lawful heir. The noblemen and statesmen who took the lead partook, as Hallam says, far less than their inferiors in the religious zeal of the age, and though they generally leaned to Catholicism, provided it could be restored without disturbing the settlement of the Abbey lands,

it may safely be said that the political motive was predominant in their minds. There is probably truth in Mr. Froude's view that the Calvinists had given offence by conferring too austere a puritanism of ritual on a people accustomed to the pageantries, not to say the jovialities, of the old Catholic Church; and in this respect, perhaps, the declaration of the people in favour of Mary bears a certain analogy to the restoration of the Stuarts.

The history of Mary's reign has been written by Mr. Froude with great pictorial power as well as with great minuteness; and the accounts which he has given us of these events is the most vivid as well as by far the most detailed which we possess. Seeing how eagerly his imagination grasps at anything which will add to the effect of a picture, and knowing from his own admission that his delight at discoveries sometimes betrays his judgment, we should not be surprised if questions should hereafter be raised respecting the accuracy of some of these details; but in the meantime we enjoy a history which has all the life and the personal minuteness of a French memoir. It would be useless to give extracts which are already familiar to most of our readers; and perhaps we should find it difficult to choose between the descriptions of the Martyrdoms, that of the reception of Philip by Mary, and that of the meeting between Mary and Pole. In the scene we have last mentioned Mr. Froude succeeds very happily in making his reader feel the irony of Fate. But it is possible to triumph over the abortive hopes of Mary with an exultation not of the most manly kind.

The name of Pole reminds us that we are called upon to do an act of justice to the memory of a renowned Englishman, 'the 'last and best of the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Canter-'bury,' as a great historian has called him—an eminent, certainly, and we believe, though very far from faultless, a good man. Mr. Froude has acknowledged, with a regard for equity which does him credit, the modicum of virtue which lurked in the cruel nature of Gardiner, and even in the brutal character of Bonner. But Pole, because he could not approve of the divorce of Catherine of Arragon, and because, when his friends, men of the highest character in Europe, had been murdered by Henry under the forms of law, he denounced the tyrant, and sought his overthrow, is pursued by Henry's panegyrist with an animosity which puts a sinister gloss upon every action of the Cardinal's life, however blameless or meritorious. We are the more concerned to protest against this, because not only is Pole individually entitled to respectful treatment, but he was a member of a party vulgarly disregarded or decried, to which the sympathies of all rightminded men are eminently due. The truth is, that the character given

by Mr. Froude of Pole, as a narrowminded and fanatical bigot, is precisely the reverse of the fact. Pole, like his friend Contarini, was a leading member of that moderate party who, though they dreaded (and what Christian can blame them for dreading?) the disruption of Christendom, most sincerely desired a reform, not only in the discipline but in the doctrine of the Church. Through the exertion of this party a conference was brought about with the Lutherans, at which Contarini, as representative of the Papacy, met the leading Lutheran doctors; and for a moment it seemed as though terms of reconciliation would be agreed on.

'In a short time,' says Ranke, 'the whole assembly actually came to an agreement (who would have ventured to hope it?) on the four important Articles of the Nature of Man, Original Sin, Redemption, and even Justification. Contarini admitted the cardinal point of the Lutheran doctrine—that the justification of man was accomplished by faith alone, without merit; he only added that this faith must be living and active. Melancthon declared that this was in fact the Protestant faith itself; Bucer boldly affirmed that in the Articles agreed upon everything was included necessary to a pious, upright, and holy life before God and towards man; equal satisfaction was expressed on the other side. The Bishop of Aquila calls this conference holy; he doubts not that it will bring about the reconciliation of Christendom. Contarini's friends, who sympathised in his opinions, heard with joy what progress he had made towards this end. "When I observed this unanimity of opinion," writes Pole to him, "I felt a delight such as no harmony of sounds could have inspired me "with; not only because I see the approach of peace and concord, but "because these Articles are the foundation of the whole Christian faith. "They appear, it is true, to treat of divers things, of Faith, Works, and "Justification; upon the latter, however—Justification—all the rest "are grounded; and I wish you joy, and thank God, that the divines "of both parties have agreed upon that. We hope that he who hath "begun so mercifully will complete his work!"'*

The great religious revolution in which these men formed the moderate party, and met the usual fate of moderate parties in the first fury of revolutions, is not yet over; and possibly when it reaches its destined close, their spirit may be found to prevail in the result as much as that of either of the two extremes between which they fell. The murders of Fisher and More, and the blasphemous assumption by a blood-stained and lascivious tyrant of the spiritual headship of the Church, afterwards drove Pole, whose nature was extremely impressible, into the arms of the ecclesiastical reaction; and he entered into conspiracies against the government of Henry which might seem inex-

* Ranke, vol. i. p. 164., Austin's transl.

cusable if we did not recollect the provocation, and if we did not also remember that instead of being 'a traitor to England,' Pole was, by Mr. Froude's own showing, conspiring with the majority against the minority of the nation. But in becoming a vehement champion of what he deemed the independence of the Church, and of the spiritual headship (as it seemed to him) of the Pope against the headship (which, in the Tudor sense, all men would now think monstrous) of the King, he seems to have retained his leanings toward the Protestant doctrine of Justification, and to have remained an object of suspicion to the more bigoted Roman Catholics on that account. He was an especial object of suspicion to the most bigoted of them all, Caraffa; who on becoming Pope recalled Pole from his office as Legate, and had he lived would perhaps have placed him in the hands of the Inquisition.

Nevertheless, Mr. Froude labours—it is not too strong a term—to convict Pole of having had the chief hand in the persecutions under Mary.

'Deep in the hearts of both queen and cardinal lay the conviction that if she would please God, she must avoid the sin of Saul. Saul had spared the Amalekites, and God had turned his face from him. God had greater enemies in England than the Amalekites. Historians have affected to exonerate Pole from the crime of the Marian persecution; although, without the legate's sanction, not a bishop in England could have raised a finger, not a bishop's court could have been opened to try a single heretic. If not with Pole, with whom did the guilt rest? Gardiner was jointly responsible for the commencement, but after the first executions, Gardiner interfered no further; he died, and the bloody scenes continued. Philip's confessor protested; Philip himself left the country; Renard and Charles were never weary of advising moderation, except towards those who were politically dangerous. Bonner was an instrument whose zeal more than once required the goad; and Mary herself, when she came to the throne, was so little cruel, that she would have spared even Northumberland himself. When the persecution assumed its ferocious aspect, she was exclusively under the direction of the dreamer who believed that he was born for England's regeneration. All evidence concurs to show that, after Philip's departure, Cardinal Pole was the single adviser on whom Mary relied. Is it to be supposed that, in the horrible crusade which thenceforward was the business of her life, the Papal Legate, the sovereign director of the ecclesiastical administration of the realm, was not consulted, or, if consulted, that he refused his sanction? But it is not a question of conjecture or probability. From the legate came the first edict for the episcopal inquisition; under the legate every bishop held his judicial commission; while, if Smithfield is excepted, the most frightful scenes in the entire frightful period were witnessed under

the shadow of his own metropolitan cathedral. His apologists have thrown the blame on his archdeacon and his suffragan: the guilt is not with the instrument, but with the hand which holds it. An admiring biographer has asserted that the cruelties at Canterbury preceded the cardinal's consecration as archbishop, and the biographer has been copied by Dr. Lingard. The historian and his authority have exceeded the limits of permitted theological misrepresentation. The administration of the see belonged to Pole as much before his consecration as after it; but it will be seen that eighteen men and women perished at the stake in the town of Canterbury alone,—besides those who were put to death in other parts of the diocese—and five were starved to death in the gaol there—after the legate's installation. He was not cruel: but he believed that, in the catalogue of human iniquities, there were none greater than the denial of the Roman Catholic faith, or the rejection of the Roman Bishop's supremacy; and that he himself was chosen by Providence for the re-establishment of both. Mary was driven to madness by the disappointment of the grotesque imaginations with which he had inflated her; and where two such persons were invested by the circumstances of the time with irresponsible power, there is no occasion to look further for the explanation of the dreadful events of the three ensuing years.' (*Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 369–71.)

In speaking of historians who have 'affected to exonerate 'Pole,' Mr. Froude probably refers to Burnet, whose treatment of the Cardinal's character does him the highest honour, and shows that, vehement in his partisanship and prejudiced in his views as he generally was, he still knew how to be generous to the memory of an illustrious opponent. As to Lingard, we are quite ready to believe, on the production of proper evidence, that he has allowed his prejudice in favour of a cardinal to get the better of his judgment, and possibly even of his veracity; but to talk of his having 'exceeded the limits of permitted *theo-* 'logical misrepresentation,' is to substitute a sarcasm for a reason.

It is true, as Mr. Froude says, that in forming our judgment as to the part taken by Pole in these persecutions, we are not left to mere probable and presumptive evidence. We have before us a piece of direct evidence, apparently of the most conclusive kind:—

'Concerning the which cardinal,' says Foxe, speaking of Pole, 'although it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a professed enemy and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist; yet again it is to be supposed that he was none of the bloody and cruel sort of papists, as may appear, not only by staying the rage of this bishop (Bonner), but also by the solicitous writing and long letters written to Cranmer, also *by the complaints of certain papists accusing him to the Pope, to be a bearer with the heretics*, and by the Pope's letters sent to him upon the same, calling him up to Rome,

and setting friar Peto in his place, had not Queen Mary, by special entreaty, kept him out of the Pope's danger.' '*All which letters*,' adds Foxe, '*I have (if need be) to show.*'*

This, if true, is decisive; and Mr. Froude, who has omitted to notice Foxe's statement, which he can scarcely have overlooked, owes some explanation of the omission to his readers. He can scarcely say that Foxe is entitled to no credit; because he has himself rested a good deal on his authority, and has expressly stated that though he does not consider him altogether trustworthy in regard to facts, he considers him perfectly trustworthy in regard to documents, to which Foxe here appeals, with an offer to produce them if it is required.

Mr. Froude fails to connect Pole directly with any of these acts of cruelty, though he leaves an impression on the reader's mind that they emanated from him. On the other hand, Foxe gives us two instances in which Pole personally interfered to save Protestants from execution. The first instance is that of Thomas Freeman, William Stannard, and William Adams, who, says Foxe, 'being in the hands of the secular power, 'Cardinal Pole sent his dispensation for their lives, by what 'occasion I cannot safely say, but by means thereof they then 'escaped.'† Foxe gives the instrument of dispensation. This instance is not mentioned by Mr. Froude. He mentions the other instance—that of the twenty-two Protestants brought up from Colchester and saved from the hands of Bonner, who was about to put them to death, by Pole's interference; but he gives the incident a turn very different from that given it by his authority, Foxe‡, who makes it the text for the commendation of Pole's comparative humanity to which we have already adverted. Mr. Froude asks with whom, if not with Pole, did guilt rest? The answer is to be found in his own pages. 'Against Bonner,' he says, a little further on, 'the world's voice 'rose the loudest. His brutality was notorious and unquestion-'able, and a published letter was addressed to him by a lady, 'in which he was called the common cut-throat and general 'slaughter-slave to all the bishops in England.' As to the commencement of the persecution, the guilt of it lay with Gardiner, who, as Mr. Froude says, in summing up the history of that prelate, 'obtained, by unremitting assiduity, the re-enact-'ment of the persecuting laws, which he himself launched into 'operation with imperious cruelty.' This Gardiner had done before Pole set foot in England—a sufficient answer to the alle-

* Foxe, vol. viii. p. 308. † *Ibid.*, p. 154.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 308.

gation that without the legate's sanction not a single heretic could have been tried.

Pole has been accused of having pressed the execution of Cranmer, in order that he might obtain possession of the archbishopric: and even Burnet was inclined to countenance the charge. Mr. Froude is too well-informed to adopt it; but he connects the accession of Pole with the execution of Cranmer in a way which may lead the incautious reader to suppose the calumny well-founded.

'So perished Cranmer. He was brought out, with the eyes of his soul blinded, to make sport for his enemies, and in his death he brought upon them a wider destruction than he had effected by his teaching while alive. *Pole was appointed the next day to the see of Canterbury; but in other respects the court had over-reached themselves by their cruelty.*' (*Hist. Eng.* vol. vi. p. 429.)

The fact was that Pole had been *appointed* some time before to the see of Canterbury, and might have been consecrated any day he pleased; for Cranmer, since his attainder in 1553, and his subsequent deprivation at Rome was, in the eye both of the common and of the canon law, as dead as though he had been actually executed; and the mere continuance of his natural life was no bar to the consecration of his successor. Foxe reckons among the proof of Pole's humane disposition his 'long letters 'written to Cranmer;' and we are convinced that whoever will read the whole of the letter, of which a part is quoted by Mr. Froude*, will rise from the perusal with a strong impression that Foxe is right. Pole, in his youth, had resigned the brilliant prospects which his birth, his character, his literary and theological eminence, and Henry's favour opened to him in England, rather than be a party to the King's proceedings. Does not justice, as well as charity, forbid us to suppose that in his age he was guilty of a dastardly murder for the sake of the preferment, which at the dictate of his conscience he had before disdained?

Nor can we deem it just to set Pole down as the dreamer which Mr. Froude represents him to have been, though his moral and literary qualities were undoubtedly superior to his judgment, and he was more of an enthusiast and less of a politician than the worldly and unscrupulous schemers among whom he acted. He sometimes, at least, saw the means to his end, for he from the outset advocated the confirmation of the English nobility in the possession of the Church lands. The extravagant language which he used of Philip and Mary may certainly find

* P. 405. note, Mr. Froude cites the letter from the Harleian MSS. It is, however, printed in Strype's Cranmer.

parallels in the annals of adulation under the Tudor sovereigns; and it had the advantage over the flatteries of courtiers of being addressed to its objects as the patrons of a cause, not as the givers of titles and estates. His own raptures of exultation at the accomplishment of the great object of his life by the reunion of England to the Catholic Church may find parallels, perhaps, in other than Tudor times.

The two volumes which Mr. Froude has just brought out on the reign of Elizabeth carry us only through the first nine years of the reign, of the events and characters of which they give an account far more detailed than any we before possessed. We are not sure that Mr. Froude would not have done well to wait till he could bring out the complete history of the reign; more especially as he is in a vein of discovery among foreign archives which may lead him yet to modify some of the judgments on character which he has pronounced. But this would, perhaps, have been a greater effort of self-denial than an author, especially an author big with documentary revelations of the most stimulating kind, could well be expected to make. We will add that it would have involved the denial, for some time, of a great pleasure to the world.

We had been made aware by some previous revelations, that Mr. Froude had found new materials for these volumes of his history in the archives of Simancas. It is a very great pity that it did not occur to him in the first instance to consult the foreign archives before publishing his judgment on the events and characters of English history, particularly when the judgment he had formed was in startling contradiction to that of every historian of note as well as to the common sentiments of the world. English opinion, during the reign of the Tudors, especially of the earlier Tudors, was gagged not only by the direct interference of the government with the press and with freedom of speech, but by a general sentiment of terror which sealed the lips even of despair upon the scaffold; and popular dissatisfaction at the acts of the Crown would be manifested by clamour or insurrection only in very extreme cases, and cases affecting the interests of the masses. Of the wrongs of individual victims of the despotism, even the most eminent, no man could speak with freedom. The resident ambassadors of foreign Powers were almost the only independent witnesses of the transactions; and it is in their correspondence with their governments alone, that there is a chance of finding an uncorrupted record of the truth. Since the publication of his volumes on Henry VIII., Mr. Froude has visited the archives of Paris and Brussels, and in these

archives he has found, and, with a candour for which we give him full credit, laid before the world in the appendix to his 'Pilgrim,' evidence utterly subversive of the strange fabric which his fancy, under the influence of Mr. Carlyle's philosophy of force, had reared. We believe we can assure him that the Spanish archives, when their contents shall have been further revealed, will confirm the effect of those of Paris and Brussels. Guided perhaps by the example of Mr. Motley, who had obtained so much valuable material for his history of the Netherlands from the long-buried treasures of Simancas, Mr. Froude has sought the same store. He has there found materials which have not only given the interest of fresh discoveries to some parts of these volumes, but have saved him from running into a second paradox almost as violent as the first; for he had allowed it to transpire in his earlier volumes, that he intended to treat Elizabeth as 'a great nature destined 'to remould the world,' and to hold up to scorn as the vilest calumniators all who had impugned the immaculate purity of her virtue. His recent researches have given him timely information that the Virgin Queen had in her what, to save from aspersion the domestic excellence of her father, he calls a taint of her mother's blood. The archives of Simancas, however, are not the only archives which may yet have secrets to reveal. Those of Rome still remain sealed; and till the seal shall have been removed, the historian in dealing with this period of history especially, will write to some extent with his materials incomplete, and with the feeling that his footing is precarious, and his judgments are liable to be reversed.

It is to be observed, however, that the parts of history which these documentary discoveries affect or threaten to affect, are the subordinate parts, and essentially the least important. They are in the main merely the details of personal character and conduct, on which, however interesting they may be to those who read history only as the tale of the past, nothing very material after all depends. The great facts, on which the philosophy of history reposes, and from which the solid lessons of history are derived, remain unaffected and secure. A documentary discovery may exalt or depress the reputation of the individual agents through whom the great results have been wrought out; but the great results themselves, once wrought out, can know change no more. The revelations of the Simancan archives would have shivered the work before us to pieces, if it had been based on an exaggerated estimate of the genius and purity of Elizabeth; but they have not affected in any appreciable degree the general facts, political, ecclesiastical or diplomatic, nor the

instruction, for the statesman, the ecclesiastic, or the diplomatist, which the study of these facts conveys. Scarcely a word of Hallam's chapters on the reign of Elizabeth requires alteration in consequence of anything that has been brought to light from these dark and awful cemeteries of State secrets so momentous in their day. There is no occasion, therefore, for any panic as to the general trustworthiness of history, on account of these perturbations arising from State paper-office disclosures as to its personal details. Hero-worship, indeed, as a philosophy of history is shown to be precarious, as well as irrational and frequently immoral; all else remains as it was before.

In the ecclesiastical sphere, which was the most important, the commencement of Elizabeth's reign brought a settlement by way of compromise, which concluded, for a time at least, the great ecclesiastical revolution.

'The doctrinal question came next. The commission for revising the Prayer-book had been busily at work, and on the 18th of April a proposal for its restoration was brought forward in the House of Commons.

'The object had been so to frame the constitution of the Church of England that disloyalty alone should exclude a single English subject from its communion, who in any true sense could be called a Christian; so to frame its formulas, that they might be patient of a Catholic or Protestant interpretation, according to the views of this or that sect of the people; that the Church should profess and teach a uniform doctrine in essentials—as the word was understood by the latitudinarians of the age; while in non-essentials it should contain ambiguous phrases, resembling the many watchwords which divided the world; and thus enable Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zuinglian to insist each that the Church of England was theirs.

'The "Articles" were left in abeyance; and happy it would have been for the Church of England had they never been revived. The rubrics of Edward's second book were modified, allowing large latitude in the use of ornaments and vestments. In the communion service the words were restored which seemed to recognise the real presence, while the words also were not rejected which seemed equally to reduce the sacrament to a commemorative form.

'Thus altered, the Prayer-book was presented to Parliament. The Genevan refugees clamoured that they had not been consulted, that "fooleries were made of consequence," and that "truth was "sacrificed to a leaden mediocrity." At the heart of the matter, it was they who were giving importance to what was of no importance; it was they who considered exactness of opinion a necessary condition of Christianity. They would have erected with all their hearts a despotism as hard, as remorseless, as blighting as the Romanist. Happily, they found few among the laity to share their views, and they were not permitted to ruin their own cause. In the Commons there was no opposition; in the Lords the bishops still resisted, and

they found a support which they had not met with on the Supremacy Bill. Lord Montague alone, of the lay peers, had opposed absolutely the separation from the Papacy. The old Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and six other noblemen voted against an alteration of the services.

'The mass, however, was not to be saved. The Bishop of Ely, who had returned from Cambray, said that he would perish rather than see it put away; but to no purpose. The Act of Uniformity passed its three readings in three successive days, and Cranmer's liturgy became again the law of the land.

'The revolution was complete. The organisation of the country resumed the solid and secular character by which, under Henry the Eighth, in the words of the Statute of Supremacy, "the realm was "kept continually in good order;" and the interests of England were no longer to be sacrificed to the passions of religious partisans. The vessel of the State, though heaving dangerously in the after-roll, was again on her right course, and began slowly to draw away out of the breakers.' (*Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 79–81.)

Mr. Froude, in his anxiety to cover his own previous position, introduces the name of Henry VIII. in connexion with everything he thinks good; but the really Protestant element of the settlement came, as we have said before, mainly from the reign of Edward VI.; for the supremacy of the King over conscience was no more Protestant, in any good sense of the term, than that of the Pope. Mr. Froude is too fond of 'solid and secular' arrangements in religion, and too apt to applaud the settlements imposed by 'latitudinarian' statesmen for merely political purposes on the conscience of the nation. Religion is not a secular matter, nor one that can be rationally treated as secular; nor are men versed only in secular affairs and pursuing merely secular objects the best judges of the spiritual requirements of a nation. They imagine that all the world is ready like themselves to sacrifice religious truth for the maintenance of a certain political system; whereas the mass of men, not only of fanatics, but of men capable of distinguishing between their higher interests and their lower, are ready to do nothing of the kind; but will in the end inevitably demand the sacrifice of every political system which deprives them of the paramount need of their nature, a true religion. The very compromise, the excellent wisdom of which Mr. Froude has, with his usual felicity of language, here set forth, though it may have been secular, proved by no means solid. Twenty years had not elapsed after its completion when the breach distinctly appeared between the Puritan and High Church parties, who were combined rather than united under the cover of its ambiguous formularies and its composite ritual. This breach continued to widen during

the later years of Elizabeth's reign, and through the whole reign of her successor, till in the reign of Charles I. it resulted in what, though called a civil, was really at bottom a religious war. 'Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Zuinglian' did in fact 'insist each that the Church of England was theirs;' and after half a century of scandalous controversies and mutual persecutions, they drew their swords to decide the title to the disputed inheritance.

In the earlier years of Elizabeth the political part of the drama has as yet scarcely begun to develope itself. It will begin when the Puritan opposition, the germ of the modern Liberal party, shows itself in the House of Commons. The question of the Queen's marriage, the Penelope's web of Elizabethan statesmanship, belongs as much to foreign as to the domestic policy of the reign. The social legislation of Elizabeth has also scarcely come into view, except as regards the reform of the currency, a measure which did her government the highest honour.

On Mr. Froude's view of the foreign policy, again, it would be premature to pass judgment till we can view it as a whole. He is right in regarding the history of this reign as that of a great European struggle between the Catholic and Protestant Powers; and it will be his difficult task to contrive that his work shall be to a great extent a history of Europe, without ceasing to be a history of England. We must warn him against giving us the transactions of foreign countries—the religious wars in France, for example—too much in detail. We must warn him against embodying in his text too many statepapers and despatches, however important as materials and interesting to the deeper student these documents may be. We must warn him against allowing the main thread of the diplomatic action to be lost to the reader's view in minute accounts of petty intrigues often contemptible and sometimes dull. We must warn him, above all, not to take for statesmanship the degraded Machiavellism cultivated by the professional intriguers of this very interesting but most roguish age. He sometimes appears to think that a certain degree of unscrupulousness and a certain degree of callousness are parts of the true politician's character, for which those who would be thought to take the views of true politicians are required, under cover of a coy reprobation, to evince a real respect. No statesman, he may rely on it, ever was worth his salt in his calling without a conscience and a heart.

It is on the side of Scotland that the action, in this early part of Elizabeth's reign, is most developed and most important. On the game which is being played there depend, in great

measure, the fortunes of Protestantism in the two nations, the prospects of their ultimate union, their common independence of foreign Powers, and the question of the succession to the Crown. Of the English Queen's dealings with Scotland up to 1566, Mr. Froude says that 'if Elizabeth's conduct in its details had 'been alike unprincipled and unwise, the broader bearings of her 'policy were intelligible and commendable.' The perusal of the Scotch chapters in his own volumes confirms us in the impression that the 'broader bearings' of the policy were mainly due to Elizabeth's councillors, and that the want of wisdom in the details, if not the want of principle, was mainly due to the Queen herself. It is difficult, indeed, to see how it could be otherwise. A broad and sound policy towards Scotland could be based only on an honest and steady support of the Protestant party in that country, whose connexion with the Protestant party in England, and attachment to the Queen as the ostensible head of that party, were fast blending the two nations virtually into one. And such was the course which the ablest advisers of the English Crown earnestly and almost passionately urged their mistress to pursue. But how could she ally herself firmly with the Scotch Protestants, or conciliate their perfect confidence, when she was discountenancing, and afterwards persecuting, the Protestants in England; when, more than this, she was willing actually to reconcile herself with Rome and re-establish the Roman Catholic religion as the price of Philip's support to her marriage with Leicester; and when the Spanish ambassador was, to the scandal of all true Englishmen and Protestants, constantly at her side? If there was a moment, as Mr. Froude conceives (though we can hardly go the length of agreeing with him), when Mary Stuart might have led an army into England with good hopes of success, the danger was in great measure the result of the discredit which Elizabeth had brought on herself by her wretched amour, as well as of her fickleness, tergiversation, and falsehood in her dealings with the Scotch. Mr. Froude pleads that her caprice and vacillation arose from her consciousness of the difficulties with which she was on every side surrounded. He has himself given the best answer to this plea, in another part of his work, by observing that 'Eliza-'beth's strength, could she only have known it, lay in the 'goodness of the cause which she represented; that the essen-'tial interests both of England and Scotland were concerned 'in her success; and that she was the champion of liberty, and 'through her the two nations were emancipating themselves 'from spiritual tyranny.'

'Vainly Elizabeth struggled to extricate herself from her

'dilemma; resentment was still pursuing her for her treachery 'in the past autumn.' 'She could but shuffle and equivocate 'in a manner which had become too characteristic.' 'Meantime 'Elizabeth was reaping a harvest of inconveniencies for her 'exaggerated demonstrations of friendship.' A diplomatist against whom an admiring historian is compelled to record such things as these deserves as little the praise of wisdom as of integrity. The weakness and dishonesty of the Queen were equally displayed in the shameful scene in which she repudiated, before the French ambassador, her connexion with Murray and the Protestant lords whom she had instigated to rebellion. Her chicanery was no refuge from her difficulties, but a great addition to them; for whatever she might have of honest purpose in her, placed her at a fatal disadvantage in dealing with thorough-paced and single-minded villains. It is also just to remark that Mary Queen of Scots is entitled in this respect to the allowance which in all respects she so much needs. If Elizabeth was weaving such 'a web of artifice that a falsehood 'more or less could scarcely add to her discredit,' we must not be extreme to mark a want of plain dealing on the part of her weaker rival.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the Scotch nobility, even the best of them, were a set of men with whom the most upright and single-minded negotiator would not have found it easy to deal. They were a class who, owing to the extreme weakness of the central power in Scotland during the feudal ages, and the absence of a powerful middle class interested in assisting the Crown to maintain order, had never known what it was to live under the dominion of the law. Private war and armed conspiracy had immemorially been not so much their license as their recognised privilege. Assassination was their established method of redressing a personal injury, or removing a powerful offender against the State. The intrigue of the sixteenth century had now mingled in the characters of these men with the violence of the fourteenth, and the result was such a compound of ferocity and cunning as history has seldom seen. A few of them were no doubt sincere Protestants after their wild fashion. But with most of them it was as we have said that it was with the princes and nobles of Europe generally; their pretended religion was partly another name for political faction, partly and principally a strong desire for Church lands. We have no doubt that Mr. Froude is right in distinguishing the Earl of Murray as superior alike in wisdom and in honour to the mass of the men among whom he moved. Yet Murray's worldliness is embodied in the sneer with which he met Knox's 'devout imagination' of dedi-

cating the Church lands to the purposes of education; and his conduct in signing the bond presented to him by the conspirators against the life of Ritzio must, we conceive, be rather palliated by reference to the general standard of political morality in the Scotland of that age than justified, as Mr. Froude justifies it, by supposing that he was ignorant of the end which the conspirators had in view. Mr. Froude mentions Maitland of Lethington, and Kirkaldy of Grange, among the young men 'who were passing into the new era, unshackled with the memo-'ries of superstition, and, for the most part, with a noble desire 'for some faith in which they could live as honest men.' But few more secular characters, to use the mildest term, than that of Maitland of Lethington could be named, even in the regions of diplomacy; and the career of Kirkaldy of Grange (to say nothing of his complicity in the murder of Beatoun) was upon the whole very much that of an intriguing adventurer, changing his party as he changed his game. Nor was it only self-interest, family feuds, and petty faction, but the higher sentiment of national pride, that crossed in these men the interest of their religion and the policy which a single-minded devotion to that interest would have prescribed. They would probably have been ready to dethrone Mary Stuart in favour of the Protestant Elizabeth, if Elizabeth had married one of the blood royal of Scotland: but a desire to secure the succession to the English crown for the Scotch line made them afterwards ready to throw overboard their regard for Protestantism and their hatred of its most deadly enemy, rather than relinquish the prospect of uniting both crowns on the head of Mary Stuart. Their impulses were equally violent and uncertain. 'There was 'this strange feature,' says Mr. Froude, 'in the attitude of the 'Scots, that if not the hearty allies of England, they would be 'the equally hearty enemies of England; if the new passion of 'religion could not be gratified, the passion of nationality and 'the bitter memories of Flodden and Pinkie Cleugh would be 'revived.' To deal with such people, we repeat, was not easy; though, rather than deal with them as Elizabeth sometimes did, it would have been better not to deal with them at all.

It is a relief to turn from these veering gusts of passion and caprice, and even from the diplomatic minings and counter-minings of the Sadlers, Randolphs, Maitlands, and Melvilles, to the broad and intelligible action of the great cause, which beneath this troubled surface was calmly preparing the way for the ultimate union of the two crowns, and, what was much more important, the two nations, under a Protestant sovereign. With the irresistible power of a great force of nature, a common Pro-

testantism was breaking down all political and dynastic barriers between England and Scotland, and forcing the two nations to unite for the maintenance of their common cause, and to face side by side the storm which was gathering against their independence from the side of the great champions of the Catholic reaction. Religion was a power in which the secular diplomatists of both sides showed little confidence; yet it was destined to take the control even of diplomatic questions, when they concerned the real interests of nations, out of diplomatic hands. 'Maitland also,' says Mr. Froude, in describing the state of parties in Scotland, 'like Mary Stuart, surveyed all the ele-'ments of the question but one. He, too, made small account 'of religion. How little he thought of it appears from his pass-'ing it over in silence. Yet it was this which alone political 'intrigue failed to disintegrate: it was this which was to deter-'mine the future of the Scotch nation, and the power of it was 'immediately to be visible in a signal instance.'

Mr. Froude has passed on the character of Knox a eulogy which, on the whole, is deserved; though, perhaps, more distinct notice should have been taken of the questionable points in the fierce Puritan's conduct, especially of the countenance which on more than one occasion he lent to assassination when committed in the interest, as he imagined, of the good cause. This man, with whom Elizabeth, partly from the personal resentment which she bore him as the unlucky author of the treatise on 'the Monstrous 'Regimen of Women,' partly and principally from her fastidious dislike of hearty Protestantism, always shrunk from allying herself, was the best supporter of the cause of which the English queen was or ought to have been the representative, and which, in fact, propped her tottering throne. His singleness of mind, which made him the embodiment, not of a momentary impulse or a paltry interest, but of a really great and constant moral force, overrode the cunning of all the diplomatists, and did more than the arts of any of them to bring things to the issue which the best of them desired. The matter of the succession, on which they laboured so much, was unquestionably a matter of the highest importance to both nations. And with reference to this question the birth of a son to Mary might well seem an event of incalculable magnitude. 'The cradle in which he lay, to the 'fevered and anxious glance of English politicians, was as a Pharos 'behind which lay the calm waters of an undisturbed succession, 'and the perpetual union of the two long-divided realms.' This child ascended the throne of England, and he ascended it as a Protestant. What more could English politicians desire, or English diplomatists strive to compass? Yet he proved the

founder of the reactionary and Romanising house of Stuart, from whose grand conspiracy against our religion and liberty the united nation was saved by that element which Elizabeth hated, and which great diplomatists passed over in silence, but which alone 'political intrigue failed to disintegrate,' and the apostasy of a dynasty failed to annul.

Of the progress of affairs in Ireland—if progress that can be called which is but a weary round of wars as feebly conducted as they are butcherly and devastating—Mr. Froude continues to give us ample and graphic details. To the unfortunate Irish people he continues to be inexorably severe, if not unjust. We have all the old language about Ireland, when in a state of barbarism, being 'happy in the gratification of its national tendencies,' and about 'the black Irish morass, fed from the perennial 'fountains of Irish nature.' We have all the old suggestions as to the proper mode of dealing with so degraded a people which the use of such language involves. The natural tendencies of the Irish people must be taken to have been displayed, not when they had been broken in upon by ruthless and exterminating invaders, but when they were independent, and when the development of the nation was following its own course. Now, in the days before the Norman, or perhaps we should say before the Danish invasion, Ireland was the seat of a precocious civilisation of which the graceful though primitive monuments still remain, and she was the mother of missionaries who evangelised not only Scotland, but more distant countries. The Brehon law, with regard to which Mr. Froude adopts the ignorant language of Plantagenet and Tudor politicians, was not an 'anarchy,' but a primitive code, rather more artificial perhaps than those of most races at the same stage of their development. The great source of anarchy in Ireland was the English Pale, with its lawless aggressions and its desolating raids, the offspring of a conquest all the more pernicious because incomplete, which had wrecked the hopes of Ireland at the critical moment when the race was passing from the condition of the tribe into that of the nation. There runs through all that Mr. Froude writes on the Irish question a constant assumption that the Irish people were bound to acknowledge the moral superiority of the English invaders, and to submit with complacency to so improving and elevating a rule. An unprovoked invader is a robber; and the moral superiority of a robber is not commonly apparent to the victim of his depredations. But independently of this general consideration, what is the evidence of the particular facts given us in these pages as to the moral superiority of the English? Was it so clear that the simple mind of an

Irish barbarian could not fail to apprehend it, and to become responsible for refusing to acknowledge the corresponding claim on his allegiance? 'The English Government had no advan-'tage over them in sincerity.' 'English honour, like English 'coin, lost something of its purity in the sister island.' Such are the admissions which the facts he is called upon to narrate ever and anon force from Mr. Froude. More than this, we have the Lord Deputy Sussex bribing a dependent of an Irish chief to assassinate his master, and reporting his proceeding to the Government in England, in a despatch which shows that he was, and believed his employers to be, lost to shame. The reply of the English Government has not been found; but it is enough to know that the deputy was not only continued in his office, but remained an honoured and trusted counsellor of the Queen. Shan O'Neil having visited England at the invitation of the Government, no less a personage than Cecil coolly suggests that 'in Shan's absence from Ireland something might be *cavilled* 'against him or his, for non-observing the covenants on his side; 'and so, the pact being infringed, the matter might be used as 'should be thought fit'! Nor is this the worst.

'As a first evidence of returning cordiality, a present of wine was sent to Shan from Dublin. It was consumed at his table; but the poison had been unskilfully prepared. It brought him and half his household to the edge of death, but no one actually died. Refined chemical analysis was not required to detect the cause of the illness.'

Which, we should like to know, in this case was the civilised man, and which was the savage? Where was the obligation, on the part of the Irish, to abandon their own clan system, which at least had in it something of wild loyalty and irregular self-devotion, for the system tendered them by such representatives of order and morality as these? And, to crown all, Mr. Froude himself says that, owing to disorganisation, habitual peculation, and all kinds of disorder and maladministration, 'the 'condition of the Pale was more miserable than that of the 'districts purely Irish.' It was likely to be so, since barbarism is the source of less misery than crime. Nothing is more revolting than to have the oppressor attributing, with sanctimonious self-complacency, the evil consequences of oppression to the natural depravity of the oppressed. Nor would any practical statesman of the better kind advocate such a policy in Ireland as is suggested by Mr. Carlyle, and, after Mr. Carlyle, by Mr. Froude, because practical statesmen feel the weakness as well as the injustice of violent courses, and know by experience the great results which may be attained by persevering, in spite

of all difficulties and discouragements, in a course of humanity and justice.

In the midst of the instances of perfidy, cruelty, and incapacity, not only on the part of the English Government in Ireland, but on the part of the central Government itself, with which his Irish chapters abound, Mr. Froude must have considerable confidence in a theory to write as follows:—

'The aim of the Tudor sovereigns had been from the first to introduce into Ireland the feudal administration of the English counties; they had laboured to persuade the chiefs to hold their lands under the Crown, with the obligations which landed tenures in England were supposed always to carry with them. The large owner of the soil, to the extent that his lordship extended, was in the English theory the ruler of its inhabitants, magistrate from the nature of his position, and representative of the majesty of the Crown. Again and again they had endeavoured to convince the Irish that order was better than anarchy; that their faction fights, their murders, their petty wars and robberies, were a scandal to them; that till they could amend their ways they were no better than savages. Fair measures and foul had alike failed so far. Once more a project was imagined of some possible reformation, which might succeed at least on paper.' (*Hist. of England*, vol. viii. p. 375-76.)

To the latter part of this extract we have already replied. As to the policy of 'persuading' the chiefs to hold their lands by the tenures peculiar to the feudal system—a system which had never prevailed in Ireland, and was quite inapplicable to the circumstances of the country—it would have been an absurd piece of feudalistic pedantry if it had been anything but a legal name for wholesale confiscation.

We are glad that in the very interesting chapter on the rise of the English naval power which concludes these volumes, Mr. Froude endeavours to do justice to the Spaniards. The history of the struggle with Spain awakens glorious reminiscences in English hearts, but it is also apt to stimulate, in a very high degree, the national egotism, and to revive feelings which, now that the Armada has receded far into the past, it is no longer right or rational to entertain towards a Christian nation. To assert that 'the Spaniards, before their national 'liberties were broken, were beyond comparison the noblest, 'grandest, and most enlightened people in the known world,' is going rather too far. To say nothing of the claims of the English and French to be at least brought into the comparison, the Italians would unquestionably carry away the palm of enlightenment, and, if grandeur is an intellectual quality, of grandeur. Nor ought it to be forgotten that Columbus was an Italian by race and only a foster-son, and a hardly-used foster-son,

of Spain. Spain, however, was once a great nation, and when the weight of civil war and despotism that crushed her spirit is removed, she will be a great nation again. It is well to know, too, that the quarrel between us, so far as it arose from anything but religious antipathy, was due, as Mr. Froude's account shows, in great measure to the depredations of our half-famous, half-infamous buccaneers, however the jealous and monopolising spirit of Spain may have provoked attack and excused, if not justified, those who irregularly asserted against her tyranny the freedom of the Western seas. The brutal cupidity displayed by Hawkins as a slave-trader, and the encouragement given him by Elizabeth in that part of his proceedings, are too conclusive evidence that it was not as crusaders in any honourable cause that these memorable filibusters put forth from our shores.

In this part of his work Mr. Froude has fallen into an error not in itself of much moment, but worth pointing out, because it is an instance of a want of familiarity with law and legal history by which he has been more than once misled in more important questions.

'"Thomas Cobham," wrote de Silva, "being asked at his trial, according to the usual form in England, if he had anything to say in arrest of judgment, and answering nothing, was condemned to be taken to the Tower, to be stripped naked to the skin, and then to be placed with his shoulders resting on a sharp stone, his legs and arms extended, and on his stomach a gun, too heavy for him to bear, yet not large enough immediately to crush him. There he is to be left till he die. They will give him a few grains of corn to eat, and for drink the foulest water in the Tower." "His relations," de Silva added, "are doing all in their power to prevent the execution of the sentence." Had any such sentence been pronounced, it would not have been left to be discovered in the letter of a stranger: the ambassador may perhaps in this instance have been purposely deceived, and his demand for justice satisfied by a fiction of imaginary horror.' (*Hist. of England*, vol. viii. p. 449.)

We are surprised that an English historian should be unaware that the thing here referred to is not a sentence of death, but the *peine forte et dure*, applied to a person who, as in the instance before us, refused to plead to an indictment.

We follow the general plan of our article in giving the great facts of history precedence over the personages. But the personal part of the history during the early years of Elizabeth is of remarkable interest and importance. Mr. Froude has succeeded in placing before us with great vividness the figures of the two rival queens, and the drama of their struggle for the English crown. He thus depicts and contrasts their characters

at the moment of Mary's departure from France for the scene of the opening contest:—

'She was going, cost her what it might—going on an errand which cannot now be separated in remembrance from its tremendous end; and Mary Stuart's name will never be spoken of in history, however opinions may vary on the special details of her life, without sad and profound emotion.

'She was not yet nineteen years old; but mind and body had matured amidst the scenes in which she had passed her girlhood. Graceful alike in person and in intellect, she possessed that peculiar beauty in which the form is lost in the expression, and which every painter therefore has represented differently.

'Rarely perhaps has any woman combined in herself so many noticeable qualities as Mary Stuart; with a feminine insight into men and things and human life, she had cultivated herself to that high perfection in which accomplishments were no longer adventitious ornaments, but were wrought into her organic constitution. Though luxurious in her ordinary habits, she could share in the hard field life of the huntsman or the soldier with graceful cheerfulness; she had vigour, energy, tenacity of purpose, with perfect and never-failing self-possession; and as the one indispensable foundation for the effective use of all other qualities, she had indomitable courage. She wanted none either of the faculties necessary to conceive a great purpose, or of the abilities necessary to execute it, except perhaps only this, that while she made politics the game of her life, it was a game only, though played for a high stake. In the deeper and nobler emotions she had neither share nor sympathy.

'Here lay the vital difference of character between the Queen of Scots and her great rival, and here was the secret of the difference of their fortunes. In intellectual gifts Mary Stuart was at least Elizabeth's equal; and Ann Boleyn's daughter, as she said herself, was "no angel." But Elizabeth could feel like a man an unselfish interest in a great cause; Mary Stuart was ever her own centre of hope, fear, or interest; she thought of nothing, cared for nothing, except as linked with the gratification of some ambition, some desire, some humour of her own; and thus Elizabeth was able to overcome temptations before which Mary fell.

'Yet at the present crisis even the moral balance was in favour of the Scottish Queen. While her sister of England was trifling with an affection for which foolish is too light an epithet, Mary Stuart, when scarcely more than a girl, was about to throw herself alone into the midst of the most turbulent people in Europe, fresh emerged out of revolution, and loitering in the very rear of civilisation; she was going among them to use her charms as a spell to win them back to the Catholic Church, to weave the fibres of a conspiracy from the Orkneys to the Land's End, prepared to wait, to control herself, to hide her purpose till the moment came to strike; yet with a purpose fixed as the stars to trample down the Reformation and to seat herself ast on Elizabeth's throne.

'"Whatever policy," said Randolph of her, "is in all the chief and best practised heads in France, whatever craft, falsehood, or deceit is in all the subtle brains of Scotland, is either fresh in this woman's memory, or she can fette it with a wet finger."

'Such was Mary Stuart when on the 14th of August she embarked for Scotland. The Cardinals of Guise and Lorraine attended her to Calais. Three other uncles, d'Elbœuf, d'Aumale, and the Grand Prior, embarked with her to see her safe to Edinburgh; and with "*Adieu belle France*," sentimental verses, and a passionate Châtelar sighing at her feet in melodious music, she sailed away over the summer seas.' (*Hist. of England*, vol. vii. pp. 359-61.)

The most attractive part of these last volumes, to those who look in history for the excitement of romance, will be the discoveries affecting the character of Elizabeth which Mr. Froude has made in the archives of Simancas. Our popular estimate of the Queen had already been lowered by Mr. Motley's researches in the same archives, which disclosed her folly in stubbornly refusing to make the needful preparations on the approach of the Armada, and by his demonstration that the renowned speech at Tilbury was in fact a gasconade delivered several days after the Armada had been driven by stress of weather from our coast. But Mr. Froude's discoveries are far more fatal. The most astounding of those announced by him in 'Fraser's Magazine'—that Cecil had proposed to the Council, after the supposed murder of Amy Robsart, to dethrone the Queen and send her to the Tower, he now candidly admits to be a mistake, pleading in excuse the difficulties of decyphering and 'the excitement of what appeared 'to him an important discovery.' We should indeed have been scarcely less startled if the archives of Lambeth had revealed the fact that Archbishop Howley had proposed to a conclave of bishops to change the dynasty, than we were at being told that the wary Cecil had proposed to the Council to dethrone the Queen, and had afterwards unbosomed himself on the subject to the Spanish ambassador. After this deduction, however, enough remains supported by proofs of formidable weight, to make us at all events extremely cautious how we identify the glory of the Elizabethan period with the personal purity and innocence of the Queen. We cannot pretend here to sum up or analyse the complex evidence given us by Mr. Froude. Something turns on the character of the chief witness, De Quadra, whom Mr. Froude, perhaps rather confidently, assumes to have been veracious in his communications to his master, while he was mendacious to all the world besides. Nor can final judgment be given till the Simancas archives are completely before the world. The evidence, however, of De Quadra does

not stand quite unsupported, since it appears from the correspondence of the English ministers with each other that something very dreadful and distressing had occurred. As the case stands we fear the probability is that Leicester's wife came to a foul end; that his relations with the Queen, both before and after the murder, were of a most objectionable if not of a dishonourable kind; that she was ready to marry him, notwithstanding her strong suspicion, too probably her assurance, of his crime; and that she was thus in the eye of Heaven, which judges by the intent and not by the act, nearer than Englishmen would like to believe to the guilt of an adulteress and a murderess. Her excuse, if any, is to be found in the general profligacy of the upper classes at this time. To hero-worshippers, as we have said, the blow is tremendous; it is not so tremendous to the philosophic student of history. The general effect of these volumes is lowering to the political as well as to the personal character of Elizabeth. The Queen's power of 'feeling an unselfish interest in a great cause' remains yet to be displayed. Passion and vanity rule her conduct, and there is no cause which she is not ready to sacrifice to a criminal love. But she is yet young; and as regards the question of her marriage, it is only too valid an excuse for vacillation and caprice that a political match was odious to a young heart, and that she was herself at once a player and the stake in the diplomatic game.

Mr. Froude's portrait of Mary is more striking than that given in the excellent work of M. Mignet. We do not feel quite so sure that it is equally well supported by the facts. No temptation to which historians are exposed is greater, especially at a time when the craving for literary excitement is producing sensation histories as well as sensation novels, than that of drawing very vivid pictures of interesting characters without sufficient data. Yet it is a temptation against which a historian is bound to struggle; for if it is yielded to, history becomes a phantasmagoria, shifting and changing with the prepossessions and prejudices of each new writer. We are disposed to think that a calm estimate will reduce Mary to a personage remarkable indeed, even independently of the tragic interest of her story, but less extraordinary, and more easily paralleled among the accomplished and unscrupulous women of France and Italy in that day, than Mr. Froude supposes her to have been. Her letters to Bothwell (the genuineness of which Mr. Froude, in common with all but the blind advocates of Mary's innocence admits) surely betray a coarseness which it is difficult to reconcile with a refinement so high that 'accomplishments were no

'longer adventitious ornaments, but were wrought into her or-'ganic constitution.' Nor does the character as depicted by Mr. Froude seem quite consistent in all its parts. He generally attributes to Mary the perfect self-possession and the complete command of her emotions which were necessary to make her as perfect an actress as had ever played on the world's stage. Yet even before her marriage with Darnley, while the most terrible and agonising incidents of her life are yet to come, she is described by an eye-witness, according to Mr. Froude, as so 'much changed that those who had known her under Murray's 'and Maitland's tutelage were astonished at the alteration.' 'Manner, words, features, all were different. In mind and body 'she was swollen and disfigured by the tumultuous working of 'her passions.' This is hardly indicative of a consummate power of acting, or of the coolness of one who could treat politics merely as a game, though the stake to be played for was a crown. It is true that Mr. Froude recognises the strong element of feminine passion in Mary's nature, and tells us that, unlike her rival, 'she could fling her crown in the dust, and be 'woman all.' But he does not quite succeed in harmonising the two parts of the character. His imagination has even, we suspect, led him to form a more vivid and peculiar idea of the personal appearance of Mary than the actual evidence will warrant. The doubt as to her features, raised by the conflicting claims of a number of different portraits, is ingeniously transmuted by his fancy into a definite trait. 'Graceful alike in 'person and in intellect, she possessed that peculiar beauty in 'which the form is lost in the expression, and which every 'painter therefore has represented differently.' Mary was a favourite fancy subject with painters, and many of the portraits have no claim to genuineness whatever. Those which are genuine represent, we believe, clearly enough, a large, fine woman, of a style of beauty suited to the somewhat sensual taste of the time.

In dealing with the charges against Mary, Mr. Froude is, we think, to some extent, the victim of a self-deception. He seems under the impression that his natural tendency is to reject, from motives of tenderness and sympathy, the evidence which would convict Mary of a crime; and that he is called upon to wrestle against this temptation in the interest of stern truth, by summoning to his aid the most stringent canons of historical criticism. His tendency is, we suspect, on the contrary, to receive a little too readily any evidence which will enable him both to condemn the rival of Elizabeth, and to enrich his his-

torical picture with the figure of a wicked enchantress, consummate alike in fascination and in guilt.

'Dr. Lingard,' says Hallam*, 'can hardly be thought serious when he takes credit to himself, at the commencement of a note at the end of the same volume, for not rendering his book more interesting by representing Anne Boleyn as an innocent and injured woman, falling a victim to the intrigues of a religious faction! He well knows that he could not have done so without contradicting the tenor of his entire work, without ceasing, as it were, to be himself. All the rest of this note is a pretended balancing of evidence, in the style of a judge who can hardly bear to find for a moment the possibility of a prisoner's innocence.'

We can imagine the advocates of Mary Stuart, among whom we certainly do not rank ourselves, making a somewhat similar comment on Mr. Froude's Rhadamanthine resolution not to be led by the tenderness of his feelings towards the beautiful accused, to 'turn history into a mere creation of imaginative sympathies,' by rejecting the documents tendered as proofs of her guilt. He assents to the position that the so-called certainties of history are but probabilities in various degrees, and probabilities incapable of being reduced to certainties because the witnesses no longer survive to be cross-examined. But he forgets the corollary of this doctrine, that things merely probable must be stated as probable not as certain. He would admit, we believe, that the evidence as to Mary's actual complicity in the murder of her husband, though such as to excite the strongest suspicion, is not absolutely conclusive. At all events it is a question requiring judicial treatment at the hands of the historian. But Mr. Froude not only assumes Mary's guilt as a fact absolutely beyond controversy, but makes her, in his highly-coloured narrative, guilty in a manner and to a degree which, we conceive,

* We are tempted to quote the rest of Mr. Hallam's note, more especially as we shall thereby do an act of tardy justice to Mr. Sharon Turner, the original whitewasher of Henry VIII. 'I regret very 'much to be obliged to add the name of Mr. Sharon Turner to those 'who have countenanced the supposition of Anne Boleyn's guilt. 'But Mr. Turner, a most worthy and painstaking man, to whose 'earlier writings our literature is much indebted, has, in the history 'of Henry VIII., gone upon the strange principle of exalting that 'tyrant's reputation at the expense of every one of his victims, to 'whatever party they may have belonged. *Odit damnatos.* Perhaps 'he is the first, and will be the last, who has defended the attainder 'of Sir Thomas More. A verdict of a jury, an assertion of a states-'man, a recital of an act of parliament, are with him satisfactory 'proofs of the most improbable accusations against the most blameless 'characters.'

historical justice will not warrant. 'Just then (when the Queen 'had left Darnley's room on the fatal night) Paris came back to 'fetch a fur wrapper which the Queen had left, *and which she 'thought too pretty to be spoiled.*' This is making her not the most wicked of women, but an incarnate fiend. Where is the proof that this was the thought in Mary's heart? Supposing that it was she, not Paris, that remembered the wrapper, where is the proof that her reason for sending back for it was not simply that, it being a night in midwinter, she felt cold? Such instances of the liveliness of a historian's fancy as this make the reader cautious in accepting his general judgments. But among Mr. Froude's strong points as a writer, judicial impartiality is not the strongest. He, however, acquits Mary of the charge of criminal intercourse with Ritzio on rather a singular ground. 'The affection of the Queen of Scots for Bothwell 'is the best evidence of her innocence with Ritzio.' We quite concur in the verdict of acquittal; but, with deference to a writer who shows us throughout his work that he has made the mysteries of the female heart his peculiar study, we should hardly have thought it impossible that a lascivious woman, as he takes Mary to have been, might yield to a smooth lover as well as to a rough one. No lover could be smoother than the boy Darnley, the Queen's marriage with whom, we venture to think, was more a matter of love and less a matter of deep policy than Mr. Froude assumes.

Mr. Froude's style in the last two volumes retains the attractions which it possessed from the first, and which it would be Procrusteanism to refuse to enjoy, merely because history has been written with more majesty by its greatest masters. The insertion of whole despatches into the text, without incorporation, is a practice to which only a great general ease, verging on looseness, of composition could reconcile a reader. The descriptive passages of the history are by far the most powerful. The accounts of the murders of Ritzio and Darnley will be—have already been—pitched upon as the choicest morsels in these volumes. Each of these scenes is worked up to the most stimulating and fascinating pitch of horror; and perhaps it would be an extreme severity of criticism to condemn the strong desire of securing a picturesque effect which leads the writer to say of a heap of gunpowder that 'the dark mass in 'which the fire spirit lay imprisoned rose dimly from the 'ground,' and to talk of Darnley and his servant as 'lying 'dead in the garden under the stars.' No one, however, can fail to observe throughout Mr. Froude's work this seeking after effect, which sometimes approaches the very verge of the sensa-

tion style. Oxford, when the Queen visits it, is clad 'in its 'autumnal robe of sad and mellow loveliness,' though the time was the end of August. The attempt to invest history with the charms of poetry not only misleads, but, if carried too far, loses its piquancy and begins to pall. But the length of our article warns us that we must repeat the commendation with which we commenced, and bring our remarks to a close.

ART. IX. — 1. *L'Irlande, Sociale, Politique, et Religieuse.* Septième édition, &c. Par GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: 1863.

2. *Histoire de l'Emigration.* Par M. JULES DUVAL. Paris: 1862.

3. *The Condition and Prospects of Ireland.* By JONATHAN PIM. Dublin: 1848.

4. *Considerations on the State of Ireland.* By JOHN K. INGRAM, LL.D., Fellow of Trinity College, &c. Dublin: 1863.

5. *Report on the Supposed Progressive Decline of Irish Prosperity.* By W. NEILSON HANCOCK, LL.D. Dublin: 1863.

WITHIN a quarter of a century more than two million Irishmen have left the shores of Ireland never to return. The population of Ireland under this drain, swelled by famine and pestilence, has declined from over eight, to considerably under six millions of people. And yet, despite this lowering of the head-water, the efflux still continues; and even at the present moment, when a harvest of more than average abundance has just been gathered in, far from showing signs of abatement, the human stream flows on with augmented volume. The phenomenon is, we believe, unique in the history of the world. How is it to be explained?

The reply which rises instinctively to the lip is—misgovernment. 'When the inhabitants of a country,' says Mr. Mill, 'quit the country *en masse*, because its Government will not 'make it a place fit for them to live in, the Government is 'judged and condemned.' We will not dispute the soundness of the position as a maxim in political ethics, but, in applying it to the case in hand, we must remark, that, if misgovernment have produced the spectacle which Ireland now presents, either it is the misgovernment of a former age, or else the whole political philosophy of modern times is in a wrong track. For when we turn to the history of recent legislation affecting Ireland,

what is the *tableau* which meets our view? A long series of measures extending over half a century, moving steadily in the direction of liberty, equal justice, mental cultivation, and industrial development. The penal code has been abolished. Class ascendancy has been overthrown. Catholics have been emancipated. Municipal corporations have been reformed. An efficient police has been organised. A system of popular education, based upon the principle of absolute impartiality between differing sects, and having at its disposal the best modern appliances, has been established. This gift of primary education has been followed by a provision, founded on the same principle and carried out with the same efficiency, for the higher intellectual culture. A poor law has been passed under which the duties of property towards poverty have in Ireland for the first time been recognised and enforced. Medical charities have been reformed and rendered efficient. The civil service of the United Kingdom has been thrown open to the youth of Ireland upon equal terms. Nor have material interests been overlooked. A Board has been constituted, charged with the special function of guiding and assisting Irish industrial enterprise: under its auspices arterial drainage on an extended scale has been carried out, and, in addition, public money to the amount of nearly two millions sterling has been advanced to individuals on terms below the market rate, for kindred purposes. A plan for the collection of agricultural statistics—an obvious reform hitherto attempted in vain in other portions of the empire—has in Ireland been carried into effect with complete success. Lastly, a new land court has been erected, in which, in obedience to the teaching of a sound political economy, and conformably with the procedure of an enlightened jurisprudence, the land of the country, long loaded with debt, and bound in the chains of an antiquated code, has been brought freely into the market, broken up into manageable portions, and transferred from listless and bankrupt to solvent and enterprising hands. These are the salient features of modern Irish legislation; and if these be examples of misgovernment, then manifestly the political philosophy of the nineteenth century is at fault.

We have said that the phenomenon of Irish emigration is unique in history; but this is only true when stated with regard to the proportions it has assumed, and to its effect on the Irish population. These accidents apart, the phenomenon of a greatly extended emigration, far from being peculiar to Ireland, is rather a feature of the age than of any particular country, and has been conspicuously exhibited by some of the most

advanced nations of Europe. The commencement of this movement may be placed about the end of the first quarter of the present century. At that time Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany—the countries in which it has since assumed its most colossal dimensions—did not send forth from their collective bounds an annual aggregate of more than 20,000 persons. But from that point the tide rose, and with such rapidity and power, that within another quarter of a century, the stream of 20,000 had swollen to 500,000—a magnitude which it maintained for some six years in succession, and to which, though it has since considerably declined, there are symptoms at the present moment that it may approach once more. The proportions in which the three countries, Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany, contributed to the stream when at its highest were not very unequal: they may be taken to be very nearly as follows:—

Ireland	210,000
Germany	155,000
Great Britain	135,000
Total annual emigration from the three countries (in round numbers)	500,000

These, however, have not been the only countries in which emigration has received an extraordinary impulse in recent years: in a less degree, but still sensibly, Spain, Belgium, Scandinavia, and even France, have felt the emigrating impulse.*

With these facts before us, we shall not be disposed to seek an explanation of Irish emigration in purely local events. It is plainly part of a larger movement, the result of influences which have made themselves felt over the greater portion of Western Europe. A variety of events at once suggest themselves as connected with this dispersion of population—seasons of dearth, fluctuations in trade, gold discoveries, civil commotions, foreign wars, notably, just now, an urgent demand for labour in the Federal States of America. Each of these events has no doubt contributed something to the general result; but causes of this kind, which have never been absent from the world, can plainly be no more than secondary in relation to a phenomenon which, in its actual dimensions at least, is a purely modern one: it is, therefore, to modern agencies mainly that we must look for an explanation; and amongst these three stand out as of prime importance—popular education, steam, and free trade.

* Histoire de l'Emigration, par M. Jules Duval.

The influence of education in unsettling population and impelling it towards new lands, is too plain to be insisted on. Kindling among the masses the desire of bettering their condition, it discloses to them at the same time a new world of which they had been before but dimly conscious; a world, where labour is amply rewarded, where the labourer is liberally endowed with political power; where a bounteous soil offers to his grasp that most cherished object of human yearning—a spot of ground which he may call his own. The vision awakened in the school is kept alive by the newspaper, and gathers strength from the accounts of friends who have tried it and proved it true. The idea becomes a conviction, the conviction a resolution, and the die is cast. If popular education has thus given the impulse, steam and free trade have supplied the means—indirectly, through the increase of productive industry and the expansion of commerce; directly, by improvements in navigation, and, as a consequence, the cheapening of communication and intercourse between distant lands. These have been the most powerful agencies of a modern kind; but they have not been the only ones: another agency, also modern in its last developments, has largely aided the result—we mean the progress of colonisation. Amongst all the practical problems of politics, none, perhaps, is more difficult than to found a colony. Rarely has success been accomplished except through straits in which the pioneers of civilisation have been called upon to endure all the extremes of suffering. But settlement once effected, the foundation once laid, the subsequent building up of colonies is an easy task. The emigrant, on his arrival, finds himself at once in the midst of the comforts of a well-ordered society, and enters forthwith into the realisation of his dreams. Emigration thus becomes less repulsive as colonisation extends. A wider area of choice is opened up to the dissatisfied denizens of the old world; and there exist fewer drawbacks to the golden prospects which lure them from their homes.

The result may be stated in a few words: under the old-world rule, when the masses were shut up in ignorance; when surplus wealth, from the inefficiency of productive processes, was small; when industry was artificially organised, and commerce fettered; when vast regions of the globe were still in the possession of savage man, civilisation rallied to a few favoured centres around which clustered excessive populations: but a new epoch has opened; agencies unknown in former times have brought the unsettled portions of the earth into immediate, sensible, and practical competition with those which are already occupied. The result cannot be doubtful: there must hence-

forward be a greater dispersion and mixing of populations, and a greater equalisation of the conditions of wealth. It will no longer be a few favoured and conveniently situated spots on the earth's surface, but the whole earth, that will be turned to the purposes of man.

The causes to which we have adverted are of a general nature, and are now operating more or less powerfully over a large portion of the civilised world. Their practical effect, it is plain, will depend, not simply on their absolute force—on the degree of progress, that is to say, made by each country in the development of the agencies indicated, but on this, in connexion with the condition as to general well-being of the mass of its inhabitants. The more advanced the state of popular knowledge in any country, and the greater the facilities for emigration, the greater, *cæteris paribus*, will be the disposition to emigrate; on the other hand, the better the condition of the people, the less will they be disposed to leave the land of their birth. Now it is evident that these two opposing influences will, under the ordinary conditions of a nation's progress, grow together: there is a *natural* connexion between the comfort of the masses, and the advance of the nation to which they belong in knowledge and external commerce. And from this it follows that, so long as civilisation moves in its normal path, it will, as regards emigration, by providing compensations against the new forces it brings into play, tend in some measure to neutralise its own action. On the other hand, where the course of civilisation is not the normal one, where its advantages are not developed but conferred, where acquaintance with and access to its agencies coexist with extensive misery among the population at large—here the antagonistic influences will be brought to work in the same direction: the home feeling will become a principle of repulsion, and, instead of counteracting, will assist the attractions offered by new lands; here, accordingly, we may expect the motives impelling to emigration to attain their maximum of force.

Now of all European countries Ireland is that one in which the conditions just described have been realised in the most signal degree. One of the most wretched populations in Europe has been suddenly brought under the influence of many of the most powerful, and some of the most beneficent, agencies of modern civilisation. The result has been that extraordinary outpourings of the Irish people on the shores of America, of which we have now for twenty years been witnesses—a phenomenon, we repeat, in its proportions and its effects without parallel in history.

What have been the historical causes of this exceptional

condition of Ireland—of her stagnant misery in immediate contact with so much commercial and moral progress—this is a problem which it would be far beyond the scope of our present design to discuss at length. Nevertheless, irksome as it is '*infandum renovare dolorem*,' we must not wholly pass it by. The main features have been drawn by M. de Beaumont with graphic power, and, though his handling may be open to the charge of some exaggeration, we must own, in the main, with truth. An alien proprietary, without a single bond of sympathy with the cultivators of the soil—a race of middle-men or profit-renters, 'the most oppressive species of tyrant that ever lent 'assistance to the destruction of a country'*—a superabundant population—the effect as well as the cause of the degraded condition of the Irish race; lastly, the absence (fruit, in some degree, of English manufacturing jealousy)† of every other kind of industry than agriculture—these are among the causes which for centuries weighed upon the destinies of Ireland, and, aided by a persecuting penal code—under which the bulk of the people 'could neither buy land nor take a mortgage, nor 'even fine down a lease'—under which, that is to say, all the motives to accumulation which can exist in an agricultural community were carefully rooted out—and by the selfish and violent rule of a dominant caste, these causes brought the country to the condition in which it was found by the commissioners of 1834 and '44. The language in which that condition is portrayed should be stereotyped for the benefit of those Irishmen who, in their dismay at a diminution of the Irish population, profess to believe that their country is retrograding. We invite them to contemplate this picture of a people whose mere numbers they would have us take as a criterion of its prosperity:—

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* Arthur Young.

† Macaulay, it is true, ridicules the notion of 'the Ireland of the 'seventeenth century' being 'a great manufacturing country.' The notion is doubtless sufficiently absurd, perhaps more absurd than that this description should have been applicable to the England of the same time. Nevertheless it is certain that the Ireland of the eighteenth century was the seat of a considerable manufacture. In 1777 the linen trade had attained to an export of a million and a half sterling, and was described by Arthur Young as 'of national import-'ance.' (Part ii. p. 119.) It does not appear why the Irish woollen manufacture, which at the end of the seventeenth century was sufficiently promising to awaken the jealousy of the clothiers of Wilts and Yorkshire, should not have flourished equally if it had not been smitten by the (virtually) prohibitory law of 1698.

'A great proportion of them [the agricultural labourers, who formed, it was estimated, two-thirds of the whole population] are insufficiently provided at any time with the commonest necessaries of life. Their habitations are wretched hovels; several of the family sleep together on straw, or on the bare ground, sometimes with a blanket, sometimes with not even so much to cover them. Their food commonly consists of dry potatoes; and with these they are at times so scantily supplied as to be obliged to stint themselves to one spare meal in the day. . . . They sometimes get a herring or a little milk, but they never get meat except at Christmas, Easter, and Shrovetide.'

This was the description given of the great majority of the Irish people in 1834 by the commissioners appointed to inquire into their condition. What follows is from the pen of their successors some ten years later: —

'It would be impossible to describe adequately the privations which they [the cottiers and labourers] and their families almost habitually and patiently endure. It will be seen in the evidence that in many districts their only food is the potato, their only beverage water; that their cabins are seldom a protection against the weather; that a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury; and that nearly in all, their pig and their manure-heap constitute their only property.'

This was the condition of the people among whom, about the year 1830—the English Government having at length been awakened to a sense of its responsibilities—a series of remarkable reforms commenced. Of these none was conceived in a spirit of larger or more enlightened wisdom than the National System of Education—a system under which Roman Catholics and Protestants were invited to come together and receive beneath the same roof those common elements of secular and moral knowledge, the value of which is recognised by all Christian denominations alike.* This invitation, in spite of the malign

* We regret that M. de Beaumont should have given the sanction of his name to the gross misrepresentations habitually indulged in by the Ultramontane party in Ireland respecting what all liberal thinkers who have any real acquaintance with the present condition of Ireland regard as the most hopeful of its institutions—the National Schools and the Queen's Colleges. On the faith of allegations put forward by 'les plus sages prélats de l'Irlande' (Dr. Cullen and his confrères), M. de Beaumont makes the statement that both the National Schools and the Queen's Colleges have been used for purposes of proselytism, and have in consequence justly failed to command the confidence of the Irish people. For anyone acquainted with the working of those institutions it is unnecessary to say that such statements are absolutely without foundation. But it is satisfactory to be able to confront them with the statements of another Frenchman, who, to

efforts of bigots on both sides, was accepted by the great bulk of the Irish people. In the National Schools the Irish children learned the English language*; they learned too geography, and heard, most of them for the first time, of a great country teeming with riches within a fortnight's sail of their coasts. What more natural than the desire to reach this land of promise? But the cost of a passage to America was still high. In 1825 it was not less than 20*l.* The remarkable expansion, however, of English commerce about this time, and especially of English commerce with America, and the rapid growth of steam navigation, quickly diminished this obstacle. The passage-money in a few years was reduced to 10*l.*, then to 6*l.*, to 5*l.*, and in the spring of the present year it reached at some Irish ports so low a point as 4*l.* 15*s.* for steamboats, and for sailing vessels 2*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*† Other causes were soon developed which further facilitated escape. The prosperity of the first emigrants, while it justified their conduct in the eyes of their friends at home, enabled them at the same time to furnish those friends with the means of following their example. It is an honourable and hopeful trait of the emigration that, through the liberality springing from family affection, it has become an entirely self-supporting movement; the funds required by those who remain being furnished by those who have gone before. In 1847, 200,000*l.*, it has been estimated, reached Ireland from America with this destination;

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information obtained during recent intercourse with Ireland, adds a knowledge of the educational controversy derived from other sources than the allocutions of the wisest prelates. We refer the reader to an article in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' for the 15th October last, by M. Jules de Lasteyrie, in which that writer bears his emphatic testimony to the absolute exclusion from the National Schools of every attempt at proselytism, and characterises the National System of Education as an 'honour to the country as well as its hope:' 'it is,' he adds, 'the one point on which Ireland is superior to England.' (Pp. 968–69.)

* The number of the Irish who could speak Irish *only* was in 1822 (according to the estimate of the Irish Society) 2,000,000. In 1851 this class had (as ascertained by the census) fallen to 319,602, and in 1861 to 163,276. (*Hancock's Report, &c.*, p. 11.)

† This was at Waterford, about six months ago; but the charges by both modes of conveyance have since (owing to the great increase in the applications for passages) considerably risen. They range at present at the different ports, between 5*l.* and 6*l.* 6*s.* for steam packets. The charge by sailing vessels is nominally much lower: in reality it is not so much so as it seems, the board being in this case only partially supplied. The great bulk of the emigrants—probably three-fourths of the whole—go by steamboats.

in 1853, the remittances rose to a million and a half. The dam which restrained the accumulated misery of Ireland once effectually removed, the stream of population steadily flowed away. In 1841 the emigration had reached the number of 40,000 persons. In 1846 the potato famine came, and then at once the movement reached its flood. From this point down to 1853 the emigration maintained an annual average of 200,000 persons, sufficient within that time to remove a fifth of the whole population. After this the current sensibly abated, as a result of the improved condition of the population which remained, effected partly through the lessening of their number, and partly through a succession of favourable seasons coexisting with scarcity abroad. But the fall has proved but temporary. A return of less propitious seasons, combined with the attraction of a rising labour market across the Atlantic, has called forth the emigrating impulse once more in all its strength; and at the present moment the efflux from Ireland bids fair to reach the dimensions of famine times.

Such is the phenomenon of Irish emigration, and such, as we believe, is its solution. It is the complex result of perfectly distinct trains of events—of decades of good, following upon centuries of bad, government—of the sudden disruption of mediæval barbarism by the grandest forces of modern civilisation. But where is the movement to end? and what is its significance as regards the interests of the country from which it proceeds?

To the first question the immediate answer is plain: the Irish emigration will cease when Ireland shall have become for its people an abode sufficiently agreeable to render it not worth the cost, risk, and inconvenience of a journey across the Atlantic to find it better. It remains to consider how far is this consummation from being yet reached. Let us endeavour to understand where we are. And, first, we may note this fact, that, notwithstanding the vastness of the emigration, notwithstanding a positive diminution, to the extent of one-third of the aggregate Irish population, the density of population in Ireland is still greatly in excess of that which prevails in other portions of the kingdom with which Ireland can be fairly compared. To show this we may adopt either of two modes of comparison: we may compare Ireland as a whole with those portions of Great Britain which on the whole most nearly resemble it; or we may compare the cultivated area of Ireland with, say, some of the most highly cultivated English counties. With a view to the former comparison, we will take Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Wales, which in general external characteristics do not differ widely from Ireland. It is possible that the pro-

portion of sterile surface is less in Ireland than in those British districts; but, on the other hand, the latter comprise relatively to their extent a larger amount of manufacturing industry. Cumberland has extensive coal mines. Wales employs a large population in the slate quarries of Bangor, the ironworks of Monmouthshire, and the coal ports of Swansea and Cardiff. Now the result of this comparison is to show that, while in the English districts the density of population is represented by 1 person to 4·5 acres, in Ireland it is represented by 1 person to 3·6 acres. Again, adopting the other mode of comparison, we will take as specimens of the cultivated land of England the following counties—Buckingham, Hereford, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Rutland, North Riding (York). Comparing these with the cultivated area of Ireland, we obtain the following result, that in the best agricultural counties of England, where the soil is richer, the climate more favourable for cereals, and the farming more scientific and supported by a larger capital than over the cultivated area of Ireland, the density of population is nevertheless considerably less. On an average of the counties we have named, it is represented by 1 person to about 4 acres, while over the cultivated area of Ireland the proportion is more than 1 person to 3 acres.* It appears then, that, whether we compare Ireland as a whole with the districts in England which on the whole most nearly resemble it, or compare its cultivated area with the best-farmed English counties, the conclusion to which we are brought is the same,—namely this, that Ireland is still greatly over-peopled. And this conclusion is entirely confirmed by patent facts in that country. Notwithstanding a marked advance in the general wages of labour, indications of extreme poverty are still visible everywhere in Ireland; and notwithstanding the immense reduction in the agricultural population, land in many districts still commands exorbitant rents. With these facts before us, we confess we see no reason to anticipate an early cessation of the drain. It is idle to expect a pause till the population of the country has been brought into such correspondence with its production, that the condition of the people, taking all things into account, will bear a comparison with that of their kindred across the ocean. Now it is but too plain that this point is still far from being attained.†

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* See a carefully written article in the 'Economist' of the 23rd May, 1863, from which we have borrowed the facts of the above comparisons.

† By what standard M. de Beaumont measures the adequacy of population to territory, we confess ourselves wholly at a loss to

But is it certain that the movement tends to this desirable result? that the space which is left by the multitudes who go will really be gained by the multitudes who remain? This question has been raised by M. de Beaumont, who decides it in the negative, upon grounds which it will be worth while briefly to examine. The population of Ireland, M. de Beaumont reminds us, has not always been 8,000,000 of people: a century and a half ago it was not more than a third of the number; and yet, when a unit in this smaller sum, the Irish peasant was no less wretched than when population was at its maximum. What is the explanation of this? It is, says M. de Beaumont, because under the vicious social system which prevails in Ireland, the Irish peasant, whether the population be large or small, is equally at the mercy of the Irish proprietor, who, there being no bond of sympathy to restrain him, wrings from his wretched dependent all that passes the barest needs of subsistence. Does the cottier show signs of thriving; does he abandon potatoes for wheaten bread, or rags for decent clothes; it is a proof that there is a margin of means available for further pressure, and the Irish proprietor rises in his demands, which, should they not be complied with by the tenant in possession, will find abundance of candidates eager to satisfy them. Under such a system improvement for the Irish people is simply impossible. They were miserable while yet their numbers did not exceed three millions, and, the present social relations continuing, they must remain miserable, though their numbers were reduced to three millions once more.*

This was the conclusion at which M. de Beaumont arrived while emigration was yet a subject of speculation only: it has

imagine, since he regards 25,000,000 as not an excessive population for Ireland. Is he prepared to adopt the same proportion for France, and to propose 186,000,000 persons as its proper allowance, and to extend the same rule to the other countries of Europe? We commend to M. de Beaumont's notice the following passage from the pen of a countryman:—'La science économique ne peut consacrer 'l'opinion des amis de l'Irlande au sujet de la population qu'elle 'nourirait, sous un régime de justice. Non seulement le chiffre de '25 millions proposé par son plus éminent défenseur, M. Gustave 'de Beaumont, dépasse toute vraisemblance, mais celui de 8 mil-'lions, constaté en 1841, excède déjà les forces productives d'un 'territoire de 8 millions d'hectares; c'est une densité de 100 habi-'tants par 100 hectares, ou par kilomètre carré, plus que dans la 'plupart des états d'Europe, plus que dans la France en particulier, 'où l'on compte seulement 67 habitants par kilomètre carré.' (*Histoire de l'Emigration.* Par Jules Duval. Pp. 20, 21.)

* Troisième partie, § I.

now become a fact, and, with the result of the experiment before him, he seems disposed to hold to his former conclusion. In the notice on the present state of Ireland, prefixed to the recent edition of his work, he contends that his anticipations have been generally realised, in some instances more than realised; that while emigration has indeed proved a benefit for those who have quitted Ireland, for the population which remains *, for Ireland itself, it has been but doubtful gain; and that at the present moment, though the numbers are diminished, the country is substantially in the same position in which he found it some thirty years ago.

We must take exception alike to the reasoning and to the facts of M. de Beaumont. As regards his facts, he makes the twofold statement, that, while the supply of labour has fallen off, the demand has fallen off not less largely†; and that the number of farms suppressed is still greater than that of farmers who have emigrated, so that the competition for land is more overwhelming than ever. Now both these statements are in direct conflict with the ascertained facts of the case. From the returns of the Poor Law Inspectors, published in the report of the Poor Law Commissioners for the year 1856, it appears that wages in Ireland in the twelve years preceding that date had experienced an advance of from twenty-five to eighty per cent., an advance which, in the opinion of one of the best living judges of Irish affairs, had up to the summer of 1861 been more than sustained. While as to the second statement, that Irish farms have diminished more rapidly than Irish farmers, it is flatly contradicted by the Irish Statistical Returns. From these it appears that, while between 1841 and 1861, the population had fallen from 8,175,000 to 5,798,000, or by about

* M. de Beaumont's language is not always steady upon this question. In one passage he even says:—'J'admets et je partage le 'sentiment de ceux, qui, tout en déplorant la cause première de 'l'émigration, reconnaissent l'efficacité du secours qu'elle apporte au 'mal dont elle est née.' We are quite unable, however, to reconcile this admission with the views advanced in Part II. § 2, which, except as regards the question of the feasibility of an extended emigration, are unqualified by any foot-note, or with the general tenor of the '*Notice*.'

† This, at least, is what we understand by the words 'Cependant, 'quoique la quantité des bras à occuper soit ainsi réduite, il paraît 'qu'il s'en offre encore plus qu'il n'en est demandé; car les 'salaires sont toujours insuffisants et irréguliers;' for if it be only intended to say that the reduction in the supply of labour has not yet been sufficient to raise wages to the desirable height, this evidently does not meet the requirements of the argument.

thirty-one per cent. (and it is M. de Beaumont's opinion that the emigration has been principally drawn from the farmer class), the number of farms during the same period had only declined from 730,202 to 608,564, or by about seventeen per cent. Nor is it irrelevant to the issue to add that on the average these farms have greatly increased in size; no less than 2,000,000 acres having during the same time been added to the arable land of Ireland.*

Still more serious, however, as it seems to us, are the speculative errors into which M. de Beaumont falls. We by no means object to his statement as to what may be called the 'law 'of rent' in Ireland, as it was practically operative in former times. Rent was there for centuries simply the result of a scramble for land, in which the whole agricultural population took part, and was limited by nothing else than the actual need of the cultivator. All that M. de Beaumont has said on this subject is fully borne out by the statements of English Commissions, which have from time to time reported on the state of Ireland. But where M. de Beaumont seems to us to err, is in failing to perceive that this very law of rent depended on conditions which either no longer exist, or are rapidly passing away, and which are ceasing to exist, precisely because the emigration is rendering their existence impossible. The Irish peasant was formerly at the mercy of the Irish landlord, because his class was numerically excessive in relation to the cultivable land of the country, and because land was its single resource. It was the relation in which the numbers of the peasantry stood towards the extent of cultivable area, coupled with the absence of any other resource than land, and not the actual

* This is only one example of inaccurate statement out of many furnished by the prefatory notice to the present edition of his work, which makes us regret that M. de Beaumont should not have taken the precaution of personally examining a country which has undergone such fundamental changes since his last visit, before undertaking to describe its present condition. How greatly this might have modified his representations may be conjectured from the very different tone adopted on the same subject by M. de Lasteyrie, whose views, as regards the past history of Ireland, appear to coincide very generally with those of M. de Beaumont, but who seems to have had opportunities of correcting the exaggerations of partisan writers as to its present state by ocular inspection. In the article in the 'Revue 'des Deux Mondes' to which we have already referred, M. de Lasteyrie thus expresses himself:—'Ne disons pas que la justice et la civili-'zation n'ont rien produit. Chaque fois qu'on revoit l'Irlande, on 'sent une amélioration, on reconnâit un progrès, on est certain que 'les plus mauvais jours sont passés.' (P. 980.)

numbers, on which the situation depended. Now, emigration has diminished the actual numbers, and has opened to the Irish peasant another resource. But M. de Beaumont is of opinion that the cultivable area must diminish with the numbers, and that, although the condition of those who depart will be improved, that of those who remain behind must continue as it has always been. Well, do the facts warrant this assumption? On the contrary, while the population has been reduced by two and a half million persons, the area of arable land has been augmented by nearly two million acres, and the land under crops has at all events not been diminished*; the practical result being that which we have already pointed out—an advance in the rate of wages, and a slackening of the competition for land. In short, emigration has sapped to its very centre that position of unqualified monopoly, and consequently of absolute power, which the Irish landlord for centuries maintained. It has proved, or rather is proving, the true specific for the fundamental vice of the industrial economy of Ireland.

Emigration is performing one capital part in the radical remedy, not without some assistance from the improving manufactures of the North-east, just now profiting by the cotton famine. The other grand agent in the reform is the Landed Estates Court. Under the operation of this tribunal and its predecessor, the Encumbered Estates Court, land, comprising one-seventh of the whole area of Ireland, and reaching the value of 35,000,000*l.*, has within the last fifteen years been brought into the market, and transferred from necessitous to solvent hands. It is not easy to exaggerate the significance of this fact. In the first place the most reckless and worthless portion of the Irish landed gentry—the small squirearchy, has been effectually rooted out, and in its place there has arisen a proprietary of a different order—men for the most part self-made, who have purchased land as a pecuniary investment, and whose mercantile instincts will effectually save them from the suicidal rapacity of their predecessors. The influence of these men on the system of agriculture in Ireland is not to be measured by the extent of their possessions. Already there is manifest among the older proprietors a tendency to adopt the ideas of the new men. 'If our lands are not to become value-

* We adopt the convenient, though, on the ground of usage, scarcely warranted distinction employed in the Irish Statistical Returns, between 'tillage' and 'arable' land; the former term being confined to the lands under crops, the latter including with this the land under pasture.

'less to ourselves and our children,' writes one of the latter class*, 'we must get them into the hands of men who can and 'will cultivate them properly, and will earn rent for us and profit 'for themselves in the open market of the world'—language which betokens a vast breach with the past. Already solvent tenants, even though independent, begin to be preferred to political retainers with promises of impossible rents.

The territorial *régime* of Ireland, such as it has existed for centuries, is thus plainly doomed; nor can there be much difficulty in indicating the character of the system that is destined to take its place. Mr. Jonathan Pim has remarked in his excellent work on 'The Condition of Ireland,' published in 1848, that 'the proprietors in fee are [in that country] probably 'fewer than in an equal area in any part of Western Europe—'Spain only excepted; whilst the tenantry in possession of 'land are more numerous.' Perhaps we cannot better describe the change which the landed system of Ireland is undergoing than by saying that the causes now operating tend directly to reverse the state of things remarked on by Mr. Pim. Proprietors in fee, or what is equally to the point, persons having substantial interests in the land, are becoming constantly more numerous, whilst mere occupants are *pari passu* diminishing in number. Of the extent to which this process has been carried we may form some conjecture from the following facts. Up to 1858, when the Encumbered Estates Court closed its career, out of 4,000 petitions received, distinct estates to the number of very nearly 3,000 were sold; and in the sale of these the number of conveyances executed was not less than 8,000; each estate sold having thus on an average been divided into nearly three.† Now, if we suppose the same proportion to have held in the proceedings of the Landed Estates Court since that time (a supposition, however, which we should be scarcely justified in making, the estates latterly sold being on the whole smaller than those at first brought into the market), and if we further suppose that each distinct purchase represents a distinct purchaser (which would still less nearly accord with the facts) we should be brought to the conclusion that the proprietors of that portion of Ireland which has passed through the Land Courts have, since the establishment of the earlier Court, increased in the proportion of three to eight.

* 'An Irish Landlord' writing in *The Times* newspaper.

† This latter number may include a few duplicates, but it is believed that the deviation from the fact would not be serious in taking it to represent that number of distinct purchases.

Without going this length, the facts which we have stated, at all events, warrant the conclusion that both estates and proprietors in Ireland are greatly more numerous than formerly, and that this is the direction in which the operations of the new Land Court tends. We may add, as a matter of fact well known to all persons conversant with the country, that the same process has issued in a distribution of land, as amongst the existing proprietors, much more equal than had previously obtained.

On the other hand, while estates have been broken up and proprietors multiplied, an opposite process has been going forward among farmers and farms. The character of this movement will be indicated by the following figures:—

Size of holdings	Number of holdings in 1841	Number of holdings in 1861
Not exceeding 1 acre	not given	40,080
Exceeding 1, but not exceeding 5 acres .	310,436	85,469
„ 5 „ 15 „ .	252,799	183,931
„ 15 „ 30 „ .	79,342	141,251
„ 30	48,625	157,833
Total of all sizes	691,202	608,564

The general result is obvious at a glance. The total number of farms has not been greatly altered; there has been a slight diminution; but an extensive change has occurred among the several classes of holdings. As a general rule the holdings below fifteen acres in extent have greatly diminished, while those above this limit have proportionately increased; the largest increase of all being in the farms above thirty acres in size.

The agricultural economy of Ireland, under the combined operation of emigration and the Landed Estates Court, is thus manifestly moving towards a definite goal—towards a general conformity in its main conditions with that which prevails in Great Britain. A proprietary of caste, governed mainly by political and social views, is being changed for one of capital with whom mercantile ideas are paramount. Competition for land, which formerly, while population was excessive and without other resource than agriculture, made rent merely an expression for the whole produce of the soil *minus* the physical needs of the cultivator, has been brought within manageable limits, partly by the decrease of population but principally by the alternative which emigration offers to the peasant. Lastly, as the result of both the foregoing causes, cultivation is passing from the hands of a pauper peasantry without capacity or motive for improvement, into those of capitalist farmers amenable to

the influences which commonly govern this class of men. Nor should we omit to notice a social change which has not been brought out in the foregoing statements. A portion of the land sold, not large it is true, but still not inconsiderable, has been purchased by tenants in occupation.* A class of peasant proprietors—a type of agriculturist hitherto wholly unknown in Ireland—is thus taking its place in the country. This is an aspect of the industrial revolution which we regard with peculiar satisfaction.

The course of change which we have described may be characterised briefly as a transition from a cottier to a capitalist *régime*. But this transition has been complicated with a transition of another kind—one from an artificial to a natural system of agriculture. Up to the middle of last century, Ireland was almost exclusively a pastoral country. About the year 1777, when Arthur Young visited it, tillage was confined almost wholly to the cottiers; and 'were it not,' adds that writer 'for potatoes, which necessarily prepare for corn, there 'would not be half of what we see at present.' But the breaking out of the French war towards the close of the century, coinciding as it did with a remarkable series of bad harvests, which sent up the price of food to an unprecedented height and long maintained it there, gave an extraordinary impulse to cereal cultivation; and the diversion of Irish agriculture from its natural path, thus effected, was, on the termination of the war, continued by protective duties. Things worked on in this groove till 1846, when the old *régime* culminated in the famine. Then came the abolition of the Corn Laws, with its inevitable result—the overthrow of the artificial system which those laws had fostered. Since that time Irish agriculture has been steadily reverting to a career in which the special resources of the country find scope. Already in the altered exports of the country, there is unequivocal evidence of the progress which has been made in this direction; although, in the Irish Statistical Returns, the movement is to a great extent masked by a circumstance which, for more reasons than one, it will be worth while to point out. On looking at those returns, one is struck by the fact that the land 'under crops' is not less extensive now than in 1847–8. How, it will be asked, is this reconcilable with the phenomena exhibited by the Irish export trade†, or

* We refer more particularly to the Thomond estates; numerous instances also occurred on the sale of the Portarlington and Kingston estates, as well as in that of many minor properties.

† In 1841 the export of grain of all kinds from Ireland was . . . . . (qrs.) 2,855,525

with what every one acquainted with Ireland knows is the most striking feature of its present agriculture — the extensive conversion of tillage into pasture land? The answer is to be found in the change which appears in the area of 'arable land' in the country. It will be seen that under this head an increase has taken place during the period under review, to the extent of a million and a half acres — an increase which of course indicates a not less extensive reclamation of waste land. Now, in the ordinary course of things, the reclaimed land is in the first instance brought under crops, in which way an addition has been made to the tillage land of the country, which has just compensated what was abstracted from the same category by conversion into pasture. But the same fact also serves to explain another perplexing and indeed rather startling circumstance manifest on the face of the returns. It will be seen that over the whole period from 1847 down to the present time, there has been a decline—on the whole a steady decline—in the productiveness of all the principal crops. This circumstance countenances the opinion entertained by some careful observers in Ireland, that the quality of the Irish soil has undergone deterioration*—an opinion which, having regard to the long persistence in an unsuitable system of agriculture, and one carried out moreover by means of the crudest methods, appears in itself sufficiently probable. Nevertheless, without denying that there may be ground for this opinion (and indeed the phenomena exhibited by the wheat cultivation seem to be explicable on no other hypothesis), the fact certainly admits of another and less discouraging explanation. The truth is—a circumstance which the statistical returns do not reveal — that the land under crops now, though equal in extent to the land under crops fifteen years ago, is not the same land. The richest portions of the old tillage has gone into grass, and the land which has replaced these has just been reclaimed from nature. The decline in the productiveness of land under crops (excepting the case of wheat, to which this explanation does not

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In 1861 this had fallen to . . . . . (qrs.) 1,675,336

On the other hand, the number of cattle of all kinds exported in 1854 (the first year for which returns are given) was . . . . . (heads) 738,486

In 1861 this number had amounted to . . „ 1,053,025

It is scarcely necessary to say that, had we the means of extending the latter comparison back to 1841, the result would be far more striking, to say nothing of the increase in the average value of the animals.

* See the 'Irish Agricultural Review' for April, 1863.

apply), becomes thus intelligible without the necessity of resorting to the unwelcome hypothesis of a deterioration of the soil—nay, looking to the immense increase which has taken place in the value of the produce of the pasture lands in Ireland (to which we shall presently advert), this decline is perfectly consistent with, and in some sense the consequence of, an increased productiveness of the aggregate soil of the country. To return from this digression: besides the transition from a cottier to a capitalist *régime*, Ireland is now in the midst of another transition—a transition from an artificial to a natural agriculture. Now, although up to the present, this latter movement has not been attended with any falling off in the requirements of Ireland for agricultural labour—the conversion of tillage into pasture having been accompanied by an enlargement of the whole area of arable land, still it cannot be doubted that this is the result towards which the new system tends. It is beyond question that a given capital employed in pastoral farming takes the form more largely of fixed capital, and therefore less largely of wages, than the same capital employed in tillage. The effect may in some degree be neutralised by a more rapid growth of agricultural capital under its now more productive conditions, but it will be long before the compensation is complete; and this consideration leads us back to the opinion we have already expressed, that the emigration is still far from having run its course.

But there is a further element of complication. While Ireland has been passing through the ordeal of a double transition, it has been submitted to a trial which alone might severely test the stability of even a long-established industrial prosperity. An almost purely agricultural country, it has experienced three extraordinarily unfavourable seasons in succession; and it has undergone this calamity just as it was entering on a career of free trade. Free traders need have no scruple in including the last incident among the circumstances of aggravation. The justification of free trade rests on its conduciveness to the well-being of a nation as a whole and in the long run—a position which is not affected by the fact that free trade may operate harshly with reference to particular classes and in particular contingencies. It may be well to point the bearing of our free-trade system on the present position of Ireland.

In ante-free-trade times a deficient harvest was far from being a misfortune to the farmer. It was one of the consequences of protection, and not the least mischievous, that it set the interests of different classes in antagonism, and made the gain of each flow from occurrences involving loss to the community as a whole. Writing in protection times, Mr. Tooke expressed

the opinion that a deficiency of from one to two-sixths in the aggregate cereal produce of the country led generally to an advance in price of from 100 to 200 per cent. The reason is plain. The community depending for its supplies of food almost wholly upon the yield of its own soil, when a deficiency occurred, there was no adequate means of supplementing it, and the competition of consumers for the first necessary of life forced up the price to a height only limited by their ability to purchase. Under protection, therefore, a short harvest was for the farmer the greatest of boons, while abundance to the community at large meant scarcity for him. Now free trade has corrected these divergencies of class-interests, and the farmer will in future suffer or thrive with the community of which he is a member, or rather, indeed, with the world at large. There is no need of argument at the present day to show that this condition of the industrial economy is the natural and healthy one. It must be recognised, however, that it is attended with this consequence, that seasons of local dearth fall heavily on a farming population. The quantity of their produce is diminished, and they are unable to shift the loss to the shoulders of consumers through any corresponding advance in price. In this way it is conceded that free trade has, during the trying period through which Ireland has just passed, prevented compensations which would have accrued under protection, although at the expense of the United Kingdom as a whole. In contemplating, however, this aspect of free trade, farmers should remember that, if they miss the compensations in seasons of dearth, they also escape the depression which formerly attended seasons of plenty. On the whole the fluctuations in their condition are less violent, and the rewards larger and more certain.

We have no difficulty, then, in admitting that free trade has enhanced the pressure on the farming interests of Ireland incident to the deficiency of yield in the recent unfavourable years. Now that deficiency has been extraordinarily great, and has been felt (with the single exception of dairy-farming) in every department of agriculture. In cereals, in green crops, in potatoes, in pasture farming, the decline in the returns of the interval between 1859 and 1863 was continuous and increasing. In wheat, the produce fell from an average (taken over the eight preceding years) of more than 3 qrs. per acre to a little more than 2 qrs. in 1861, and to less than 2 qrs. in 1862; in oats, from an average of 4½ to 4 in 1861; and almost to 3 in 1862. In turnips (adopting the same terms of comparison), the fall was from 14½ tons per acre to 8¼ in 1860, from which, however, there was a slight recovery in 1861 and '62, the yield

in these years being about 10 tons per acre. In potatoes, which cover an area of more than a million acres, and which represent a larger gross annual value than any other single crop, the decline in produce was still more remarkable: the yield which in the first eight years of the last decade had ranged between 4 and 5 tons per acre having fallen, in 1861 and '62, to less than 2 tons. So far as to tillage: in cattle farming the crisis has been less severely felt, though here, too, the evidence of depression is only too clear. For the three years preceding 1860 the value of live stock (adopting the mode of computation of the Statistical Department) had been, on an average, 34,000,000*l.* sterling; in 1860, the amount fell to 33,890,000*l.*; in 1861, to 32,770,000*l.*; in 1862, to 31,200,000*l.*; and in 1863, to 29,990,000*l.* The combined effect of all these losses, affecting, as we have said (with a single exception) every branch of Irish agriculture, and extending over a period of three years, cannot be reckoned at less than 27,000,000*l.* sterling.

That a calamity of such dimensions, steadily cumulative throughout a period of three years, and accompanied by an unparalleled emigration, should have been seized upon by trading politicians as a proof of national decay, is, of course, only what was to be expected; and indeed it must be owned that there was in the recent depression, when taken apart from the train of events in which it forms an episode, enough to impress even thoughtful patriots with serious alarm. No one, however, who extends his view beyond the immediate past can fail to perceive that the calamity has had its origin in the seasons; and that consequently all that is really regrettable in the recent vicissitudes exhibited by Irish agriculture may be regarded as at once inevitable and transient. It is true, indeed, that not only the produce, but the area under crops, has been diminished since 1859—a fact which cannot be ascribed to the seasons. But this is merely the result of the tendency to pastoral farming, to which we have adverted, and which is, in truth, one of the hopeful symptoms of the case, showing, as it does, that Irish agriculture is at length finding its natural *rôle*. It is true also that in the years under review this conversion of tillage into pasture has not been accompanied with what would undoubtedly have been a more satisfactory indication of the tendency in question —an increase in the value of live stock. On the contrary, the value of live stock has in these three years sensibly declined; but this is distinctly traceable to the seasons. 'The decrease 'of stock,' says the Irish Registrar-General, (and the statement will be confirmed by every practical Irish farmer,) 'was caused 'by the last four unfavourable years — first, by the great

'drought of 1859, and its effect, the *hay-famine;* and next by 'the excessive rains of 1860, 1861, and 1862.'* The sinister features of the recent returns, therefore, resolve themselves into one or other of these explanations—either they are steps in the transition of Irish agriculture from an artificial and precarious to a natural and solid system; or they are the results of causes over which man has no control.

That this, and no other, is the true explanation of the phenomenon of the recent Irish distress, even if it were not established by direct evidence, must be apparent to the least candid inquirer who extends his survey beyond the last group of unfavourable years. There is no single element of national well-being in which the position of Ireland at the present time does not contrast favourably with that which she occupied in the period before the famine. Whatever changes may have taken place in the proportion in which the several products have been raised from the soil, as to the aggregate result there can be no question. The area of arable land in the country has since 1841 been enlarged by two million acres. In the value of live stock, the estimated increase for the same period is forty-three per cent., an estimate, however, which—making no allowance either for the augmented weight on an average of each animal, or for the advance in price in proportion to the weight—falls consequently far short of the reality.† Taking

* 'The cattle of any year,' says Mr. Randal McDonnell, in a paper in which the recent agricultural statistics are analysed with much acuteness, 'have plainly to depend, like men, for their subsist-'ence on the produce of the year before. . . . The number of 'any breeder's stock in the beginning of any winter will mainly 'depend on whether or not the past year has supplied him, first, 'with a good supply of hay, mangel, and turnips; and, secondly, 'whether or not its returns have been abundant enough to supply 'him with the means of replenishing his stables, styes, and cow-'house. . . . To cite a single instance, the most astonishing 'increase in the value of live-stock took place, as I have mentioned, 'in 1859. It exceeded a million sterling; and, accordingly, we find '1858 to have been a year of great returns to farmers. . . . The 'same explanation applies with even greater force to the falling off 'in stock in 1861; for 1860, though its hay crop was excellent, was 'a year of great loss to farmers, and the potato crop alone was less 'than the diminished crop of the year before by upwards of a million 'and a half tons. . . . I regret to have to add that 1861 was 'even to a greater extent a year of failure, and that we may there-'fore anticipate even a further collapse in the returns of cattle for 'this year.' (*Dublin Statistical Journal*, December 1862.)—An anticipation which has been only too fully realised.

† 'It has been estimated that the average weight of Irish horned

these circumstances into account, the actual value of the live stock of Ireland at the present moment cannot be far, if at all, short of double what it was in that halcyon time from which our patriots assure us we have so vastly retrograded; and if from agriculture we pass to other departments of the national economy, we shall find the true direction of our course not less decisively marked. For example, the amount of Government stock held by Irishmen has increased since 1841 by twenty-two per cent.; and, as has been pertinently remarked by Judge Longfield, the number of fundholders has increased in even a greater proportion than the amount of stock, showing that a more equal distribution of wealth advances *pari passu* with its augmentation. It is indeed true that a national debt is not an element of national wealth; but, this notwithstanding, an increase in the amount of national stock held by a portion of a nation, while the whole debt has not been enlarged in a corresponding degree, does indicate that the wealth of that portion has been augmented. In railway property, again, there are analogous indications. In the first instance Irish railways were constructed, for the most part, with English capital; but, says Judge Longfield, 'In the transfers of stock that daily take 'place, the chief purchasers are Irish, so that Irish railways are 'becoming the almost exclusive property of Irish proprietors' —a statement which receives corroboration from a table since furnished by the Directors of the Great Southern Railway, in which are shown the changes which, since 1847, have taken place in the proprietary of that line.* The same moral is conveyed in the returns of the Irish banks. Since 1840 the aggregate of private deposits in Irish banks has been more than doubled. This may, indeed, in some degree be due to the altered pecuniary habits of the people; but then the note circulation has also increased.† Now, the expansion of the aggregate monetary medium can only be due to an augmentation in the amount of the transactions for effecting which it is required. If we interrogate the customs and excise, the burden of the answer is the same. The duties on those branches of revenue have increased in ten years from 3,384,000*l.* to 5,286,000*l.*

cattle sold in the London market rose from 640 lbs. in 1839, to 736 lbs. in 1860. The price of prime beef in the Christmas market in Dublin in 1844, was about 45*s.* per cwt.; in 1860 it was above 60*s.* per cwt. The effect of these two causes together will raise the average value of cattle from 6*l.* 10*s.*, assumed by the Census Commissioners of 1841, to nearly 10*l.*' (*Hancock's Report, &c.* p. 43.)

* Hancock's Report, &c., p. 55. † *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51, 58.

Lastly, the progress of Ireland is denoted by what is the surest and most satisfactory test of all—an advance in the wages of common labour. As compared with the period before the famine, the increase up to 1861 had been not less, in the opinion of good judges considerably more, than from 25 to 80 per cent.; 'the greatest increase having taken place in those 'districts in which the greatest wretchedness had previously 'prevailed.'* Since that time the condition of the labourer in the south and west, in consequence of the depression of agriculture from the causes indicated, has, it is probable, somewhat deteriorated. But such fluctuations are inevitable. Notwithstanding the recent recoil of the wave, the reality of the advance, when we compare the present with some twenty years ago, is placed beyond all cavil.

We have endeavoured to trace the character of the social and industrial ordeal through which Ireland is now passing, and to indicate in a general way the kind of agricultural economy now taking form in that country under the influence of the agencies which are moulding its history. In the main it seems to us that this economy tends to an assimilation with the agricultural system of Great Britain; the chief point of difference being (in our view a difference by no means to be regretted) that in Ireland the ordinary rule of capitalist farmers renting their farms from the owner of the soil promises to be somewhat extensively varied by the presence of cultivating proprietors. This, we say, seems to us to be the goal towards which Ireland is moving. That the goal is yet far distant—with conacre still largely prevalent in many districts, with 40,000 holdings still existing of not more than an acre in extent, and with such facts occasionally cropping up as the remission by a landlord to his tenants of arrears to the extent of 2,000*l.* in a single sum†—is, indeed, but too sadly evident. For the purposes of legislation, however, a knowledge of the direction of a nation's course is not less important than a just

* Address of Judge Longfield in the 'Social Science Transactions,' 1861, p. 109.

† A statement that he had remitted arrears to this amount was made by the Rev. Richard Jones Hobson in the recent case of White *v.* Gill, tried in the Irish Exchequer Court. Transactions of this kind prove one of two things; either that there has been the grossest and most culpable remissness in dealing with tenants, or that the property on which those wholesale remissions are necessary has been rackrented beyond the limits within which payment of rent is possible. The Rev. Richard Jones Hobson, however, apparently regarded the transaction as creditable to his character as a landlord.

estimate of its actual condition; and we shall, therefore,—with the indications which we have now obtained of the destined future of Ireland—be in a better position to appreciate the schemes which are brought forward for her amelioration. These legislative schemes have been discussed with much warmth and ability in Ireland by Professor Ingram and others; but our limits compel us to dismiss them with a few observations.

While Ireland remained in the hands of an embarrassed proprietary, surrounded by a pauper peasantry competing for land as for dear life, and led astray by protective laws, there was, in our opinion, much need for legislation, and for legislation of a sterner character than any scheme which can now be thought of. Such economic conditions as those might, in our opinion, have formed a justification for measures such as Stein and Hardenberg applied with success to a not more disastrous condition of things. But such conditions either exist no longer in Ireland, or, where they exist, are passing away. 'Ireland,' says Mr. Mill—twenty years ago the strenuous advocate of radical territorial reform—'is not now in a condition to require what are called heroic re-'medies.' These, too long postponed by parliaments, nature has herself at length applied with vigorous hand. What is now asked for is not 'heroic remedies,' but legislation of a tamer sort—legislation, which, stopping short of fixing once for all the terms of tenure, limits its aims to controlling contracts and appraising improvements. We confess we are utterly without faith in schemes of this kind—schemes which, it seems to us, resolve themselves into attempts at fusing together incompatible systems. Let the law once for all define our positions, or let us be permitted to ascertain them for ourselves. Let us have a *régime* of 'status,' or one of 'contract.' But abandon the attempt at once to trust to our economic instincts, and at the same time to hamper our free action. In the same degree in which you succeed in the latter object, you will frustrate the former. It is more than probable, however, that legislation of this kind, be its provisions never so stringent, would, as in all its essays has heretofore happened, fail in practice; but, should it be otherwise, should a landlord and tenant bill ever become a working law, we confess for our part we can look for no other effect from it than this—the flinging of Ireland into a vortex of litigation, from which will emerge universal uncertainty in dealings with land, mutual exasperation between owners and cultivators, and, as the final result, a rekindling of the embers of a now happily expiring social war.

It is, above all, in the formation of an enlightened public opinion to which owners and cultivators alike might appeal, that

we would seek for the remedy against that insecurity of tenure which is so much deplored. But it is a mistake to suppose that want of security for outlay forms the sole—we question indeed if it forms the chief—impediment at present to agricultural progress in Ireland. We beg to call the attention of tenant-righters to this fact, which they will find attested by those who know Ireland best, that among the worst cultivated lands in the country are farms held on long leases at a low rent. Here is security for investment, but improvement nevertheless does not take place. What is the explanation? It is doubtless to be found in the influence of prevalent ideas even upon those who are exempt from the conditions of life which have generated those ideas. The tenant-farmer with a good interest in his land lives in a neighbourhood where certain notions and practices as to cultivation prevail. He mixes in business and in social intercourse with those engaged in the same occupation, and it never occurs to him to aspire to a higher standard in the management of his farm than that which he finds obtaining among his friends and neighbours around him. For the removal of such obstructions we need not say that moral influences are the proper means. In this case, then, no less than in the other, it is on the progress of general enlightenment, and—as its result—on the growth of a healthy public opinion, that we are disposed to rely for the removal of the most serious evils which now impede the prosperity of Ireland. Let our reformers turn their efforts in this direction—to the educating of a sound public opinion on the subject of land tenure—and we doubt not they will ere long find themselves in possession of an agency more deep-reaching and fruitful of good than any with which the wisdom of Parliament can supply them.

No. CCXLIV. will be published in April.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1864.

No. CCXLIV.

ART. I. — *Selections from the Diaries and Commonplace Books of a deceased Lady of Quality.* London: 1864.

In one of Hazlitt's essays there are some remarks on the 'conversation of lords,' which, understood with fitting restrictions, indicate one undeniable advantage enjoyed or easily attainable by persons of rank, fortune, and position, acquired or inherited. They have commonly, he says, travelled largely; they have visited the historic sites; they have seen the most famous pictures, statues, buildings, and other objects of art; they have mixed familiarly with political, literary, and social celebrities, with the renowned statesmen, warriors, orators, and authors of their day; and they must be singularly deficient in perception or memory if they have not carried off some noteworthy facts or interesting impressions. These, accurately recorded, gain value by time, and eventually turn out precious aids to history. The light gossip of one generation becomes the solid instruction of the next; and it is not necessary to be a Saint-Simon or a Horace Walpole in order to keep a diary or commonplace book that shall be read with entertainment and profit, when the scenes and personages which contributed the principal materials have passed away. Nor do we insist on positive novelty or entire originality. A fresh and well-authenticated version of a popular anecdote is seldom without its price.

An apt example is afforded by these 'Diaries and Common-'place Books of a deceased Lady of Quality;' a pseudonyme not attempted to be sustained beyond the title-page. The lady in question was the late Miss Williams Wynn, daughter of Sir

Watkin Williams Wynn (the fourth baronet) and Lady Charlotte Grenville, daughter of George Grenville (First Lord of the Treasury 1763–1765) and the Countess Temple. Miss Wynn was consequently the niece of Earl Temple (first Marquis of Buckingham), Lord Grenville, and the Right Honourable T. Grenville; sister of the Right Honourable Charles Wynn and the Right Honourable Sir Henry Wynn (English Minister at Copenhagen); besides being nearly related by blood or marriage to successive Dukes of Buckingham, Earls Fortescue, Lords Carysfort, Lords Braybrooke, Lords Delamere, Lord Nugent, and the Shipleys, Bishop and Dean of St. Asaph. We learn from those who knew her well that she was distinguished by her literary taste and acquirements, as well as highly esteemed for the uprightness of her character, the excellence of her understanding, and the kindness of her heart; and it was publicly announced some time since that her journals and commonplace-books, carefully kept during a long life passed in the best society, were full of interesting anecdotes and curious extracts from rare books and manuscripts. On her death in 1857, they came into the possession of the Honourable Mrs. Rowley, under whose sanction the 'Selections' before us have been compiled. They do not contain a sentence of what can fairly be called scandal, nor one at which any person can reasonably take offence.

When Miss Wynn first resolved on analysing and preserving her impressions of remarkable people and events, it seems to have been no part of her plan to keep a regular journal. Writing exclusively for her own amusement or satisfaction, she made no entry except when she had something she thought worth commemorating; and it is only by conjecture or inference that we can fix approximatively the precise period from which she starts.

'I have often thought, in reading Lord Orford's Reminiscences, that almost anybody might make, by writing down theirs, a book which would at least be sure of giving entertainment to the *writer* when the recollections it records become less vivid. Upon that hint I write; and first I mean to record those sights which are gone and past, and which never can greet my eyes again. Without ever having read Lavater or anyone else who has written on Physiognomy, I have, as most people probably have, delight in tracing character in countenance, and therefore there are few recollections I love better than those of the faces of the great men whom I have seen at various periods. I can laugh now at the recollection of my excessive disappointment in the first great man I remember seeing—in society at least. I was about sixteen or seventeen, when, at Dropmore—where I was with Lord and Lady Grenville only—Mr. Pitt arrived

for a visit of two days. First, I was disappointed in that turned-up nose, and in that countenance in which it was so impossible to find any indication of the mind, and in that person which was so deficient in dignity, that he had hardly the air of a gentleman. After this first disappointment my every faculty seemed to me to be absorbed in listening. If not tropes, I fully expected the dictums of wisdom, each time that he opened his mouth. From what I then heard and saw, I should say that mouth was made for eating; as to speaking, there was very little, and that little was totally uninteresting to me, and I believe would have been so to everybody. I was certainly not capable of a very accurate judgment, but I was as certainly in a mood very much to overrate instead of underrating what fell from the great man, and to be quite sure that what I did not understand must be mighty fine.

'On the second day arrived Lord Wellesley, whom I thought very agreeable; partly, I fancy, from his high-bred manners, and still more from his occasionally saying a few words to *me*, and thus making me feel treated as a reasonable creature. After we had retired for the night, I heard from the library, which was under my room, the most extraordinary noises—barking, mewing, hissing, howling, interspersed with violent shouts of laughter. I settled that the servants had come into the room, and had got drunk and riotous; and I turned to sleep when the noise had ceased. Never can I forget my dismay (it was more than astonishment) when next day, at breakfast, I heard that my wise uncle and his two wise guests, whom we had left talking, as I supposed, of the fate of Europe, had spyed in the room a little bird: they did not wish it to be shut up there all night; therefore, after having opened every window, these great wise men tried every variety of noise they could make to frighten out the poor bird.'

'I embarked for India,' writes Lord Wellesley in a published letter, 'in the month of November 1797, and I returned to 'England in January 1806.' He found Pitt dying; and their meeting at Dropmore was probably during the visit mentioned in his letter to the Marquis of Buckingham of April 20, 1797; 'I received your very kind affectionate letter last night at 'Dropmore, where I had been for a few days.' Miss Wynn must have been about sixteen or seventeen, or perhaps a little older, in 1797.

'At a later period—in the year 1805—I found myself for nearly a week at Stowe, with Mr. Fox, but as there were above fifty others in the house, with the Prince Regent at their head, the whole thing was a formal crowd, and I could only gaze at the countenance of the one whom I should most have liked to hear talk. Certainly in this mixed society he hardly ever was heard to speak, but occasionally, with some one individual, one saw him entering into an animated whispered conversation, and it was curious to watch the sudden illumination of a countenance which, when he was silent, had to my

fancy a heavy, sullen look. How far it might even then have been altered by malady, I cannot judge; but I know that the next time I beheld Mr. Fox, not six months after, at Lord Melville's trial, I thought I never had seen the ravages of illness so strongly marked in any human countenance. All its animation had disappeared; the leaden eyes were almost lost under the heavy eyebrow; even that appeared to partake in the extraordinary change which all the colouring seemed to have undergone; the pallid or rather livid hue of the complexion deepened the sable hue of the dark brow, and the whole countenance assumed a lethargic expression. He lived scarcely three months after the time I mention.

'In my recollection, no person appears to have possessed the power of making conversation delightful as much as Mr. Windham. His peculiar charm seems to me to have been that sort of gay openness which I should call the very reverse of what the French term *morgue*. To *all* this must be agreeable, and it is peculiarly delightful to a young person who is deeply conscious of her own inferiority to the person who condescends to put her perfectly at ease.

'During the party at Stowe, to which I have alluded, I found myself embarked for the morning's, or rather day's, amusement, in a carriage with Lady King, Lord Braybrooke, and Mr. Windham; my mother was in some other carriage; my two sisters in a third. When we all met in our own rooms, they with one accord voted they were a little tired and very much bored; I, though much more liable to both these complaints than any of the party, could only say I had been highly amused the whole day. The fact was, they had no Mr. Windham to listen to, and I had; and yet, truth to say, when I was asked how he had contrived to amuse me so much, I had very little to tell even then; and now after so many years that little has passed away.

'I do recollect, however, one singular circumstance. "Junius" happened to be mentioned, and on that old subject Mr. Windham ventured what was to me, at least, a quite new guess. Gibbon was the person he mentioned as the only man of high talents living at that period in obscurity, which might effectually have concealed him. Soon afterwards I mentioned this conjecture to Charles (the late Right Hon. Charles Wynn), whose accurate memory immediately produced a proof of its fallacy. He said, "I cannot help thinking that, at the period of the publication of 'Junius,' Gibbon was not in England." Upon referring to the letters of Gibbon, it proved that he was in Switzerland during the greater part, if not the whole, of the appearance of "Junius." It seems most singular that Mr. Windham should ever mention a conjecture which he had not brought to this most obvious test.'

These impressions strike us to be correct in the main, and their girlish freshness and frankness would be their recommendation if they were less so. A man can no more expect to be a hero to a young lady than to his valet-de-chambre, unless he is good-looking or condescends to talk to her. Perhaps the

second of these alternatives is the more essential of the two; and the flattering reminiscence retained by the old semi-fabulous Countess of Desmond of Richard III. has been plausibly accounted for on the hypothesis, that he chose her for his partner at the court ball at which she saw him. Pitt, a good-looking man when Gainsborough painted him, acquired prematurely a worn look; and Fox's was never one of those faces which 'limners love to paint and ladies to look upon.' In the description of Windham, as leaving simply a general impression of intelligence and agreeability, we recognise the *beau-idéal* of a cultivated companion in a drive or walk, who, neither making nor calling for any strong effort of the memory or understanding, keeps the mind pleasantly occupied without fatiguing it.

If Miss Wynn and her brother convinced themselves by referring to the letters of Gibbon that he was in Switzerland during the publication of 'Junius,' they must have been under a mistaken impression as to the date of that publication; which began in January 1769, and ended in January 1772. Gibbon was in England during the whole of that period; but until after the death of his father in 1770, he had little or no acquaintance with public men or practical politics; and the account he gives of his pursuits and state of mind in his Memoirs conclusively shows that he was not, and could not have been, 'Junius.' Whilst on this topic, we may as well pass on to a subsequent entry regarding it.

'*January*, 1837.—I have had a great deal of conversation with Lord Braybrooke on the old subject of "Junius." I see he puts little faith in the promised revelation of the mystery by the Duke of Buckingham*; and I may as well, before I proceed, write all I remember of what the Duke told me some five or six years ago. He said that examining some papers of our grandfather (George Grenville), he found a letter which entirely cleared the matter; that he had immediately written this to Lord Grenville, and had offered to exchange his secret information for that which he had always understood was in my uncle's possession. No answer was returned, and the Duke said that, as it was evident that Lord Grenville did not wish for any communication on the subject, he thought it more delicate towards him not to make it to any one as long as he lived.

'Four years have now elapsed since the death of Lord Grenville,

* The first duke. The chiefs of the Grenville family and possessors of Stowe succeed each other thus: 1. Earl Temple (son of George Grenville and the Countess Temple) died 1779; 2. Earl Temple, created Marquis of Buckingham, died 1813; 3. Marquis of Buckingham, created Duke in 1822, died 1839; 4. Second Duke, died 1861; 5. Third Duke, now living.

and nothing is made known on the subject of "Junius." Whether the Duke is still restrained by delicacy towards my dear surviving uncle (the Right Honourable T. Grenville)—whether subsequent discoveries have cast a doubt upon that which he considered so positive—I of course know not. At the time when he told the above to Lady Delamere and me, he was in a very communicative humour, allowed us to question, and promised to refuse to answer unless he could reply truly. He said that "Junius" *was not any one of the persons to whom the letters have been ascribed:* that, from the situation in which he found the paper in question, he had every reason to believe that his father had never read it. I know that, very soon after my uncle's (Earl Temple) death, he told Charles that he had found a private letter from "Junius" to my grandfather. Nugent (Lord Nugent), I understand, was with him when the paper was found: indeed, I believe was the first to open it, and of course partakes in the secret.

'The impression left upon the mind of my sister (Lady Delamere) by this conversation was, that Lord Temple was the man. If so, he must have had an amanuensis in the secret; for the hand of a Secretary of State must have been too well known in all its manner not to have been discovered. The same objection has been made to the supposition of Lord Chatham, and has been removed by a conjecture that the letters were transcribed by Lady Chatham. From all that I have been used to hear of *little* Lady Temple—thought so *very little* by all the younger members of *his* family—I am inclined to think that the same conjecture could not apply to her; that her's was not the pen of a ready writer; that in her orthography, even, she was (according to the fashion of that day) very deficient. . . . .

'Lord Braybrooke conceives the pretensions of Sir P. Francis as being better supported than those of any other of the candidates for the authorship. In support of this assertion he told me a singular story. (Here follows the story of the verses addressed by Francis to Mrs. King, already printed.)

'Lord Braybrooke told me that there was a moment when he expected some very interesting information on this subject. The present king (William the Fourth) giving him a message of apology to Lord Grenville for having driven, by a mistake of the coachman, close to the house at Dropmore, began talking about my uncle's supposed knowledge of the secret of "Junius," and added, "I will tell you what my father said one day to me upon this subject. He was, after every attempt to discover the secret, quite as much in the dark as any of his subjects, but he added, 'I will tell you, my son, now that you are grown up and can understand them, what are my conjectures upon the question.'" One can imagine the anxious curiosity of Lord Braybrooke at this preface, and his extreme disappointment at the conclusion: "I am convinced that it cannot be the work of any *one* person, and that several were concerned." * Now, setting

* This is hardly reconcilable with a statement attributed to George III. soon after the cessation of the letters, that 'Junius would 'write no more.'

aside the evidence of unity of style and purpose which is strong against this supposition, it would make the mystery even more wonderful than it has appeared—indeed, one may say impossible.

'Lord Braybrooke told the King an anecdote connected with this, though perhaps not much to the purpose. Lady Holland, in one of her imperious moods, made Rogers go to Sir P. Francis to pump him upon the question of authorship. Her unwilling angry ambassador returned, and was of course very closely questioned; he was sulky, and to the leading "Come, tell me what you have discovered?" replied, "I have found out that Francis is Junius—Brutus." Lord Braybrooke said that it was quite evident to him that the merit (such as it was) of the reply was quite lost upon King William, whose acquaintance with Junius Brutus, if it ever existed, was quite lost.

'This forgetfulness, strange as it is, is perhaps less so than that of Lord E. [Euston?]. A few days after the publication of Woodfall's "Junius," Nugent, seeing it on the table of the Duke of Grafton, turned to Lord E. and said, "It is an odd coincidence to see this book for the first time in this house." Lord E. stared, and asked "Why should it not be here?"'

We ourselves have more than once heard the late Duke of Buckingham, the second Duke, make a statement touching 'Junius' to nearly the same effect as his father's, subsequently to the publication of the third volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' edited by Mr. W. J. Smith, in 1853. That volume contains three private letters to Mr. Grenville, pronounced by Mr. Smith to be 'unquestionably in the handwriting of Junius.' They were found at Stowe, labelled and tied up with other papers, in 1827. They all purport to be written in 1768, before the adoption of the renowned pseudonyme by the supposed writer. Two are signed with the initial 'C.' and one has no signature.

All three agree in professing a deep attachment to Mr. Grenville, personally and politically. The first concludes: 'The only 'condition which I presume to make with you is, that you will 'not only not show these papers to anybody, but that you will 'never mention ever having received them.' In the second, it is said: 'Be assured that he (the writer) is a man quite un-'known and unconnected. He has attached himself to *your* 'cause, and to *you* alone, upon motives, which, if he were of 'consequence enough, to his judgment, would be thought as 'honourable to you as they are truly satisfactory to himself. 'At a proper time he will solicit the honour of being known to 'you; he has present important reasons for wishing to be con-'cealed.' In the third, alluding to the letters signed 'Atticus,' he says: 'The town is curious to know the author. Everybody 'guesses; some are quite certain; and all are mistaken. Some 'who bear your character, give it to the Rockinghams (a

'policy I do not understand), and Mr. Bourke (*sic*) denies it, 'as he would a fact which he wished to have believed. It may 'be proper to assure you that no man living knows or even 'suspects the author.'

These *three* letters were found together by the former librarian and Mr. Smith, no other person being present. Was the first Duke of Buckingham referring to these, or one of these, when he attached so much importance to *the* paper found by himself? How came he to state so positively that 'Junius was 'not any one of the persons to whom the letters have been as-'cribed?' Could the second Duke have been likewise referring to them when he boasted of peculiar knowledge subsequently to their publication? At all events, the language and conduct of the Grenvilles give additional plausibility to Mr. W. J. Smith's ingenious argument for fixing the authorship on Earl Temple, who had already been started as a candidate in a transatlantic Essay.* Mr. Smith assumes, for the purposes of this theory, that they were copied by Lady Temple, 'little Lady Temple,' of whom, according to Miss Wynn, the family thought so slightingly. Be her intellectual calibre what it might, the lithographed specimens of her handwriting, given by Mr. Smith, bear a striking resemblance to that of 'Junius'†; what is more, they manifest such a command of the pen as would obviously be required to produce the manuscript letters received by Woodfall, which are in a free, bold, clear, and even graceful character.

So long as respectable competitors can keep the field, and are upheld by men of learning and ability, the question must be considered an open one; although Lord Macaulay deliberately declared that the evidence for (or against) Francis is 'such as would support a verdict in a civil, nay, 'in a criminal proceeding.' Lord Campbell agreed with him; and cited in confirmation a letter to himself from Lady Francis, the widow, proving certainly that her husband wished to impress on her the belief in his identity with 'Junius'; that he had succeeded in so doing, and that he was intensely anxious to diffuse that belief amongst posterity. 'His first gift after 'our marriage was an edition of "Junius," which he bid me take 'to my room, and not let it be seen, or speak on the subject; 'and his posthumous present, which his son found in his

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* 'Letters on Junius.' By Isaac Newhall. Boston: 1831.

† See the Essay prefixed to the third volume of the Grenville Letters.

'bureau, was "Junius Identified" sealed up and directed to 'me.' Surely the genuine Junius, anxious for posthumous immortality in his real name, might have settled the controversy by more conclusive evidence of some sort. It would have been more to the purpose to have sealed up and bequeathed the 'set 'bound in vellum, gilt and lettered,' which, along with 'two 'sets in blue and paper covers,' he required and received from Woodfall as 'the only fee he should ever desire of him.'

In reference to the Junius Brutus story, Rogers himself positively states, in his 'Table Talk,' p. 273, that the question was put to Francis, not by himself, but by Lady Holland in his presence. The answer was, 'Madam, do you mean to in-'sult me?' So, too, Scrope Davies, who was intimate with Francis, once began: 'Sir Philip, will you allow me to put a 'question to you?' 'At your peril, Sir,' was the reply. The addition of Brutus was a subsequent invention, Moore says, of the newspapers. In the 'Dedication to the British Nation' Junius says, 'I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it 'shall perish with me.' He has apparently done his best to keep his word.

The sudden transition from the political to the actual stage or drama may sound startling in our time; but it would have seemed quite natural to the contemporaries of Garrick and the Kembles, when the great actors divided the public interest with the leaders of parties and the magnates of intellect. Dr. Doran positively asserts that, one evening during the Betty fever, the House of Commons, on the motion of Pitt, adjourned and went down to the theatre to see the young Roscius. Sir Walter Scott's letters abound in allusions to the acting drama; and we learn from Lord Byron's how much he delighted in the discharge of the duties which his position in the managing committee of Drury Lane flung upon him. The playgoers of their day—comprising the bulk of the cultivated classes—discussed the question of a new part, or the original conception of an old one, as eagerly as a new poem or a maiden speech. They defined, compared, analysed, and did their best to base their judgments on the sound principles of art. We are, therefore, not surprised to find the diarist passing, after a brief interval also occupied by historic personages, from the celebrities of St. Stephen's and St. James's to those of Covent Garden and Drury Lane.

'Nothing appears to me more difficult than even to preserve an idea of the pleasure one has derived from good acting. I am quite convinced no description can give the least idea of that which one has not seen. After having heard and read so much as I have of

Garrick, I have often looked at the picture in St. James' Square* and fancied I had some idea of him, but then, when I saw Mr. Angerstein's picture of Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy, I found it so different that all my ideas were overturned.

'I certainly recollect Miss Farren on the stage, and remember very clearly her taking leave of it, but nothing remains upon my mind which would lead me from my own knowledge to say that she was an excellent actress. I know I was told so, but in the part of Lady Teazle, in which I saw her frequently, I could not point out one prominent part, which has left on my mind an impression of excellence. Perhaps the absence of prominent parts may, to a certain degree, be considered as the characteristic of that never-failing elegance and ease which marked her performance. Perhaps, too, it is just the sort of excellence which is the least likely to strike and captivate the imagination of a very young person. I recollect *not* the admirable acting in the famous screen scene, *but* the circumstance of seeing Lord Derby leaving his private box to creep to her behind the screen; and of course we all looked with impatience for the discovery, hoping the screen would fall a little too soon and show to the audience Lord Derby as well as Lady Teazle.'

Dr. Doran states that Miss Farren took her final leave of the stage in Lady Teazle on the 8th of April 1797, and was married to Lord Derby on the May Day following, his countess having died on the 14th of the preceding March. In allusion to the Earl's attachment to the actress, Horace Walpole writes to Miss Berry in 1791: 'I have had no letter from you these ten days, 'though the east wind has been as constant as Lord Derby.'

It may prove a useful warning to critics, and a timely encouragement to aspirants, to learn (as they may learn from the next extracts) that persons of clear discernment and cultivated taste, who actually gazed on the great luminaries, saw specks in what we are apt to suppose a blaze of unsullied brightness.

'Mrs. Siddons, in her prime, is certainly a bright recollection, but I did not feel for her acting quite the enthusiasm that most people profess. It was too artificial for my taste; her attitudes were fine and graceful, but they always seemed to me the result of study; not like Miss O'Neil, who always was graceful merely because she could not help it—because it was impossible to throw those beautifully-formed limbs, and especially that neck, into any position that was not beautiful. At the same time I must say, in Isabella and in Jane Shore, Miss O'Neil struck me as very inferior indeed to Mrs. Siddons. She never excited that deep thrill of horror which made my blood tingle at my fingers' ends. I was melancholy, and that was all.

'Miss O'Neil had sense enough to refuse the character of Lady Macbeth, conscious that her powers were inadequate to it. I never saw Mrs. Siddons with a good Macbeth, for Kemble I never reckoned

* No. 18, the townhouse of Sir Watkin Wynn.

tolerable, nor did I feel I knew what the character was till I heard Mrs. Siddons read the play. Certainly in that reading some speeches of Macbeth's, and almost the whole of the witches', were the parts that struck me most. Probably Lady Macbeth, however excellent, had by frequent repetition lost some of her power, certainly in that part Mrs. Siddons could no longer surprise me. Yes, she did though. I looked with impatience for the grand sleep-walking scene, and thought I would take advantage of my position, which was very near her, to watch the fine, fixed glassy glare which she contrived to give to her eyes. Alas! that was quite gone: whether the diminution of the natural fire of the eye prevented this effect, or whether the muscles were grown less flexible from age and want of constant practice, I know not, but I feel quite certain of the fact. It struck me when I saw her once more, in one of her frequent re-appearances, act Lady Macbeth on the opera stage. Then, my pleasure in seeing her was increased by my delight in watching the effect she produced on the very eloquent though plain countenance of Madame de Staël, who sate in the stage-box, literally wrapt up in the performance.

'Mr. Greathead, who has been in the habit of hearing Mrs. Siddons read Macbeth, even (he said) *from the period of her being his mother's maid before she had appeared on any stage* up to the present moment, told me he was struck with a great difference in her manner of reading the witches' scenes after the appearance of "Guy Mannering." He said it was quite clear to him that Meg Merriless had explained to Mrs. Siddons Shakspeare's idea in the witches. This he told me upon my observing with delight upon their totally altered appearance on Drury Lane Theatre, which I ascribed to the same cause. I consider this as one of the most singular and at the same time the most glorious triumphs of the genius of the Great Unknown, as it is now the fashion to call him.

'I can hardly conceive anything finer than the expression which Mrs. Siddons gave to the simple reply, "*a deed without a name.*" It seemed full of all the guilty dread belonging to witchcraft, and it is just this idea of guilt which seems to me so difficult to convey to *our* minds, which are so engrossed with the *folly* of the whole thing, that we do not recollect it was a *sin*.'

Mr. Greathead's incidental remark helps to throw light over a passage in the early life of Mrs. Siddons, which has (needlessly we think) scandalised her admirers and puzzled her biographers. Whilst she was playing at Wolverhampton, in 1773, as Sarah Kemble, the daughter of the manager of a strolling company, Mr. Siddons, an ex-apprentice from Birmingham, who had been playing Meadows to her Rosetta in 'Love in a 'Village,' fell in love with her. She returned his passion, which her parents were so far from favouring that one night, when he had been rather too demonstrative in its display, her mother boxed his ears behind the scenes. He left the troop; and the future Tragic Muse, equally indignant at the insult, fled

the stage and took service with a patronising great lady of the neighbourhood. What was the nature of that service? In 'The Secret History of the Stage,' quoted by Dr. Doran, it is bluntly stated that 'she hired herself as lady's maid at 10*l.* 'a year.' Mr. Thomas Campbell endeavours to shade away the apparent degradation. After mentioning that he had seen a copy of Milton which the Greatheads presented to her at this period, he suggests that this circumstance is at variance with a rumour 'often repeated, I have no doubt, from a charitable wish to 'make her early days as vulgar as possible—namely, that she 'went as a nurserymaid into the house at Guy's Cliff. Fami-'lies rarely present their nursemaids with copies of Milton's 'poetry; and, besides, there were at that time no children to be 'nursed in the Greathead family. Her station with them was 'humble but not servile, and her principal employment was to 'read to Mr. Greathead.'* The younger Greathead was then a lad of twelve or fourteen. Mrs. Siddons was married before the expiration of the year; and the brief duration of the service, taken in connexion with its somewhat romantic commencement, favours Campbell's theory. But, be this as it may, it would be impossible to associate the notion of vulgarity or degradation with Mrs. Siddons; and the fact of her having turned nurse-maid or lady's maid in a pet, would affect her memory no more than that of Coleridge is affected by his having enlisted as a private in the Dragoons.

Miss Wynn's criticisms proceed with unabated spirit:

'My delight, my astonishment, when I first saw Kean in most of his great parts, I recorded at the time, and therefore do not mention here. Miss O'Neil gave me great pleasure, but it was altogether a lighter sensation than that excited by Mrs. Siddons or Kean. There was none of that thrill which more exactly answers the idea of *pleasing pain* than anything I ever felt, and I can hardly attach any other meaning to the words. She was sometimes very affecting, always graceful, pleasing, but I think never great, and certainly never offensive. I am, upon recollection, inclined to doubt whether her scene with Lord Hastings in "Jane Shore" might not deserve the epithet of *great;* in the last scene she fell very far short of Mrs. Siddons. I could imagine a person looking at those features, which, though handsome, are certainly very deficient in expression, and asking how could that face succeed on the stage? She must have painted her eyebrows; for how could there be any expression in a face so entirely without brow as hers? I should be puzzled to answer these inquiries, but I believe both Miss O'Neil, and even Kean in a lesser degree, may be adduced as instances of expression without

* Life of Mrs. Siddons, vol. i. p. 51.

features, and may show how much feeling may be betrayed by the human frame, independent of the face.

'Still there certainly was a powerful charm in the evanescent hue of Miss O'Neil's delicate complexion. I saw her once in "Mrs. Haller" give interest to the dull scene in which Old Tobias pours forth his tedious gratitude: her rosy blushes showed how unmerited she felt every commendation bestowed on a creature so guilty. In the whole of this part she appeared to me absolute perfection; one trait of nature enchanted me. In the last scene, after having been pleased by her appearance of deep contrition, her painful consciousness of degradation, I anticipated with pain the sort of disgust which I had always experienced at the return of the jewels. The whole incident seems to me too trifling, and becomes ludicrous when Mrs. Haller, looking to see whether they are all right, makes an oration on each article: with these feelings, what was my delight when Miss O'Neil, who had kept her eyes steadily fixed on the ground and appeared really sinking into it, in taking the box from the stranger *looked* at him for the first time, and by that *look* told us more than by words how he was altered, her fears, her love, &c. &c.; in short, I looked at her face and quite forgot the jewels which, even the first time the play was ever acted, nearly made me disgrace myself by laughing in the midst of the tears and screams which Mrs. Siddons called forth.'

It is singular that the writer did not think of Rachel, whilst looking about for examples of what genius can effect without marked advantages of form or feature; for it appears that Miss Wynn had studied the French stage almost equally with the English.

'Talma has extremely delighted me; I never go to a French tragedy expecting that close and sober imitation of nature which one looks for on the English stage; one might as well look for it in the midst of opera recitative as in the jingle of rhyme. Still it is pleasure, and great pleasure too, though of a different nature. I think Talma superior to every performer I ever saw in the expression of bitter scorn, especially when it is mixed with irony. Still I think he never gave me as much pleasure on the stage as he did in Lady Charleville's drawing-room, where I heard him talk over English and French acting, express his wish to unite the merits of both, depreciate the humble accuracy with which the last mortal throes are often represented on our stage. He spoke of Kemble's Macbeth; wondered at his tameness, especially immediately after the commission of the murder; and said that his whole frame ought to have spoken of the horrid deed. Thus far everybody must have agreed with him; but when the very natural question *Qu'auriez vous fait?* was put to him, and he proceeded to act his feelings, I for one thought it most absurd because then my ideas were screwed to the pitch of Macbeth and nature. Probably I might have admired if I had been screwed up to the pitch of Oreste and French rant. Much ought to be allowed for the

superabundance of action which the French bestow on the relation of the common events of life and in ordinary conversation.

'What would I give to have been present at a scene related to me that evening by Sir J. B. Burgess! He had a few days before introduced Talma to Lady Charleville.* After a little commonplace, he (Talma) was drawn on, as if electrified by finding in her a kindred admiration of his hero, Napoleon, and related all that passed on the last memorable day of his departure from Fontainebleau. He gave the speeches of Talleyrand, of Napoleon, of a physician who acted a conspicuous part, with such an accurate imitation of their several manners that Sir James told me he felt as if he too had been present at the scene.

'This evening Talma recited to us Hamlet's soliloquy in English: he has been for so large a portion of his early life in England that *the thing was, upon the whole, much less absurd than might have been expected.* There was no very striking Gallicism, excepting the word "consû-mation."'

Was it diminished veneration for our immortal bard, or an excess of critical candour, or the sense of difficulties overcome, or the real excellence of the personation, that caused Fechter's 'Hamlet,' far from being regarded as an absurdity, to be received with such unequivocal marks of favour? The conception of the part was excellent and much of the acting admirable, but those whose enjoyment was not occasionally marred by the accent, must have had ears ill attuned to the harmony of Shakspearean verse, and small relish for the well of English undefiled.

The uncle mentioned in the next extract is Lord Grenville:—

'My uncle gave me a curious account of the introduction of Mr. Scott to the Princess. Mrs. Hayman, in sending the invitation to my uncle, added a personal request that he would come early to protect the poet (for as such only was he known), who she believed would not know any one other guest. Scott arrived late, was only presented to the Princess just before she went to dinner; at table, his place was of course far removed from hers, and little, if any, conversation took place between them. Very soon after the gentlemen came up from dinner the Princess said, "Mr. Scott, I hear you have a great collection of stories which you tell remarkably well: pray let us hear one." Without any disclaiming speeches, without hesita-

* Catherine, Countess of Charleville, wife of the first earl; a woman of many and varied accomplishments, and of masculine strength of understanding. She died at an advanced age in 1849. The translation of Voltaire's 'Pucelle,' still frequently ascribed to her in book catalogues, was always indignantly denied by her. It was executed and printed for private circulation by her second husband, the Earl of Charleville, prior to their marriage, and was not at all in her style. She delighted in refined wit and detested coarse humour.

tion, almost without delay, Scott began, "Madam, there was once," &c. &c. The story was much applauded: another was called for, and followed with equal facility. My uncle mentioned this as an extraordinary feat of self-possession and ready wit. I am certainly not inclined to doubt the extraordinary talents of Scott, but in this instance many circumstances appear to me to diminish the wonder. The trade of Scott in his character of London and Edinburgh lion was as decidedly at that period that of a teller of stories as it has since been that of a writer of novels. The tales had probably been told a hundred times, and on this occasion his friend Mrs. A. H., I doubt not, gave him a previous hint of what would be asked from him.'

Scott mentions this dinner, in a letter to Mr. George Ellis, describing his visit to London, dated April 7, 1806:—'I had 'also the honour of dining with a fair friend of yours at 'Blackheath, an honour which I shall long remember. She is 'an enchanting princess, who dwells in an enchanted palace, 'and I cannot help thinking her prince must lie under some 'malignant spell when he denies himself her society.' His popularity dates from the publication of the 'Lay of the Last 'Minstrel,' in 1805. At a later period and after a longer practice in being lionised, in 1809, he made extremely light of his own social accomplishments. 'All this is very flattering,' he would say to Mr. Morritt, 'and very civil. If people are 'amused with hearing me tell a parcel of old stories, or recite 'a pack of ballads to lovely young girls and gaping matrons, 'they are easily pleased, and a man would be very ill-natured 'who would not give pleasure so cheaply conferred.' Two years before, his absence of self-assumption was still more remarkable:—

'*April*, 1807.—Mr. Scott, the author of the Lay, told us some curious border histories. We were much pleased with the conclusion of the history of Wat Tynlin. When he was grown old and blind, one of the agents of the Lady of Branksome in her absence called upon him for the rent of a small tower which he inhabited, part of which is standing to this day. Wat, incensed, replied he never had paid rent, nor would at that age. At last he delivered his bow to the steward, and said he would pay the rent to the man who could draw that bow. The bow was certainly tried, but we will hope that the lady would never have obliged such a man to pay his rent. However, certain it is that some vain attempts were made to draw his bow, and that Wat never paid his rent.

'Mr. Scott spoke of one story (the story of Muckle Mouth Meg), which might make an excellent ballad, but he said he could not write it as to do it justice; much humour (he said)—*a quality he never possessed*—was required.'

There is a note in the Diary on this entry:—

* 'When in 1815 Scott published Paul's "Letters to his Kinsfolk," in which the attempts at humour so entirely failed, I *lamented* his having forgotten this declaration. *Now*, in 1824, when he is considered as the undoubted though unacknowledged author of so many admirable novels containing more humour than could probably be found in all the other authors of this century collected together, I wonder at his having made it. I see that when I tell this story nobody believes me, and I feel I should doubt my own recollection if the above had not been written on the very day that I saw Scott, in 1807.'

Perhaps Scott's early self-estimate, properly construed, was not altogether a mistake. He must have known that he could tell stories, and draw characters, of rich Scotch humour; but he despaired of reaching the very high standard of English humour which he had formed for himself from a careful study of the masters of the craft. He despaired (Shakespeare apart) of rivalling the grace and delicacy of Addison, the depth and playfulness of Fielding, or even the vivacious exuberance of his own countryman, Smollett; and surely no one south of the Tweed would dream of comparing the Baron of Bradwardine to Sir Roger de Coverley, Dominie Sampson to Parson Adams, Andrew Fair Service to Partridge, or Ritchie Moniplies to Strap.

A fashionable physician enjoys peculiar advantages in the collection of curious facts. He is behind the scenes at critical moments; he is slipping in and out of great houses, when stormy scenes are passing, or startling changes are in the wind; he is close at hand when the prince, statesman, or favourite, reduced by illness, is irresistibly impelled to seek relief in semi-confidence or self-laudation ending in self-betrayal. Sir Henry Halford was the *beau-idéal* of the character; and no man was more disposed to profit by his opportunities. His over-eagerness to stand well at the same time with two great party leaders, once led him into a ludicrous scrape. In the brief ministerial crisis brought about by the resignation of the Reform Ministers in May 1832, he wrote on the same day to the Duke of Wellington to congratulate him on the salvation of the Constitution from the Whigs, and to Lord Grey to condole with him on its pending destruction by the Tories, and enclosed the letters in the wrong envelopes; so that the Duke received the condolence, and Lord Grey the congratulation. In May 1810, Lord Grenville fell ill, and Mr. Fremantle writes to Earl Temple: — 'I wish 'extremely he had Baillie instead of Halford. .... I can speak 'on this subject from experience, for I was tormented even to 'torture for six months in my head constantly. Sir H. Halford attended me, and prescribed everything in his vocabulary,

'without effect. I sent for Baillie, and he relieved me in a 'week.' This advice was probably disregarded, for we find Sir Henry remaining on confidential and most communicative terms with the family, and one of the results was the conversation thus recorded:—

'*May*, 1832.—Sir Henry Halford gave us the other day some interesting particulars respecting the malady of George III. He says it is one of the characteristics of that species of insanity that, about three months after the seizure, there is a great change for the better, which sometimes ends in recovery, in other cases in a more violent return of malady; he says we shall probably hear of that change in poor Lord Dudley in about two months: whether it will be permanent or not, is more than any mortal can tell. In the case of the King, this change took place in the month of February; it was not only that *hopes* were entertained, but many of the Council were of opinion that he *was* in full possession of his faculties. On one particular day they came out saying that he had spoken so perfectly collectedly—1st, on the necessity of sending troops to America: of the persons to command: of the points to which the troops were to be sent; 2nd, of the expediency of the appointment of a vice-chancellor; of the persons best fitted for the office*, &c. &c.: that they believed him quite restored and able to resume his power. Lord Ellenborough used the words of Pilate: "I find no fault at all in that just person."

'Sir Henry said, this not being his own opinion, he felt his situation an extremely unpleasant one: well knowing the cunning of all mad persons, he was well aware that nothing but extreme vigilance would enable them to detect the delusions if they still existed. One day, when the King fancied himself surrounded by servants only, and when a medical attendant was watching unseen, he took a glass of wine and water and drank it to the health *conjugis meæ dilectissimæ Elizabethæ*, meaning Lady Pembroke. Here was a delusion clearly established and noted down immediately—the use of Latin, which was not to be understood by those whom he supposed *only* to hear him, affording a singular proof of the odd cunning of insanity.

'A few days after, Sir Henry was walking with him on the terrace, he began talking of the Lutheran religion, of its superiority to that of the Church of England, and ended with growing so vehement that he really ranted forth its praises without mentioning that which Sir Henry believes to have been the real motive of this preference—the left-handed marriages allowed. He was very anxious to see whether traces of this delusion would appear again, and went to the Duke of York to ask for information as to the tenets, practices, &c. of the Lutheran faith. The Duke said, watch him in Passion Week; if he fancies himself a Lutheran, you will see an extraordinary degree of mortification and mourning, &c. When Sir Henry returned

* This fixes the date. The first Vice-Chancellor was appointed early in 1813.

to the assembled physicians, he wrote down the substance of this conversation, and, without communicating it to anybody, requested those present to seal the paper and keep it in a chest where their notes and other papers of importance were kept under locks, of which each had a separate key. When the Monday in Passion Week arrived, and Sir Henry had nearly forgotten this conversation, he went into the King's dressing-room while he was at his toilet, and found the attendants in amazement at his having called for and put on black stockings, black waistcoat and breeches, and a grey coat with black buttons.

'It was curious to hear that his delusions assumed, like those of other madmen, the character of pride, and that a sovereign even fancied himself in a station more elevated than his own. He would sometimes fancy himself possessed of supernatural power; and when angry with any of the keepers, stamp his foot, and say he had sent them down into hell.

'It is always evident to me that, among all these royalties—among the three kings whom he has attended—Sir Henry's partiality is to the one who seems to me to deserve it least—to George the Fourth. He gave us the following account of his first introduction to his intimacy. He had never attended the Prince, and barely knew him when the last malady of George the Third declared itself. Sir Henry was aware that he was surrounded by spies from the Prince; that one whom "we well knew and would little suspect," was living at the Christopher, &c. Anxious to stop this, Sir Henry went to the Prince, and gave him the most detailed and most accurate statement of the situation of the King. The Prince expressed his gratitude, not unmixed with surprise, at his candour. Sir Henry promised that henceforth he might depend upon always having from him the most accurate information, if he would only promise not to seek it from any other source. The Prince gave the promise, and (wonderful to say) kept it. Sir Henry then went to the Queen, and told her what she had done. She, with a tremendous frown, expressed great astonishment; Sir Henry stated the obvious reasons for the step he had taken: she paused; her brow cleared: "You are quite right, Sir; it is proper that the Prince of Wales should be informed." From that moment, as he says, confidence and intimacy were renewed between mother and son.'

In connexion with what comes next, it will be borne in mind that the Princess Amelia died on November 2, 1810; and that her prolonged illness was the proximate cause of the renewal of the King's malady.

'At the period before mentioned, during the lucid intervals, Sir Henry describes himself as having had a very awkward subject to discuss with the King. The death of Princess Amelia was known to him; every day the attendants expected and dreaded questions as to her property, her will, &c.; the bequest of everything to General Fitzroy was a subject so very delicate to touch upon. The Queen dared not; Perceval and the Chancellor successively undertook the dis-

closure, and shrunk from it, imposing it on Sir Henry. Never, he says, can he forget the feelings with which, having requested some private conversation with the King, after the other physicians were gone, he was called into a window with the light falling so full on his countenance that even the poor nearly-blind King could see it. He asked whether it would be agreeable to him to hear now how Princess Amelia had disposed of her little property. "Certainly, certainly, I want to know;" with great eagerness. Sir Henry reminded him, at the beginning of his illness *he* had appointed Fitzroy to ride with her; how he had left him with her at Weymouth; how it was natural and proper that she should leave him some token for these services; that, excepting jewels, she had nothing to leave, and had bequeathed them all to him; that the Prince of Wales, thinking jewels a very inappropriate bequest for a man, had given Fitzroy a pecuniary compensation for them (his family, by the bye, always said it was very inadequate), and had distributed slight tokens to all the attendants and friends of the Princess, giving the bulk of the jewels to Princess Mary, her most constant and kindest of nurses. Upon this the poor King exclaimed: "Quite right; just like the Prince of Wales;" and no more was said.

'Sir Henry is apt to be the hero of his own stories, and to boast a degree of intimacy and confidence which I am sometimes inclined to doubt. The history of the change on the subject of the Catholic question is very curious; but I own I feel it rather difficult to believe that Sir Henry was admitted into a secret so closely kept. Be that as it may, his story is that, at the close of the session, the Duke of Wellington wrote to the King a letter, which he showed to Sir Henry, stating that he felt the time to be now arrived when the boon of emancipation could no longer be refused to Ireland; telling him that, if his objections remained unsurmountable, he must abandon the strong hold of his faith. The Coronation Oath, as an argument, which had been proved not to hold water, must not be brought forward again. This letter, Sir Henry says, produced much and very painful cogitation, and agitation enough to have roused the King from his state of indolence to very deep thought. A second letter Sir Henry saw when the King was more inclined to concession, in which the Duke requested leave to impart his intentions to two Cabinet Ministers, and to one or two of the bishops.'

George IV. was never famous for discretion, and was especially liable to the tattling tendency already hinted at in sick and solitary greatness. It is, therefore, not improbable that he told Sir Henry the substance of the Duke of Wellington's letters; and that some such letters were written is beyond a doubt.* On the 9th of August, 1828, the Duke writes to Mr. (Sir Robert) Peel:—

* The correspondence is printed in the Memoir by the late Sir Robert Peel, published since his death by the Trustees of his Papers, Lord Mahon (now Earl Stanhope) and Mr. Cardwell. Part I. 'The Roman Catholic Question,' 1828–9, pp. 180–201.

'My dear Peel,—I now send you the memorandum which I sent to the King upon the state of Ireland, the letter which I wrote to him at the same time, his answer, a memorandum upon the Roman Catholic question, &c.'

On the 13th, four days later, in reference to Mr. Peel's answer:—

'In the meantime I tell you that I have communicated your papers to the Chancellor alone; Goulburn is not in town, and I have not shown him my papers, nor done more than merely mention the subject to him. *Moreover I told the King that it should go no farther than to you and the Lord Chancellor in this stage.*'

A hasty reading of the second letter may have misled Sir Henry into the impression that the Duke had requested leave to impart his intentions to two cabinet ministers, as well as to one or two of the bishops. We need hardly say that no such leave was necessary, so far as the other cabinet ministers were concerned.

In 1823, Miss Wynn went abroad with her mother, Lady Charlotte Williams Wynn, who was intimately acquainted with the (then) Dowager Queen of Wirtemberg, *née* Princess Royal of England.

'*Stuttgard: Oct.* 1823.—In the midst of the incessant gossip of the Queen Dowager, the subject of which is almost always *herself* and *her family*, some curious grains may be collected from a quantity of useless chaff. There is no topic on which she seems to me to show such good sense as in speaking of Napoleon. I heard her say: "It was of course very painful to me to receive him with civility; but I had no choice; the least failure on my part might have been a sufficient pretence for depriving my husband and children of this kingdom. It was one of the occasions on which it was absolutely necessary to *faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu.* To me he was always perfectly civil." I have since heard that he gave her facilities for correspondence with her own family, at the time that the state of Europe would otherwise have made it nearly impossible. The Queen, who is always trying to puff off the conjugal tenderness of her husband, told my mother that he left it to her option whether she would receive Napoleon. She said: "I could not hesitate; it was my duty." I do not give her any credit for a determination so perfectly natural; few women *would*, I think, have hesitated under the same circumstances, even if the *option* given her was not an order given in a more polite form. I do give her much credit for the honest candour with which she *now* speaks of the fallen conqueror, though perfectly aware that it is very disagreeable to most of the members of her own family, and especially to the King. The Queen of Bavaria was not as wise; and upon some occasion when Napoleon was incensed at some slight from her, he said she should remember what she was but for him, *la fille d'un misérable petit Margrave*

(*Baden*), and imitate the conduct of the Queen of Wirtemberg, *la fille du plus grand Roi de la Terre.*

'The Queen said that the great preparations made in the palaces at Stuttgard Louisbourg for the reception of Napoleon were not with her approbation, and that she said to the King, "*Mon ami, vous devriez faire le pauvre au lieu d'étaler vos richesses, si vous ne voulez pas avoir de fortes contributions à payer.*" It was ridiculous enough to hear her say how, when Napoleon admired the Lyons embroidery, and said "I cannot have such at the Tuileries," she told him it was her work, adding, "God forgive me, that was a lie." When he made the same observation on some other instance of magnificence, she told him it was all done by the *Duc, mon beaupère,* and in relating this, added the same corrective. She said the manners of Napoleon were extremely *brusque,* even when he was making the civil. She had seen both Josephine and Marie Louise with him, and seems to have been less pleased with the manners of the former than most persons who saw her.

'Napoleon used to play at whist in the evening, but not for money, playing ill and inattentively. One evening when the Queen Dowager was playing with him against her husband and his daughter (the Queen of Westphalia, the wife of Jerome), the King stopped Napoleon, who was taking up a trick that belonged to them, saying, "*Sire, on ne joue pas ici en conquérant.*"

'The Queen spoke much of her father, of his recovery from his first illness; mentioned the story one has often heard of his wish to read "King Lear," which the doctors refused him, and which he got in spite of them by asking for Colman's works, in which he knew he should find the play as altered by him for the stage. This I had often heard, but the affecting sequel was quite new to me, and fatiguing as the visits to Louisbourg are, I wished I had been there to have heard it from the Queen's own mouth. When the three elder princesses went in to the King, he told them what he had been reading. He said, "It is very beautiful, very affecting, and very awful;" adding, "I am like poor Lear; but, thank God, I have no Regan, no Goneril, but three Cordelias." The Queen wept in relating this, and my mother says she felt as if she could have done the same.'

In the autumn of 1825, Miss Wynn had the good fortune to fall in with General Alava, who would bear a detailed biography far better than many who, willingly or unwillingly, have been subjected to that critical test. He was of a good Spanish family, although not of the highest rank. He first entered the navy, and had attained the rank of captain, when he was taken prisoner on board the 'Santissima Trinidad' at Trafalgar. On being liberated he gave up the naval profession for the military, and figured as an adherent of King Joseph till 1811; when, for some unexplained reason, he changed sides, and not long afterwards we find him attached to Lord Wellington's staff as Spanish Commissioner, with the rank of Bri-

gadier-General. His gallantry and coolness speedily made him a favourite with the English Commander-in-Chief; and their proximity in the hour of danger, as well as the degree of intimacy on which they stood towards each other, are amusingly illustrated by the Chaplain-General (Dr. Gleig), who, after mentioning that the Duke, at the battle of Orthes, received a severe contusion from a ball, which struck his swordguard with such violence as to throw him to the ground, adds: 'He was on his 'feet again, however, in a moment, and in a condition to laugh 'at the Spanish General, Alava, who had likewise been 'wounded almost at the same instant in that fleshy and very 'sensitive part of the body, any accident to which is apt to 'excite the mirth rather than the sympathy of lookers-on.'*

Another story runs that, on the evening of the battle of Quatre Bras, Alava found the Duke sitting on a bank with some papers on his knees: 'Oh, is that you, Alava? Were 'you at the Duchess's (of Richmond's) ball last night?' 'His 'tone and manner,' added Alava, in relating the incident, 'were enough; I felt that all would go right.'

Alava's politics were Liberal; and on his return to his own country he got into trouble by taking the losing side in 1825. He was obliged to fly from Spain for a period; and, after several alternations of fortune, we find him in England during the Reform Bill agitation, when he was suspected, perhaps unjustly, of communicating what he had heard at Walmer Castle to Earl Grey. At all events, strong differences of opinion led to a partial estrangement between him and the Duke. In 1833, he was appointed Spanish Minister to the Court of St. James's; an appointment which he retained for several years, besides being charged with a special mission to France in 1834. He died at Barèges in 1841.†

Alava talked well, and knew it. He prided himself on his excellence as a *raconteur*. His versions of remarkable incidents, moreover, are always valuable from the means of information which he undoubtedly possessed.

'*Aix-la-Chapelle: Oct. 9th.*—I am hearing from General Alava a great deal about all those of whom history will one day talk a great deal and tell much that he could contradict on personal knowledge; for instance, he was present when Cambronne was taken, and when he is said to have made the speech so often repeated, and so often commented upon, "*La Garde meurt et ne se rend pas.*" He did not

* The Life of Arthur, First Duke of Wellington, &c., p. 272.

† For further details of Alava's life, see Lord Holland's 'Foreign Reminiscences,' p. 159.; 'Larpent's Journal,' vol. iii. p. 41.; and Ed. Rev., vol. xciii. p. 160.

say this or anything else, only screamed for a surgeon to dress his wound, having quietly surrendered.'

The well-authenticated English version is, that when the French Guards fell back, Colonel Halkett, who had marked out Cambronne, dashed at him with uplifted sword, and was on the point of cutting him down, when Cambronne cried out to him to hold his hand, and surrendered. Just afterwards, Halkett's horse fell and Cambronne made an attempt to escape, but was overtaken by the Colonel, who pulled him back by the aiguillette and delivered him over to a guard of Osnabruckers.* Cambronne himself always denied the historic *mot* attributed to him, which, according to M. Fournier ('l'Esprit dans l'Histoire'), was invented by M. Rougemont, the editor of the 'Indépendant,' in which journal it originally appeared. To return to Alava:—

'He saw the famous correspondence which passed between Fouché and Carnot at the period of the restoration, when the former, as minister of police, was sending all the proscribed into exile. Carnot wrote, "*Où veux-tu que j'aille, Traître?*" Fouché replied, "*Où tu voudras, Imbécille.*"'

This story is told with slight variation in the posthumous 'Mémoires' of Fouché; but the apocryphal character of that book has hitherto led many to regard it as a mere *conte pour rire* adroitly fitted to the characters. Alava's confirmation is therefore by no means superfluous.

'I am still, (continues Miss Wynn,) after all I have heard in Majorca, astonished at the manner in which Madame de Coigny, a professed *dévote*, Alava, and the Prince Pierre d'Aremberg, talk before us heretics of their bishops, cardinals, legates, and even their popes. Alava was telling us of the legate in Spain during the reign of Charles III. He had some discussion with Aranda, then minister, and refused some boon requested for Spain, detailing with great pomp his fears lest the interests of their holy faith might suffer by such concessions. Aranda, provoked at last, said, "How can you bring forward such arguments to me, who know that you are an Atheist as well as myself?" The *pious* legate quietly replied, "*E vero, ma questo non si dice.*"

'Alava amused me in telling of the same man, the manner in which he received the often-repeated question of that fool Charles IV., who made all around him observe the striking resemblance between his son, Don Francisco de Paula, and the Prince of Peace. The sneer with which the Legate first looked at the Queen, then at Manuel, and replied, "*E vero, Sire,*" was very well described. They

* Siborne's 'History of the War in France and Belgium,' vol. ii. p. 220.

all speak of the present pope (Leo XII.) as having been *fier libertin*, and are not shy of letting you see that they consider his present austerity as mere hypocrisy. Of the late pope (Pius VII.) they speak with the veneration which his character seems to demand from all, but which is certainly not felt by the bigoted Catholics, who cannot endure his liberal ideas. They were speaking of the time that he passed in confinement at Fontainebleau. Napoleon wanted to force him to consent to measures which his conscience disapproved, and one day, tired out, said to one of his ministers (Fouché *, I believe), "Why do not you try what ill treatment can do? short of torture, I authorise you to employ every means." The reply was, "*Mais, Sire, que voulez vous que l'on fasse d'un homme qui laisse geler l'eau dans son bénitier sans se plaindre de n'avoir pas du feu dans sa chambre?*"

'One evening we talked of that extraordinary personage the Prince de Ligne, who for fourscore years had lived with every person of distinction in Europe, and who, to the last moment, preserved not only every useful faculty but wit and gaiety besides. He preserved also to the last a singular facility of versification, and was particularly fond of writing epitaphs on himself. They say that he must have written about five hundred, generally impromptus, and of course worthless.'

He was always writing about himself in prose as well as in verse. Amongst the heads of chapters in his 'Mémoires et 'mélanges' we find: 'De Moi pendant le jour,' 'De Moi pen-'dant la nuit,' 'De Moi encore,' 'Mémoire pour mon cœur,' 'Mes écarts, ou Ma tête en liberté.'

'*Apropos* Madame de Coigny told us an anecdote of that famous progress which Catherine la Grande made through the southern part of her empire, and which the Prince de Ligne has so well described. She was attended by the Ministers of the three great European Powers. They arrived at Kiow. She first asked the Austrian Cobentzel, what he thought of the town? He made a set speech on the ruins of the ancient town, contrasting them with the new buildings which she had made, and of course extracting from that part of the subject a long tirade of compliment, &c. When this oration was ended, Catherine turns to Ségur, the French Minister, "*Et vous, Monsieur, qu'en pensez vous?*" "*Madame, il me semble que Kiow offre le souvenir d'un grand empire et l'espoir d'un autre.*"† Catherine then says: "*A votre tour, Monsieur Fitzherbert* (afterwards Lord St. Helens), *qu'en dites-vous?*" "*Ma foi, Madame, je trouve que c'est le plus vilain trou que nous ayons encore vu dans notre route.*" Madame de Coigny says she has laughed at Lord St.

* In the 'Mémoires,' Fouché is made to say that Napoleon, knowing his repugnance to violent measures against the pope, never trusted him with the conduct of them.

† Kiow was the capital of the ancient empire of Muscovy.

Helens about this speech; that he replied that everything that was pretty, everything flattering, had been said, and as he could not repeat *that*, nothing remained him but the plain truth. She added, "*C'est si Anglais.*"

Ségur tells this story somewhat differently and less pointedly. The Prince de Ligne, who joined the Imperial suite at Kiow, does not mention the incident, but in his 'Portrait' of Catherine he mentions a reply of his own, rivalling that of the English diplomat in bluntness: '"Avouez," me dit-elle, en me 'montrant son nouveau palais de Moscou, "que voilà une 'magnifique enfilade." "C'est," repondis-je, "la beauté d'un 'hôpital; mais pour une résidence, c'est pitoyable."'

'I did not know, till I heard it from Alava, the exact circumstances of the first arrival of the news of the battle of Waterloo in London. It seems that one morning a partner of the house of Rothschild came to Lord Liverpool, informed him that he had a few hours before received the glorious news, or at least the bare outline; that, having made all the advantage which this exclusive knowledge could give him on the Stock Market, he now came to impart it to Government. He *would* not answer any inquiries as to the means by which he had acquired the intelligence, *could* not give any particulars, only repeated the assurances of the truth of the information. Lord Liverpool thought it cruel, on such vague foundations, to raise hopes or fears. To one of his colleagues, Vansittart (I think), who happened to come in, he told the circumstance, and they agreed to conceal it from every other human being till more was known. There was a Cabinet dinner that day at Lord Harrowby's; not one word was said respecting the news, and Lord Liverpool was returning home full of anxiety. In the street his carriage was stopped by an unknown, who, with some apology, said that he was just come from Downing Street; that a carriage with six horses dressed with laurels, French eagles, and colours hanging out of the windows, had arrived; that the glorious news was instantly spread; and that the messenger was gone to Lord Harrowby's in pursuit of him through another street from that in which he was met.

'This, I think, I heard at the time, but certainly till now never heard the thing accounted for. It seems that the Duke of Wellington, after writing his despatch home, said to Pozzo di Borgo, "Will you write to Louis XVIII. at Ghent? tell him only that Napoleon is utterly defeated: that in less than a fortnight I shall be in possession of Paris, and hope very soon after to see him reinstated. Say that excessive fatigue prevents me from writing."* A messenger was of course immediately sent off to Ghent. When he arrived, Louis and his little court happened to be assembled at

* The Duke himself wrote to this effect to Louis XVIII. on the morning of the 19th; but it is highly probable that a brief announcement of the victory was despatched at once.

breakfast in a room whose windows down to the ground were wide open. The embraces, the ejaculations, of course instantly apprised those under the windows of the arrival of good news. Among these was a spy from the house of Rothschild, who had many days been upon the watch. He no sooner heard the news than he rode post to Ostend; there, happening to find a small vessel just sailing, he embarked and got one tide before the English messenger, who arrived shortly afterwards.'

The difficulty of verifying this incident, or even of ascertaining the precise date of the arrival of the news, may be cited as an additional argument for collecting and collating contemporary testimony touching memorable events before it degenerates into hearsay or tradition. It will be remembered that, not long since, we were vainly endeavouring to decide on what day, or hour of the day, the news of the escape of Napoleon from Elba reached the Congress of Vienna, and whether the first to receive and communicate it was Prince Metternich, the Duke of Wellington, or Talleyrand.* We have found it a common belief, that the crowning victory of Waterloo was known in London on the 20th. The official intelligence did not arrive till late on the night of Wednesday the 21st; and until its arrival the Cabinet were still in complete ignorance of the fact. This may be collected from the narrative of the Knight of Kerry (the Right Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald), who, at the earnest request of Sir Pulteney Malcolm, hurried over with the news of Ligny and Quatre Bras; he started on the 18th, and did not reach London till Tuesday the 20th, at half-past 4 P.M. The Cabinet met immediately to receive and consider the intelligence, and he saw the Foreign Secretary (Lord Castlereagh) again the next morning, when he was assured that nothing was yet known of the result of the final struggle. That same day (the 21st) there was a Ministerial dinner at Lord Harrowby's in Grosvenor Square; but Lord Bathurst, who was the Colonial and War Secretary, was not at that dinner; and the despatches from the Duke, brought by Major Percy †, were addressed to him. His residence was in Mansfield Street; and after dining at home he had strolled out, restless and anxious, and thus missed the messenger; who drove first to his house, and, not finding him, went straight to Lord Harrowby's. There some difficulty occurred from the unwillingness of Major Percy to deliver his despatche

* Ed. Rev., vol. cxii. p. 235.

† The Honourable Major Percy, brother of the present Earl of Beverley. Every other officer of the Duke's personal staff was killed or wounded in the action.

to anyone but Lord Bathurst. He was at length persuaded to entrust them to Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister.

It was felt instinctively that the victory had cost dear, and eager and passionate were the inquiries pressed upon every one who had been at Lord Harrowby's, or had got speech of Major Percy. Amongst these was a gentleman, the son of a Cabinet Minister, who had gone from Lady Jersey's in Berkeley Square, at the earnest request of a distinguished party assembled there, in company with Earl Grey, and now hurried back to sadden or gladden as he could. 'Has the Duke escaped?'—'Without a scratch.' 'William and Frederic Ponsonby?'—'Both killed.'* 'Frederic Howard?'—'Killed.' 'Gordon?'—'Killed.' 'Fitzroy Somerset?'—'Lost an arm.' 'Lord Uxbridge?'—'Lost a leg.' 'Have the Guards suffered?'—'Dreadfully.' Within ten minutes the rooms were deserted; and the interlocutors had all stolen away to spread their scanty and disjointed information, or to mourn over it.

The news up to the evening of the 17th (including Ligny and Quatre Bras) was published in 'The Times' of the 21st, on the information of Mr. Sutton, proprietor of the passage vessels plying between Ostend and Colchester. It was tolerably correct as to Quatre Bras; but, by a strange coincidence, it assigned to the Prussians on the 17th the precise position which they attained by an heroic effort on the 18th. 'The Prussians having on their part approximated to the English in the course of the day (the 17th), the junction of the two armies of Blucher and Wellington was effected at Genappe, where Wellington slept on Friday night.' This recalls another historical error, which has unluckily been perpetuated by the pencil of genius on walls set apart for historic or poetic truth. In the Seventh Report of the Commission on the Fine Arts (1847), the subject recommended for the large compartment on the east side of the Royal Gallery leading to the House of Lords is: 'Waterloo: The Meeting of Wellington and Blucher.' The execution of the design was allotted to Mr. Maclise, who, after diligent inquiry, and with the full sanction of the Commission, followed the popular belief in fixing the place of meeting at La Belle Alliance. It was not until the publication of the tenth volume of the 'Supplementary Despatches,' that the Duke's personal testimony on the point was adduced. In a letter to Mr. Mudford, dated June 8th, 1816, he wrote:—

'A remarkable instance of the falsehoods, circulated through the

* Sir Frederic Ponsonby was left for dead upon the field. Sir William was killed.

evidence of unofficial despatches, is to be found in the report of a meeting between Marshal Blucher and me at La Belle Alliance, *and some have gone so far as to have seen the chair in which I sat down in the farmhouse.* It happens that the meeting took place after ten at night, at the village of Genappe, and anybody who attempts to describe with truth the operations of the different armies will see *that it could not be otherwise.*'

Captain Gronow has gone so far as to say that he was present, with other officers, at the meeting at La Belle Alliance. Confidently as the Duke writes, there are strong reasons for suspecting that he was mistaken as to the precise place. It is clear from French official accounts that the French did not abandon Genappe till past eleven; from the Prussian, that Blucher and his staff did not reach it till near midnight; and the probability is that the real place of meeting (as stated in the 'Story of Waterloo,' by Dr. Gleig) was at a farm or hamlet called *Maison du Roi* or *Maison Rouge*, some miles from the battle-field. In Mr. Maclise's picture, the signs of recent and bloody conflict are crowded into the scene with all the prodigality of inventive genius—from the ground heaped with the dying and the dead, to the shattered farm-building with the dead pigeons on the rafter. The artist's fame will, of course, rest on his treatment of the subject from his own and the popular point of view; but it is not the less to be regretted that historical accuracy should be thus set at nought without even the poor excuse of a tradition or a myth.

There is a passage in the leading article of 'The Times' of Thursday the 22nd, announcing the victory, which partially confirms the Rothschild agent story:—

'Those who attended to the operations of the Stock Exchange yesterday (21st) were persuaded that the news of the day before would be followed up by something still more brilliant and decisive. *Omnium* rose in the course of the day to 6 per cent. premium, and some houses, generally supposed to possess the best information, were among the purchasers.'

Amongst the many specimens of rich and varied conversations, that of the Lords Braybrooke merits particular notice:—

'*April*, 1810.—Looking at the fine full-length portrait of John, Duke of Marlborough, Lord Braybrooke told us some interesting and curious anecdotes of him. When this great man at a very advanced age was called to attend a council on the best mode of defence from a threatened invasion, he gave his opinion with his usual firmness and penetration. Afterwards he said that for above fifty years he had served his country, and should be happy to do so still, but that he was aware his faculties were impaired. At present, he added, he was fully conscious of his deficiency, but he feared the time might soon

come when he was no longer aware of it. He therefore made it his earnest request that he might never more be summoned to council, and that if elsewhere on any occasion he expressed an opinion, no importance should be attached to it, or deference paid to it.

'It is melancholy to reflect how low was the degradation of that mind whose decaying powers were equal to such an act of magnanimity, after having had more to gratify his vanity, first as the finest gayest man in Europe, then as its greatest general, and afterwards as its greatest negotiator and statesman; after all this in a state of complete imbecility, an absolute driveller, he was actually exhibited by his servants to all who chose to give an additional fee after having stared at all the magnificence of Blenheim. *In this manner my grandfather (then a lad just entered at Oxford) beheld the wreck of this great man, and has often described the melancholy spectacle to Lord Braybrooke.*'

This is a striking commentary on Pope's well-known line—

'From Marlborough's eyes the streams of dotage flow.'

It is the plausible theory of an eminent ultra-liberal politician that great men should never be consulted or listened to in advanced age, because their authority increases as their judgment declines. This was spoken, we believe, with especial reference to the Iron Duke, whose attachment to 'Brown Bess' was within an ace of causing the British army to be sent to the Crimea without the weapon, the Minié rifle, which went far to decide both Alma and Inkerman.

'A similar instance of conscious decay and of magnanimity, perhaps even superior to the Duke of Marlborough, was at the same time mentioned. The late Admiral Barrington being called upon by the Admiralty to take the command of the fleet, refused it, saying that his mental powers were so weakened that he was no longer equal to a situation of so much importance, but that he thought himself still very well able to act under another, though not to command; he therefore requested to be second. In the course of the following year his weakness had so increased that he quarrelled with the Admiralty for not placing him in that situation for which he had himself told them he was unfit.

'Some anecdotes were mentioned a few days before of a person who, in a very different way, could boast of a superiority as prominent as the Duke of Marlborough's, I mean the celebrated Lady Coventry. From old Sheridan (the father of Richard Brinsley) Lord Braybrooke heard some curious anecdotes of her early life. Mrs. Gunning (her mother) consulted Sheridan as to what she should do with her two beautiful but penniless daughters. He recommended that they should be presented at the Castle; here a great difficulty occurred—by what possible means were they to procure court-dresses? This Sheridan obviated; he was at that time manager of the Dublin Theatre, and offered them a loan of the stage dresses of

Lady Macbeth and Juliet. In these they appeared most lovely, and Sheridan, after having attended the toilet, claimed a salute from each as his reward. Very soon after this a most diabolical scheme was formed by some unprincipled young men; they invited Mrs. Gunning and her two daughters to dinner, and infused strong narcotics in the wine, intending to take advantage of the intoxication which must ensue to carry off the two young women. Fortunately Sheridan discovered their base designs, and arrived just in time to rescue the ladies. Sheridan lived to see one of these girls Duchess of Argyle, and the other Countess of Coventry; and, it is melancholy to add, lived to see his application for admission to their parties rejected.

'Lady Coventry enjoyed one very singular triumph. Having one day casually mentioned to the King that she could not walk in the Mall because the crowd who came to gaze at her pressed round her in a way that was quite alarming, His Majesty gallantly exclaimed that the finest woman in England should not be prevented from gracing the Mall. He desired that, whenever she wished to walk, she would send notice to the captain upon guard, and at the same time ordered that she should be attended by a serjeant's guard. She walked several times with this train; of course the crowd increased, but they were prevented from pressing upon her, and her vanity, which was excessive, must have received the highest gratification in this singular distinction.'

The strangest stories that can be told of the Gunnings will not surprise readers conversant with the social history of the period in which they flourished. Mrs. Piozzi relates that, soon after their arrival in London to seek their fortunes, they were the subject of a trick, played off by Thrale and Murphy, which would hardly have been hazarded with young women of recognised respectability. Yet they were of a good family, and their mother was the daughter of a peer. Walpole confirms the story of their borrowing their court dresses to attend a Castle drawing-room from the theatre, adding that the lender was Mrs. (Peg) Woffington; and he moreover asserts, that they once had serious thoughts of going upon the stage. Writing of them in 1751, when they were in the heyday of their fashion, he says: 'There are 'two Irish girls of no fortune, who are declared the hand-'somest women alive. I think their being two so handsome, 'and both such perfect figures, is their chief excellence, for, 'singly, I have seen much handsomer figures than either: how-'ever, they can't walk in the Park, or go to Vauxhall, but 'such mobs follow them that they are therefore driven away.' This being so, it is not improbable that orders were given to the officer on guard, which would bear the flattering interpretation put upon them by one of the fair disturbers of the peace. The credit of this act of gallantry, if it was one, was

due to George II., for Lady Coventry died in September 1760, in her twenty-seventh year, of a consumption. Till within a few days of her death, she lay on a couch with a looking-glass in her hand. 'When she found her beauty, which 'she idolized, was quite gone, she took to her bed and would 'be seen by nobody—not even by her nurse, suffering only the 'light of a lamp in her room. She then took leave of her 'husband, who had forgiven her errors, and died with the 'utmost resignation.' *

Moore says that, when Richard Brinsley Sheridan was in the brilliant dawn of his dramatic fame, after the success of 'The 'Rivals,' the Duchess of Devonshire, the established queen of fashion, long hesitated as to the propriety of inviting 'the 'player's son' and his lovely wife, Reynolds's St. Cecilia, to her parties. We may easily guess, therefore, why the new duchess and the new countess hesitated to ask the player himself to theirs.

Within the memory of many of the existing generation, one of the best known figures in St. James Street, and an assiduous frequenter of its clubs, was the Baron Osten, formerly of the German Legion, a gallant officer and estimable man, but of a somewhat lean, dry, and bilious complexion. His claim to distinction consisted in his having had a miraculous escape from the jaws of a lion, who, after mumbling him for a few minutes, let him drop. The jokers maintained that he owed his life to his bitterness; and Sydney Smith, after expatiating in his peculiar vein on the topic, was wont to make it the basis of a theory for curing cannibals of their taste for human flesh. 'Send them Rogers,' he would say; 'and, if 'that does not spoil their relish, try them with J. W. C.; for 'even if they manage to get him down, he is sure to *disagree* 'with them.' The actual adventure, as rescued from obscurity by Miss Wynn, was well worth commemorating, although not quite so much in accordance with the theory as could be wished.

Baron Osten's Account of his Escape from the jaws of the Lion in 1827, *transcribed from his own MS.* (*Extract from his Journal.*)

'*May 20th*, 1827.—We heard again of some bullocks having been killed in the same jungle where we had killed three lions on the fourteenth. On the strength of this information we set out immediately, and found a whole family of lions. We killed five, but I had a very narrow escape of being killed by one of them. After having killed

* Walpole's Memoirs of the Reign of King George III., vol. iii. p. 190, note.

four, I had wounded a fifth, and Grant with five pad-elephants was beating towards me, when he roused the wounded lion, who immediately attacked and wounded one of the elephants. He then came straight at me. I bent a little forwards over the howdah to take a steady aim at him, when unfortunately the forepart of the howdah gave way, and I fell with all my guns right on the top of the lion, who immediately seized hold of me. I broke my left arm in the fall, and got a severe blow from the lion on the head, which considerably stunned me. I felt, and recollect however, that he was tearing at my right arm, and I never can forget the horrible gnarling noise he made. Grant's and all the other elephants turned tail and ran away, so that I was left alone, helpless, in the jaws of the lion. How I got out of it alive is to me a miracle, and I cannot account for it otherwise than by giving credit to my Mahout's statement. He says that his elephant backed about fifty yards, but that he succeeded after some time in driving her up close to the lion, when she took hold of a young tree and bent it with great force over the lion's back, when he relinquished his prey, and was soon after killed by one of the Chikarees (chasseurs on foot). When I came to my senses I found my left arm broke, a severe contusion on my head, and eleven wounds from teeth and claws in my right arm.'

Another specimen of the stories and adventures related in this volume on good authority, is the following, told by the ex-chancellor, Lord Loughborough, afterwards Earl of Rosslyn, to vindicate the plot of Miss Joanna Baillie's play on the passion of Hate:—

'*January*, 1828.—Mrs. Kemble told me that, at the period of the first appearance of "De Montfort," when everybody was decrying the possibility of the existence of hatred so diabolical, and were calling it quite beyond the bounds of nature, the subject was one day discussed at dinner at Lord Rosslyn's. He replied that in real life he had known an instance of hatred still more inveterate, and related the following story.

'At a large school in the country a rebellion took place among the boys. The master, very anxious to know the name of the ringleader, at length, either by threats or bribes, or both, induced one of the boys to disclose the name of a boy named Davison. He was of course severely punished and expelled, carrying away with him sentiments of deadly hate instead of the affection he had formerly felt for his schoolfellow. Many years intervened, during which they never had the least intercourse. The young man who had peached went to the East Indies. He returned, and landed on the coast of Devonshire. Stopping to dine at a small inn, he inquired of the waiter what gentlemen lived in the neighbourhood; and hearing that the squire of the parish was a Mr. Davison, the name struck him: he thought he recollected that his former schoolfellow used to talk of his home in Devonshire, and while his dinner was getting ready he determined to go to the squire's house. A maid-servant opened the door; he sent in his name, saying that, if Mr. Davison had been educated at such

a school, he would recollect it. He was introduced, and most cordially received by his schoolfellow, whom he found laid up with a fit of the gout, and was pressed to dine, with many apologies for bad fare, &c.; Mr. Davison having unfortunately given permission to all his servants to go to a neighbouring place, and having kept only the woman who was his nurse.

'Mr. Davison appeared so rejoiced in talking over old stories with his friend, and pressed him so strongly to be charitable enough to pass another day with him, that at last he consented. Next morning the unfortunate guest was found with his throat cut from ear to ear. Of course the maid-servant was taken up on suspicion: indeed, as it seemed impossible from its nature that the wound should have been self-inflicted, and as she was the only creature in the house excepting her master, who was unable to move, there did not seem a doubt. The trial came on: Mr. Davison appeared as prosecutor; Lord Rosslyn was his counsel. In spite of the poor girl's protestations of innocence, the case seemed nearly decided, when Mr. Davison sent a note to his counsel desiring him to ask the girl whether she had heard any noise in the night: Lord Rosslyn objected, but his client insisted. This seems to have been one of those strange perversions of intellect by which guilt is ordained to betray itself when all the artifice which had accompanied it is lulled asleep. What could have been the object of this inquiry does not appear: its effect was fatal. The girl replied that she recollected hearing a noise along the passage which had awakened her, but that, having been much fatigued during the day, she was too sleepy to get up to inquire the cause: more questions were asked; the noises and various other circumstances described; suspicions arose against Mr. Davison; and the business ended in his avowing himself the murderer. He said that from the moment in which he first beheld the face of his old schoolfellow, he had determined upon revenging his ancient quarrel by the death of the offender. He had crawled on hands and knees from his own room to that of his unfortunate guest, and unable to support himself without the use of his hands, had found great difficulty in opening the door, but helping himself by his teeth had at last achieved it, reached the bed, and perpetrated the horrid deed. He had then crawled back and had contrived to free himself from all blood stains before he got into his own bed. It was the extraordinary noise made by his crawling which had disturbed the maid-servant, and, at last, led to his detection.'

If this sudden plunge into crime runs counter to all common theories of human nature, so certainly does the following anecdote of Hyder Ally's burst of sensibility:

'*June*, 1824.—I heard the other day from Miss Stables a singular instance of the power of music, which I am anxious to remember because it is so well authenticated. When her father was a very young man he followed his regiment into the East Indies. Upon some occasion (I forget what) this regiment gave a dinner to that savage tyrant, Hyder Ally, who a short time after returned the com-

pliment by sending the greater part of those present to the far-famed Black Hole. During dinner the regimental band played, and at last played *God save the King.* Hyder Ally appeared much struck, and fainted at last from emotion. Mr. Stables was one of those who assisted in removing him from the dining-room, and who, standing by when he recovered, heard him exclaim, "Is your King a God that you adore him with such music as that?"'

It is an amusing blunder of Miss Wynn, or of her informant, to suppose that Hyder Ally, the Sultan of *Mysore,* sent the British to the Black Hole of *Calcutta;* but we are afraid such mistakes in Indian geography and history are not uncommon among ladies of quality.

'During the Christmas season of 1805–6, the Marquis of 'Buckingham had *lavished* the hospitality of Stowe upon the 'exiled royal family of France.'* This not very graciously recorded instance is one amongst many in which that splendid hospitality was accepted by the exiled French princes, and the most distinguished of the emigrants. Miss Wynn consequently saw a great deal of them; and one of her reminiscences has a direct bearing on a question we had recently occasion to discuss†, namely, whether the narrative entitled 'Les dernières Heures de Louis XVI.,' printed in the seventeenth volume of 'Memoirs on the Revolution,' was the *bonâ fide* composition of the Abbé Edgeworth.

'*Stowe: Jan. 9th* (no year).—This morning I have been very much interested by an account given us of some of the horrors of the revolution by the Duke de Sirent. He read to us a history of the last moments of Louis XVI., written by Abbé Edgeworth at the request of the brothers of that unfortunate monarch. In the history there was little that we did not know before from Clery's and other publications, but every particular became doubly interesting; first, from being so authenticated, but still more from the extreme emotion of the reader. This was peculiarly striking when, in describing the anxiety expressed by the King respecting the fate of the clergy, the Abbé says he informed him of the kind hospitable reception they had met with in this country; upon which the King forcibly expressed his gratitude towards the English for the protection they had afforded to his unfortunate subjects. At these words the poor old man's voice faltered, and his eyes filled as he looked towards Lady B.

'The most striking circumstance mentioned by Edgeworth is a speech of the deputy of the National Assembly who was ordered to accompany him in the fiacre which carried him from the National Assembly to the melancholy abode of the condemned monarch. After very little

* Courts and Cabinets of George III. By the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K.G., vol. iii. p. 3.

† Ed. Rev., No. ccxli. p. 145.

communication on indifferent subjects, the man suddenly exclaimed, "*Mon Dieu, quelle tâche nous avons à remplir. Quel homme! quelle résignation! quel courage! il faut qu'il y ait là quelque chose de surhumain.*" After this speech the Abbé had the prudence to preserve perfect silence; he thought, that though he might be able to work on the mind of this man, it was still more likely, considering the short time they had to pass together, that he might only exasperate him and be denied the permission of seeing the unfortunate King. The behaviour of Louis in these last trying moments exhibits proofs not only of his uncommon piety, resignation, and meekness, but also of fortitude and resolution, which appear little to accord with the general weakness and indecision of his character. In reading this melancholy history it was singular to see that the Duke appeared to be most affected by some trifling instances of degradation which we might otherwise have overlooked. For instance, when Louis was described as receiving the sacrament *sans prie-dieu, sans coussins,* in a small bedroom without any furniture but *trois mauvaises chaises en cuir,* he was deeply affected, probably from the having so frequently been an eye-witness of all the splendour which used to attend this ceremony.

'Afterwards the Duke gave us the account of his escape from Paris with the sons of the Comte d'Artois, the Duc d'Angoulême and the Duke de Berri. These children were entrusted to him not only by their father, but by the King, who both seem on this occasion to have given evident proofs of indecision and weakness of mind.'

No one was better qualified to judge of the authenticity of the narrative he read aloud at Stowe than the Duc de Sirent, and the fair inference from Miss Wynn's account of it, noted down from memory, is that it was identical with the printed one.

It was this lady's practice to transcribe remarkable letters as well as narratives, and she has kept copies of some very striking letters from Lady Hester Stanhope, Southey, Sir R. Wilmot Horton, Mrs. Piozzi, Bishop Heber, &c. But the utmost space we can devote to her miscellaneous collection of curiosities is exhausted; and we trust we have quoted enough to show how much attractive material for social, literary, or political illustration may be accumulated by persons similarly situated and endowed, if they make a diligent and discriminating use of their opportunities. We have been indulged with access to the sheets of this volume, which is now, we believe, on the eve of publication; and we have no doubt that it will be received with favour and read with interest by a considerable class of society.

ART. II.—1. *Études Historiques sur l'Administration des Voies Publiques en France au dix-septième et dix-huitième siècle.* Par E. J. M. VIGNON. Ingénieur en Chef des Ponts et Chaussées. Paris: 1862.

2. *Histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain.* Par NICHOLAS BERGIER, Avocat au Siège Presidial de Reims. Ed. Brussels: 1728.

3. *Statutes on the subject of Highways. From the Folio Edition of the Statutes of the Realm; printed by command of His Majesty King George III., in pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, from Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts.* 1810–1822.

'OF all inventions,' says Lord Macaulay, in his 'History of 'England,' 'the alphabet and the printing press alone 'excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done 'most for the civilisation of our species.' 'Every improve-'ment,' he adds, 'of the means of locomotion benefits mankind 'morally and intellectually as well as materially.' Yet the introduction of well-constructed roads, albeit the first and most necessary condition of secure and rapid communication, might probably in most countries be traced to the caprice of a despot or the ambition of a conqueror. Still, whatever the objects of those who established them, the advantages of highways, using the term in its widest acceptation, and as answering to the French 'Voies de Communication,' were such as could not remain confined to the great and the wealthy, but must be participated in by the whole community. This catholic character distinguishes highways from the other great works of early civilisation, which, commencing with the seven wonders of the ancient world, however surprising as monuments of labour and of perseverance, however beautiful as works of art, however admirable for genius or for taste, were, as a rule, calculated to serve the interests or minister to the gratification of classes or of individuals, rather than to confer benefit on the masses.

The earliest road-maker of whom we have any account was an Egyptian Pharaoh, who constructed by forced labour a gigantic causeway to convey materials for the erection of a useless pyramid, which has immortalised the folly, while it has left in doubt the name of its founder. Herodotus has recorded his cruel edicts, the sufferings of his subjects, and the execration with which they loaded his memory. Few, however, of

the pioneers of intercourse attempted to make continuous roads; they aimed at no more than supplying links in those lines of communication which the natural features of their country presented, whether for travelling on foot, on horseback, or on wheels. To afford the means of crossing streams and marshes, or of scaling precipitous passes, was in primitive times the work of monarchs and of heroes. In Mahommedan countries and in mediæval Europe, to make such provision for the safety of wayfarers was esteemed an act of charity and of devotion, which ranked with the establishment of temples and of water-courses, of hospitals and of almshouses, and constituted a claim to the gratitude of a people or to the honours of canonisation. Where such facilities were supplied by a convulsion of nature or by the labour of some bygone race, the genial temper of southern nations saw in them the hand of a beneficent Deity; the more gloomy northerners preferred to connect them with the malice of a fiend. To this day the Albanian peasant calls the fallen tree, or the rocky boulders, that enable him to cross the torrent, *θεογεφυρι* or the Bridge of God, while in Teutonic and Scandinavian countries, Devil's dykes and Devil's bridges attest less grateful feelings and a darker superstition.

The ancient empires of Mexico and of Peru, both as destitute of beasts fitted for draught or for riding as the most barbarous parts of Africa at the present time, carried mere foot-roads to the highest degree of excellence. These were constructed for the double purpose of facilitating the march of armies into refractory provinces, and ministering to the convenience and the luxury of the emperors; those of Peru extended for upwards of a thousand Spanish leagues through a country presenting all the difficulties of a tropical climate and ranges of more than Alpine grandeur and sternness, and were maintained by the labour of the districts through which they passed. Embankments of earth or stone, galleries extending along the face of precipices, tunnels through living rock, long flights of steps hewn in solid stone, ravines bridged with masonry, torrents crossed by suspension-bridges of osier or the tough fibre of the aloe, render these works of the Incas, more especially if we remember that they were constructed by a nation ignorant of the use of iron, worthy of being reckoned, as they have been by Humboldt, among the most gigantic undertakings ever executed by man. So effectually had the giant obstacles of nature been overcome, that trained runners, relieving each other at intervals of five miles, were enabled to convey despatches, and fresh fish or other dainties for the royal table, one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles a day; a

speed scarcely, if at all, surpassed by our fastest mails in the palmy days of the road.

We need not wonder that the first Spaniards who saw and described these new-world ways feared that they would be suspected of imposing on the credulity of their untravelled and untravelling countrymen. In the ancient monarchies of the East where beasts of burden abounded, less care and labour were devoted to ensuring the means of communication. The camel trod the pathless wilderness, the horse and the mule picked their track across the plain and scrambled up the mountain side and down the dry bed of the torrent, as the circumstances of the day, or the instinct of the moment, prompted. It was only where the river ran too deep or too rapid to be forded, where the swamp or the precipice denied all passage, that the work of man was brought in aid of the caravan. The Amorites will scarcely be suspected of having been scientific road-makers, and the 'king's highway,' along which Sihon 'would not suffer Israel to pass,' was, doubtless, nothing more than a track between fields and vineyards. Semiramis and her roads are too apocryphal to require notice. The Persian sovereigns had in the days of Xerxes established caravanserais at regular intervals, and provided ferries, and, in some cases, bridges, on such main lines as that from Susa to Sardis. Their mounted couriers, whose speed in the estimation of Herodotus nothing mortal surpassed, were supplied with fresh horses every eighteen or twenty-five miles, and appear to have travelled at about the same rate as the modern Turkish Tartars, or from sixty to one hundred and twenty miles a day.

The Athenians had a few hard avenues of no great length, such as those leading to the Piræus and to Eleusis; but the Greeks were not distinguished as road-makers, although the fact that the Lacedæmonian kings were *ex officio* highway surveyors, and that among the Thebans the most illustrious citizens filled that post, shows that considerable importance was attached to means of intercourse. The honour of having been the first systematic road-makers is due to the Carthaginians. It was from them the Romans learnt that art, which, no less than the discipline of their legions, contributed to render them the masters of the world. In the infancy of Rome her citizens were as adverse to the establishment of practicable highways upon or within their borders as the Montenegrins of the present day. When from robbers and outlaws they became invaders, they pushed roads in all directions, and compelled all nations and languages to assist in riveting the links that indissolubly bound them to the seat of empire. The Roman lines extended

from the Atlantic to the banks of the Euphrates, from the wall of Antoninus to the extreme limit of cultivation in Africa. They almost justified the boast addressed to the capital by the poet—

'Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam :—
Urbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat.'

Travellers could, thanks to the imperial roads, with ease accomplish upon wheels distances of one hundred miles a day, and Pliny, quoted by M. Bergier, relates that Tiberius Nero, when despatched into Germany by Augustus on receiving intelligence of the sickness of Drusus Germanicus, started from Lyons, and drove two hundred Roman miles in the first twenty-four hours.

The empire, however, did not possess only great roads, such as sufficed to the march of legions, to imperial progresses, or to feed the wealth and luxury of capital cities with the produce of remote provinces: it had that which is evidence of a higher civilisation,—a well-devised and complete network of cross-roads, leading to and connecting together flourishing villages, cultivated farms, and prosperous homesteads.

The highway legislation of the Romans continues the basis of that of great part of modern Europe. By the Roman law the use of roads was in the public; they could be the property of no one, but the emperors or other chief magistrates were their conservators. Most of the main avenues were constructed at the public expense, usually executed by contractors, and ever after maintained by the labour of soldiers or of convicts, or by the enforced service, in some instances the taxation, of the districts through which they passed. Tolls as a means of repairing highways appear to have been unknown, or, if known, seldom resorted to in the Roman world. Some roads were carried out by the private munificence of the emperors, or of other great personages ambitious of popularity, or with the spoils of war brought home by successful generals. The office of inspector of any of the great lines was prized by men of prætorian rank, and often not disdained by the emperors themselves. The cross-roads, or *viæ vicinales*, were committed to the charge of local magistrates, and, as a rule, maintained by the compulsory labour or the contributions of the whole neighbourhood, although occasionally a certain extent was assigned to some landowner to repair at his own cost.

In the outlying provinces of the empire, after the withdrawal or overthrow of the Romans, the civilisation they had imported dwindled and faded away. The long straight roads, constructed by consummate skill with all the solidity and finish of

a building, were abandoned to the destructive agencies of time and of the elements. Water washed away their embankments, or percolating their surfaces, caused them to decay; rank vegetation forced itself through the interstices of their component materials and broke them up. In some cases they were simply lost to sight; the forest overgrew and concealed them; the wind heaped up sand and dust and buried them; the rain washed mould down from the bank and the hillside, and overwhelmed them. Portions sank by their own weight into the wet and neglected soil which closed over them. From time to time the plough or the draining-tool of the husbandman, the spade of the builder or the navigator, bring to light parts of these wondrous constructions. Among barbarous races they are then ascribed, as superstition or national vanity happens to prevail, to the wisdom of King Solomon, to the agency of genii, or to fabulous heroes. In civilised countries the curious and the learned look upon them with an interest similar to that with which men regard the fossil remains of a remote geological epoch, in which the conditions of existence were different from their own.

In Gaul, and wherever the jurisprudence of the Romans survived, the sovereign appears always to have considered it his duty or his privilege to provide, or at least to watch over, the main lines of intercourse. Under the barbarous monarchy of the Franks this royal authority was little more than nominal, or its claim altogether in abeyance. The unity of empire under Charlemagne favoured the revival of intercourse; but the independence of petty dukedoms and principalities and the lawlessness of great barons, for four centuries, baffled the efforts of his weaker successors. In time, however, commerce and pilgrimages, in spite of warlike passions and feudal anarchy, made the necessity of securing communications felt, and enlisted in their support love of gain and religious ardour. At a later period the crusades taught military chiefs to appreciate the value of facilities for the march of armies. Accordingly we find monastic orders raising alms, lords of the soil levying tolls, towns or guilds of merchants giving contributions, and all vying with each other in supplying bridges, causeways, and other means of passage where most necessary. The king made grants out of his revenues, the Pope occasionally gave assistance for the same purpose. Thus Innocent IV., in 1245, contributed largely to the erection of one of the great bridges of France, that over the Rhone at Guillotière. It may somewhat detract in Protestant eyes from the Pontiff's generosity, to learn, that he paid no slight portion of his subscriptions in a cur-

rency, coined with a facility which Mr. Chase might envy, namely, in indulgences. Unfortunately these different powers carried on their works in a desultory manner, without cooperation, without even reference to each other. Jurisdictions were unascertained, or, if ascertained, were often found to be conflicting. The alms of the faithful were not always strictly applied to the objects for which they were given. Tolls, whether such as were levied upon travellers in return for protection against robbers, or such as were raised for the express purpose of maintaining bridges and other passages, were so commonly diverted from their rightful use, that instead of aiding intercourse, they became one of its greatest obstacles, and created in the minds of the French people that aversion to such charges which has never been effaced. The crown, whose interest it was to knit all parts of the kingdom together, favoured to the best of its ability the opening of highways in every direction. It would gladly have prevented the grosser abuses, have reconciled jarring interests, and given unity and system to their labours. But the crown was often weak, always needy, and lavished on the objects of its fear or its favour the funds it had itself destined to more useful ends. M. Vignon gives a curious extract, illustrative of this state of things, from an ordinance of the year 1413, in which Charles VI. naïvely admits his want of trust in his own purpose, and gives fair notice to others to place no reliance on his royal word. The King formally declares that, in order to ensure funds for the repairs of his castles, forts, houses, bridges and causeways, all of which are stated to be in immediate danger of falling into ruin, he will, for three years to come, make no gift or grant to any person whatever out of any reliefs, forfeitures, fines, escheats, &c., nor make any presents of money, nor put any extraordinary charges on his domains. He then adds: 'That if, owing to the importunity 'of petitioners, or any other cause, he should be induced to make 'any such gifts or grants, or to impose any such charge on his 'said domains, his secretaries, present and future, are, jointly 'and severally, prohibited from drawing up or signing any 'orders thereupon.' Surely Gil Blas, when he felt compelled by the previous command of his master, the Archbishop of Granada, to inform him that his sermons began to savour of apoplexy, was not placed in a more delicate position than the royal scribes, who might be called upon to intimate to their sovereign that they held any acts or words of his null and void for weakness and inconsistency of purpose.

In the sixteenth century the power of the French crown was more firmly established, and its central authority made itself

everywhere felt as on other subjects, so also on that of highways. Commencing with Louis XII. in 1508, successive sovereigns appointed officers, or boards of officers, under different titles, and with varying degrees of authority, to inspect and report upon the condition of all principal roads and passages; to repair such of them as were at the king's charge, and to enforce the maintenance of others by those upon whom the obligation lay. Little good seems to have been effected, nor need we wonder at the result when we find that the creation, suppression, and restoration of the above offices at intervals of a few years was mainly due to a desire to replenish the treasury by the sale of appointments, the lucrative character of which is rendered evident by the circumstance that, notwithstanding their precarious tenure, they always commanded purchasers. We stand amazed at the baseness of the royal jobbers, who, on the one hand, systematically bartered away the best interests of their subjects, and, on the other, broke faith with the harpies to whom they had sold them; but more astounding still is the effrontery with which the preambles of successive 'perpetual and irrevocable' edicts avow the pecuniary motive that has induced the monarch to issue them.

This corrupt system endured at its height for the best part of a century, interrupted only by an attempt of Henry IV. to introduce a more healthy condition of things. He created the office of Grand Voyer, or Great Waywarden, of France, with power to appoint subordinate surveyors in all parts of the kingdom; and marked his sense of the importance of the charge, and his earnest desire for reforms, by entrusting its duties to no less a person than Sully. It was, no doubt, the prominence thus given to the subject that led the learned Bergier in this reign to compile the elaborate work on Roman roads, which he subsequently dedicated to Henry's successor, Louis XIII. After, however, the murder of Henry IV. his plans of improvement were abandoned, and the office of Grand Voyer was abolished.

The condition of the roads in France at this period was such as might be expected under the legislation we have described. The majority were mere tracks, imperfectly protected from the encroachments of adjoining landowners. Some of the main lines had a paved causeway extending along the centre, and, in places where it was absolutely needed, were provided with drains or culverts to carry off water. One of the earliest of these improved roads was that leading from Paris to Orleans. From the orders issued for its repair in 1556, it appears to have been fifty-four feet broad; the centre was paved for a width of

fifteen feet, the remainder continued 'as it was.' To the end of the sixteenth century all travelling in France was performed on horseback, the slowness and discomfort of wheeled conveyances confining their use to the transport of goods.

There can be little doubt that Britain as well as Gaul was indebted to the Romans for the earliest roads deserving the name. The patriotism of native writers, however, has led them to assert that highways had been a subject of care and anxiety to British legislators long before the landing of Cæsar. According to the veracious history professedly translated from the Armorican by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Dunwallo Molmutius, a monarch of Britain, the date of whose reign is approximately fixed by his having been the father of Brennus who sacked consular Rome, established a code, named after himself the Molmutine Laws. In these he enacted that not only the temples of the gods, as also cities, should have the privilege of giving sanctuary and protection to any fugitive or criminal that should fly to them; but 'likewise that the ways leading to 'those temples and cities, as also the husbandmen's plows, 'should be allowed the same privilege. So that in his days 'the murders and cruelties committed by robbers were pre-'vented, and everybody passed safe without any violence 'offered him.'

In the reign of the son and successor of Dunwallo, Belinus, —a sovereign whose existence is vouched for by the name of Billingsgate, still retained by the site of a gate of wonderful structure which he erected,—a practical difficulty arose out of the above law, 'because the limits determining the ways were 'unknown.'

'The king, therefore,' says the historian, 'willing to clear the law of all ambiguities, summoned all the workmen of the island together, and commanded them to pave a causeway of stone and mortar, which should run the whole length of the island, from the sea of Cornwall to the shore of Caithness, and lead directly to the cities that lay along that extent. Another he commanded to be made over the breadth of the kingdom, leading from Menevia, that was situated upon the Demetian sea, to Hamo's port, and to pass through the interjacent cities. Other two he also made obliquely through the island for a passage to the rest of the cities. Then he confirmed to them all honours and privileges, and prescribed a law for the punishment of any injury committed upon them.'

According to other writers, perhaps not less worthy of credence than the good Bishop of St. Asaph, these roads were the work of fiends, who, compelled by the magic art of Dunwallo Molmutius, completed them in a single night.

From Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle it appears that the four roads thus attributed to mythical kings, were the same as became subsequently known under the names of Erming-strete, Ikenild-strete, Watling-strete, and Fosse; the remains of which, after the lapse of sixteen centuries, attest, that if not originally laid out, they were certainly reconstructed by the Romans. This indefatigable people had, according to Bergier, constructed in this, the New Zealand of their empire, upwards of 2,500 miles of paved or hard roads.

After the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain not only their roads perished, as in Gaul, but their legislation also passed away. The inhabitants, relapsing into barbarism, had little need and no means of maintaining scientifically made roads, and soon reverted to the use of the first track that offered a passage for man or beast.

A stranger observing the perplexing want of system, and the frequently inconvenient course of English country roads, might suppose that they had been laid out, as Washington Irving, in his 'Knickerbocker's History of New York,' relates of the streets of that city, by pigs roaming about in quest of food. Our highways were, in fact, originally tracks struck out by travellers, by the drivers of packhorses, or perhaps by the horses themselves making their way as they best could from point to point. They made long circuits to reach fords or spots where they could cross insignificant brooks; where there was high ground they chose it to escape the bogs of the plain or of the valley; every obstacle, even the slightest, a tree or a stone, caused them to deviate from a straight course; when a track became by any accident obstructed, it was usually easier to make a new passage than to clear or improve the former one. The rough and ready legislation of the Saxon invaders shows the condition of things in their time. One of their old laws enjoins, that 'highways be broad enough for two waggons to pass each 'other, leaving room for the drivers to ply their whips freely, 'and for sixteen soldiers to ride in harness abreast;' provisions eminently suggestive of the miriness of the roads and of the purpose for which they were required.

Nothing, however, so much shows the decay of the roads and other means of communication bequeathed by the Romans to our British forefathers, as the necessity of supernatural aid under which we find saints, and other persons of distinguished piety, labouring when on their journeys. Thus, in the year 685, certain of his flock conveying the body of Bishop Erkenwarld from the Abbey of Barking, by what less than 300 years before had been a safe and convenient highway from Essex to London,

found no means of crossing the Lea, and were only relieved from their embarrassment by a miracle opportunely vouchsafed. Of course, less favoured individuals, journeying for the mere sake of pleasure or of worldly business, must in similar cases have been altogether arrested in their progress, or exposed to serious difficulty and even danger. Many years later several of the attendants of Maud, Queen of Henry I., were drowned at the same passage of the Lea, then known as Old Ford, while Her Majesty herself was, to use Stow's expression, 'well washed in the 'water.' Thereupon she 'caused,' says the same writer, 'two 'stone bridges to be builded, of the which one was situated 'over Lue, at the head of the town of Stratford, now called 'Bow, because the bridge was arched like a bow; *a rare piece 'of work; for before that time the like had never been seen in 'England.*'

While under our Saxon and Norman ancestors the formation and care of roads was thus left to chance or to the desultory efforts of individuals, their value was in principle fully recognised. By the common law of England, the use and maintenance of highways by no means depends upon the goodwill and convenience of the districts in which they lie; still less are they the property of the inhabitants. Our highways are the king's highways, over which all his subjects have a right to pass, and as the parishes through which they run are bound to maintain them for the use and benefit of the public, every one may set the law in motion against a parish that fails to discharge this duty. So fixed a burden is this that where a highway has been, even from time immemorial, repaired by a township or other subdivision of a parish, by individuals *ratione tenuræ*, by the help of tolls, or by other means, upon the failure of any of these adequately to provide for the road, the original obligation to repair, which is always presumed to have existed, and from the performance of which the parish had only been provisionally relieved, is held to revive.

At common law the constable of the parish was the officer charged with, and, in the first instance, responsible for, the condition of all highways therein. The occupiers of land were in a vague manner bound 'to use their endeavours' to execute the necessary repairs, this duty forming part of the *trinoda necessitas* or general obligation to contribute to the maintenance of roads, bridges, and military defences. Performance of this task on the part of parishes and of their officers was enforced by courts leet and the sheriff's tourn, which were local courts having criminal jurisdiction; while the county courts and the hundred courts were available for civil actions. It will, there-

fore, be seen that the common law prescribed what should be done, who should do it, and also provided remedies against defaulters. Statutes without number, several of them among the most voluminous and intricate of our laws, have been passed on the subject of highways. They may be said in the main to consist of a succession of attempts to secure the performance of these obligations by parishes, and show the marvellous power of passive resistance possessed by those bodies.

For four hundred and fifty years after the Conquest, such of our rulers as concerned themselves about roads were content with seeking to repress the commission of crimes of violence and extortion. It is not till the year 1523 that we meet with any measure that evinces concern on the part of the legislature for the condition of highways. But from 1523 the ever-increasing importance attached by Parliament and by the public to the quality of roads, as well as their state of repair at different periods and in different parts of the country, may be traced throughh the statute-books, and afford a measure of the progress of the trade and prosperity of the kingdom.

The first outcry proceeded from the Wealds of Kent and of Sussex, districts which, from the depth and tenacity of their clay, have long enjoyed an unenviable fame in the annals of road-making. Acts were in consequence passed in the reign of Henry VIII., which, after describing 'many of the wayes in 'the wealds as so depe and noyous by wearyng and course of 'water and other occasions that people cannot have their 'cariages or passages by horses uppon or by the same but to 'their great paynes, perill and jeopardie,' provided that owners of land might, with the consent of two justices for the county, and of twelve discreet inhabitants of the hundred, lay out new roads and thereupon close up old ones. From the above statutes it would appear that at that period, at all events in the counties referred to, it was considered easier to open a new road than to repair an old one. Under the same monarch the difficulties created, not by mud, but by water, led to the enactment of a general statute to facilitate the repair of bridges.

The growth of commerce and of population soon after began everywhere to require lines of communication which should be passable at all seasons, and not exposed to frequent 'solutions 'of continuity.' To meet this state of things, the first general highway Act (2 & 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8.), and the foundation of all subsequent measures on this subject, was passed in 1555. It is a pithy and business-like Act, consisting only of four short sections, and does credit to the legislature that enacted it. The

preamble goes straight to the point, and simply states, that, 'highwaies are nowe both verie noysome and tedious to travell 'in and dangerous to all passengers and cariages.' It therefore provides that the constables, churchwardens, and a number of parishioners shall yearly choose two honest men to be surveyors and orderers of the works for the amendment of highways. This service is obligatory on the individuals selected, and a penalty is imposed on any one neglecting or refusing to act. All parishioners are enjoined to work in person or by substitute, four days in the year, of eight hours a day, as and where directed by the surveyors. Occupiers of land are directed to furnish one cart for each plough land they hold, and persons keeping wains of draught are also to furnish similar aid.

The above Act was treated as an experiment, and passed for seven years only. Immediately on its expiration, however, a Parliament in the fifth year of Elizabeth declared it to have been 'verye beneficial and most necessary to bee continued for 'the ease and comon weale of the people of this land,' and renewed it, with enlarged and more stringent provisions, for twenty years. Finally, an Act passed in the 29th year of Elizabeth declared the former highway statutes to have been 'by proofe 'and experience tryed, and founde to be very necessarie and 'proffitable,' and made them perpetual.

The above-mentioned statutes were little more than declaratory of the common law, and contented themselves with providing a more complete machinery for giving effect to its requirements. But the growth of populous towns, and of great centres of industry, was meanwhile raising a fresh problem for solution by the legislature. A great intercourse sprang up between certain places, and it was found unjust, perhaps impossible, that the intermediate parishes, often poor and thinly inhabited, should make good an exceptional state of wear and tear of roads caused by a traffic which rolled through them, as a ship crosses the sea, or a caravan the desert, without bringing to them any gain or benefit. Once more the cry of distress first arose from the wealds of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, from parishes peculiarly sensitive of any addition to their burdens. The manufacture of iron had, towards the close of the sixteenth century, attained a considerable development in these counties, and necessarily created a new traffic in very heavy commodities. On the roads to and from the mills, waggons laden with ore, minerals and fuel for the forge, or groaning under the weight of ordnance or of fabrics of a more peaceful character, were to be met with, broken down, overturned, or with wheels embedded in the tough miry soil, amid the straining of cattle, the cracking of

harness, and the storming of masters and of men. Not less deep, and scarcely less loud, on the other hand, was the wrath of surveyors and of every inhabitant not immediately interested in ironworks. Parliament, the Hercules invoked by both sides, came to the rescue with an Act that must have been little palatable to one at least of the parties. The legislature adopted the obvious expedient of compelling those who made an extraordinary use of the roads to contribute in an extraordinary degree to their maintenance. It accordingly imposed upon the occupiers or owners of ironworks the obligation of carrying and laying upon the roads a quantity of materials for repair proportioned to the number and weight of the loads of coal, mineral or iron transported, or required a money payment in lieu of such service.

Notwithstanding the changes effected in the law, the improvement of the roads does not appear to have kept pace with the growing requirements of the country. In 1609, the Lord Chancellor felt it his duty to move in the House of Lords 'that 'some consideration might be taken of the highways, for amend-'ing whereof there are many statutes but little reformation, 'as is best known to the lords the judges, who, in their circuits, 'find the inconvenience.' No practical result appears to have followed this motion, and the legislation of Philip and Mary, amended by that of Elizabeth, was made to suffice to the necessities of a century. The government of the Restoration has usurped the credit of having originated reforms which constitute a second epoch in our highway legislation. In reality the Caroline statutes on this subject were only feeble imitations of an ordinance of the Lord Protector and his council in 1654. This measure bore the impress of the vigour and determination of its author. It contained the germs of most of the changes that have since, at various times, been introduced into our highway laws, and in one particular, the substitution of hired for compulsory labour, it anticipated by one hundred and eighty years the greatest reform of our own time. The surveyors were now for the first time directed to make a highway rate, which was, however, not to exceed one shilling in the pound. If this charge proved insufficient, the justices were authorised to rate in aid such other parishes whose rates were less than that amount, as in their discretion they thought fit. With the view of securing the services of a better class of surveyors, no persons were thenceforth to be eligible to the office who did not possess a considerable property qualification.

The Acts of Charles II. only empowered the surveyors, with the aid of two discreet householders, to raise an assessment not

exceeding sixpence in the pound, nor even this, till the appointed statute-labour should have been performed and have proved insufficient. With the money thus procured the persons liable to labour were to be paid for overwork. Not satisfied with seeking to effect an improvement in roads corresponding to that which had recently taken place in carriages, the legislature sought, by limiting the dimensions and form of the latter, to keep their quality down to a level with that of the roads. No waggon or cart carrying for hire was allowed to be drawn by more than seven 'horse-beasts' or eight oxen, nor to carry a load exceeding 20 cwt. in winter, and 30 cwt. in summer, nor even then, unless the tyres of the wheels were ascertained to be at least four inches broad. Had the Act of 1662 stopped here, the legislature might have claimed credit for saving the highways from wear and tear while perpetuating their badness by lessening the stimulus to improvement. But a string of exceptions, which powerful interests or the necessity of the case extorted, in no slight degree neutralised the previous provisions. Thus, while the trader and the traveller was hampered with restrictions on the conveyance he might use, he was exposed to find his road blocked, or cut up by waggons of any weight, shape or size, with teams of any length, if only engaged in carrying agricultural produce, coal or timber for shipping, stones, or stores for the royal arsenals.

The above regulations did not prove satisfactory, if we may judge from the desponding tone of successive amending Acts, which reiterate the old complaint as to the inefficiency of the laws, and the new grievance that unreasonable loads were carried upon highways. The Acts alluded to introduced no other change worthy of notice than, that in the reign of William III. Parliament, losing patience with the sluggishness of parishes and the incapacity of their officers, was provoked into taking the selection of surveyors out of the hands of the parishioners and entrusting it to the justices, to whom also was committed the discretion of making the rate to supplement statute-labour.

A more successful measure was the introduction of special enactments for the repair of particular roads by means of tolls. Acts for the benefit of exceptional roads which isolated parishes found themselves unable to support, and resorting to divers expedients for their maintenance, were not altogether new to our legislation. The earliest contented itself with declaring the necessities of the road, and committed it to the liberality of the public, or the devotion of pious persons. Another granted 'a right of grass pasture in and upon' a particular highway, to

such as should repair it. In a few later instances, the local magistrates, or, in case of their neglect, commissioners appointed by the Lord Chancellor, were directed to maintain a road or causeway by a rate, to be made upon neighbouring towns or adjacent hundreds. Nor were tolls, though not mentioned in any of the measures alluded to, new in principle. From a very early period they were levied by feudal chiefs, in some cases simply for their own benefit; in others, on the plea of maintaining an open thoroughfare through their manors, or in return for protection guaranteed against robbers. Tolls had also long been resorted to for the support of bridges and other passages where expensive works were necessary. In some instances they had been employed as a means of repairing the immediate approaches to great cities. But the application of tolls to the repair of an ordinary road constituted a startling novelty.

The first experiment was made in 1663, upon the road from London to York: the preamble of the first turnpike Act states that by reason of the great trade in barley and malt, and other traffic, part of the road had become 'very ruinous and 'almost impassable,' and that 'the ordinary course appointed 'by the lawes and statutes of this realme is not sufficient 'for the effectual repairing and amending of the same, neither 'are the inhabitants thro' which the said road doth lie, of 'ability to repair the same.' The justices in quarter sessions for Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire were in consequence directed to appoint surveyors, with power to require the services of all persons liable to statute-labour, living within three miles of the line, on paying them after the usual rate of the country. To procure funds for this purpose, the surveyors were authorised to set up toll-bars and to levy certain tolls, which, if thought expedient, might also be mortgaged for a term not exceeding nine years. It was further provided, that if the tolls failed to supply a sufficient sum, the justices should fall back upon the plan already adopted in other instances, and make such rate as they thought fit 'upon the parishes that lye 'in or near the said roade, and soe will have a benefit there-'from.'

No similar piece of legislation was repeated for thirty-two years; but under William, and again under Anne, several turnpike-road Acts were passed: the first were for the benefit of the roads from London to Harwich, London to Norwich, and from London through Ryegate to Crawley; all of which were described as the channels of a traffic so great as to render it impossible for the adjacent parishes to repair them. Other Acts followed; for Cheshire, where the roads were alleged to

be cut up by the trade in cheese; for Bath, 'a place of very 'great resort from all parts of the kingdom, and from foreign 'parts, for the use and benefit of the baths and drinking the 'mineral waters;' for Tunbridge Wells for a similar reason. The first road committed to the charge of trustees, instead of to the care of surveyors appointed by the county justices, was, in 1706, that portion of the ancient Watling Street 'now and for 'many years past the common post-road towards Ireland,' which lay in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

Road Acts succeeded each other, till, one by one, all the principal lines were withdrawn from the control of parochial authorities, and parishes were relieved from the immediate charge of maintaining them. Hundreds—we may say thousands—of such Acts were passed, till roads, amounting in mileage to one-fourth of all the highways in England, but far exceeding the rest in the importance of their traffic, had been transferred to the hands of trustees or of commissioners.

In any circumstances it would have been difficult for the infant science of road-making to keep pace during the last century with the growing demands of commerce and of population. Trustees and surveyors complained to Parliament of the number of horses employed and the weight of the loads carried upon their roads; trades that dealt in heavy commodities, such as those of Birmingham and of Wolverhampton, remonstrated against restrictions upon teams and weights, and asserted that the cost of transport was thereby materially increased; carriers and waggoners cried out that they now payed heavy tolls, yet, that, instead of fewer horses conveying greater burdens in less time, as they had been promised, the reverse was the case; agriculturists, who both made and used highways, complained, almost in the same breath, that the heavy loads the law permitted were fatal to roads, and that the limits to weight inflicted a deadly injury upon industry and enterprise. The legislature in the preambles of numerous Acts admitted the justice of each and all of these grievances, and by the provisions it enacted betrayed its perplexity.

It was a sore trial of the temper of Englishmen to be arrested for tolls upon roads they had always been used to consider free as the air they breathed; but when, in addition, travelling was no better or worse than before, the sense of wrong was aggravated beyond bearing. Hence sprang organised associations which attacked the toll-gates by day and by night; cut them down; broke them and burnt them: still the legislature, all the while confessing the disgraceful condition of the roads, and recognising the gates to be failures, refused to capitulate to the

Rebeccas of the day, and, undeterred by riot and bloodshed, stoutly upheld turnpikes, and increased the punishment for destroying them from imprisonment and whipping, through transportation, up to death itself. In the year 1753, Parliament began a series of attempts to reconcile conflicting interests by converting heavy waggons from instruments of destruction into means for the repair of roads, making their wheels serve as rollers that should compress and consolidate the materials of the lines they travelled over. With this view, carts and waggons were allowed the privilege of employing more horses and paying less toll, in proportion to the breadth of, and the surface rolled by, their wheels. This policy reached its climax when conveyances upon rollers sixteen inches broad were declared absolutely toll-free, while those upon wheels less than six inches in width were subjected to double charges.

The first General Turnpike Acts, introducing, as far as the peculiarities of local Acts admitted, uniformity into the management of turnpike roads, were passed in 1767 and 1773. In the same years were passed two other Acts on the subject of highways proper, which permitted the commutation of statute-labour for payment at a fixed rate. These measures, recognising the turnpike-road system as a distinct branch, and dispensing with the ancient obligation of personal service, mark a third epoch in our highway legislation. The plan of compounding for statute-labour proved, however, a clumsy and often insufficient device for supplying the surveyor with those funds which road-making, if it were to be improved, absolutely required. Neither did broad wheels prove the panacea that had been expected, while the law in this respect was so stringent and so complicated as to foster a system of fraud and evasion.

Roads being at once bad and costly, it is no wonder that comparisons unfavourable to our highway-system were instituted with that of other countries; more especially with France, which it was often maintained enjoyed excellent roads without the nuisance of turnpikes.

Notwithstanding these complaints, Englishmen in the last century had no reason to envy the French their roads, or their legislation. Under Louis XIV. the principal roads were still mere tracks, at most eked out by a rough causeway down the middle. Bridges were so badly constructed as to be in continual danger of being swept away by the first flood. No one travelled in winter except under the pressure of necessity. The Abbé of St. Pierre has left an account of a journey he made from Paris into Normandy at that season. It does not appear how long he was on the way, but he relates that once he was upset;

once his chaise was broken to pieces; and another time his horses were bogged, and himself only extricated from mud and wet at an advanced hour of the night. It was usual to notify the intention of the Grand Monarch to pass along a certain line some days beforehand, in order that ruts and holes might for the occasion be filled up with stones—if the country afforded any —and with earth and faggots, if otherwise. In 1718, one of the best roads in France, that from Paris to Orleans, though recently repaired by Colbert, had become well-nigh impassable. The fault was attributed not to defective construction, but to excessive loads; and a royal declaration was issued limiting the number of horses that might be harnessed to carts and waggons. After 1730, bridges began to be erected on sounder principles, and several of the main lines were improved. Authorities quoted by M. Vignon describe part of the road from Paris to Bordeaux as firm, smooth, and most agreeable to travel upon. This was in 1752, about which time certain other roads are also spoken of in favourable terms; but the majority are described as hopelessly bad. The causeways commonly consisted of unbroken or badly-broken stones, carelessly flung down, and forming a rugged ridge, not unlike an Alpine moraine, which no one cared to venture upon; while the soft track on either side, to which traffic was driven to have recourse, was rendered almost equally impassable. Occasionally the causeway was repaired by pouring cart-loads of earth over it; but the first fall of rain rendered the mixture more impracticable than ever; and it was abandoned to the weeds and briars that soon overgrew it. Down to the year 1789, the *chemins vicinaux*, or country roads, were in a state of nature, or worse. Where any care was bestowed, the peasantry were enjoined to plough across them, as the readiest cure for the ruts that furrowed their length. But if French roads were bad, the system by which they were maintained was incomparably worse. Colbert had been in the year 1661 made Controller-General of Finance, with extensive powers over the main lines of communication. He devoted great energy and great attention even to the minutest details of this branch of his office. He entrusted the superintendence of roads to officers appointed by and depending upon himself as their chief; he stimulated local efforts by increased grants from the treasury; and pressed, as far as was prudent, the somewhat undefined obligation of the owners of adjacent lands to repair highways. Above all, he called for forced labour, wherever an ancient custom seemed to legalise it, or where, as in the frontier provinces, the plea of military necessity could be urged. This forced labour, known and execrated in France under the name

of Corvée, was systematised and generalised by Colbert's successors, and became the chief instrument by which the Government carried on not only the repair but the construction of roads. Government officers were deputed to different districts, armed with power, within certain limits of time and space, to compel the peasantry to work in person upon roads, and also to require the services of the beasts of burden, carts, waggons and servants, of all who possessed any. Every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty—in some parts of seventy—was held liable; and it appears to have been as an act of grace that children of both sexes over the age of twelve were excused. The number of days for work in the year varied at different times and places from eight to fifty. The greatest distance to which a person might be drawn from home appears to have been fixed by the Controller-General's instructions at from nine to twelve miles; but this limit was so far exceeded that men were taken upwards of twenty miles from their residences. The regulations, if strictly adhered to and fairly carried out, would have been sufficiently oppressive. But administered as they were by officers subjected to no real control, and whose conduct was arbitrary, capricious, partial, and not unfrequently determined by corrupt motives, the burden became intolerable. The whole rural population was at the beck and nod of overseers, and reduced to a condition approaching that of slavery. The Roman conquerors had never exacted such service from subject nations. Statute-labour in England was not for one moment to be compared with the Corvée in France. Statute-labour was enforced by neighbours over neighbours, and the surveyor of one year was the labourer of the next. Statute-labour never exceeded six days in the year, and no one could be called upon during seed-time, hay, or corn-harvest, or compelled to travel more than four miles from his home. The bitterness of the French peasant's serfdom was aggravated a hundredfold by the circumstance that the nobility and clergy, together with all persons in their service, as well as the population of those great towns for whose immediate benefit these roads were made, enjoyed exemption from road-labour. Voltaire thus puts in the mouth of a peasant the sentiment which no doubt rankled in the hearts of his class:—

'On nous traîne aux corvées, nous nos femmes et nos enfants, nos bêtes de labourage également épuisées, et quelquefois mourant pêle-mêle de lassitude sur la route. On fait perir nos moissons pour embellir les grands chemins. . . . On nous arrache à nos charrues pour travailler à notre ruine; et l'unique prix de ce travail est de voir passer sur nos héritages les carrosses de l'exacteur de la province,

de l'évêque, de l'abbé, du financier, du grand seigneur, qui foulent aux pieds de leurs chevaux le sol qui servait autrefois à notre nourriture.'

It was asserted that in one year 10,000 men and beasts died of hunger and fatigue under this worse than convict labour, and that 10,000 persons more were imprisoned for offences against its law. Mirabeau exclaimed in 1760 that, 'if the 'Corvée continued to be enforced, all France would shortly be 'converted into one vast graveyard.' A system which, making every allowance for hyperbole, could be thus described, must have been indeed atrocious. Even those who advocated and defended it were forced to admit, 'that, unless very carefully 'conducted, it might drive labourers to abandon their villages 'and hamlets, and take refuge in towns, to escape it.'

To Turgot belongs the honour of having first put a stop to this iniquitous system, which gave France some 15,000 miles of paved or hard roads, but contributed not a little to that deep discontent which led to the revolution. Different attempts have been made to measure the cost of this labour tax to the French population. According to the lowest calculations it amounted to 480,000*l.*, according to Necker's to no less than 800,000*l.* a year; but such was the recognised inefficiency of pressed labour that few venture to estimate the value of the work done at more than one half, and none at more than two thirds, of its actual cost. Our turnpike tolls at the same period produced 600,000*l.* a year, and, however great the objections to them as obstacles to trade and intercourse, had at least the merit of falling upon the persons most immediately concerned, or of being distributed, in the increased price of articles of traffic, over the community at large.

For fifty or sixty years after the Consolidation Acts of George III. no material reform was made in our road-laws. Several statutes were however passed, the general policy of which was to relax restrictions on traffic and to provide further for the repair of highways. During this period the principal turnpike roads, through the adoption of the improved methods of construction introduced by Telford, M'Adam, and others, reached a high degree of excellence. Their course had been straightened and levelled, their surface rendered hard enough to resist the impact of narrow wheels and heavy burdens, and smooth enough to present but slight obstructions to draught. Top-heavy coaches by day and mails on the darkest nights, raced along them, and reached destinations, however distant, with a punctuality that would have been to former generations incredible. The few accidents that occurred

were rather attributable to defects in the vehicles than to the imperfections of the roads. Highways had not profited by modern improvements in a corresponding degree, and Parliament, after in 1823 revising the General Turnpike Acts, passed the 5 and 6 William IV. c. 50., by which highways have since been governed.

The chief reform which characterised this, the fourth epoch in English highway legislation, was the abolition of statute-labour, and the substitution, as a provision for the repair of highways, of a rate, to be made by the surveyors, upon the property of the parishioners. Another notable reform was the removal of all limitations on the weight of loads, the breadth of wheels, and the number of animals of which teams might consist.

The statute of 1835 re-enacted most of the existing provisions for the maintenance of highways, although with numerous emendations of detail, and some additions to meet the altered state of circumstances. But its spirit was more liberal, and more in accordance with the principles of the common law, than that of the legislation of the two preceding epochs. We may mention as an instance, that it restored to parishes the right of electing their own surveyor, of which they had been deprived since the days of William III.

If we turn to France we find that a revision of the law on the subject of highways was there made, about the same time as in England. Since the days of Louis XVI. radical changes had been effected. The Corvée had been finally abolished in 1786. The mediæval tolls had long ago disappeared; an attempt had been made by Bonaparte to introduce a system of tolls for the maintenance of roads, but the idea was so intensely unpopular that it had been abandoned. Under a law promulgated in 1836 the division of roads into three principal classes was recognised. The chief avenues of the kingdom, or *grands chemins*, were continued under the direct control of the central government, and their cost defrayed out of the national revenue. Departmental roads were, as their title denotes, committed to the authorities of the several departments. The charge of maintaining the *chemins vicinaux*, or local roads, was entrusted to the communes, though placed to some extent under departmental supervision, and occasionally assisted by departmental funds. The French highway reformers at the end of the last century appear to have left the maintenance or abandonment of these roads almost, if not entirely, to the discretion of the communal authorities, and to have treated them as the property of the localities in which they lay; but the law of 1836 dis-

tinctly declared it to be an obligation on the part of communes to support all such roads as should be by competent authority pronounced *chemins vicinaux*. The means provided for repairs were labour, which, like our own statute-labour, might be compounded for by a money payment, and rates of a limited amount. Local roads were subdivided into those maintained by separate communes, and into main lines or *chemins vicinaux de grande communication*. Such as are declared by the préfets and councils to be main lines, are directed to be, so long as they retain that character, repaired at the common cost and by the common labour of a district, composed of the communes through which they run and of those whose highways fall into them as the principal channels of traffic. Public roads not included in any of the above classes are designated *chemins ruraux*. A law passed in 1839 directs the communes to watch over, and protect from injury or encroachment, these less important ways; but the authorities have no power to require either rates or labour for their maintenance, nor does the law make any provision for repairing them. Only in those exceptional cases where the revenues of communal property suffice, without aid from other sources, to meet all charges upon the commune, the surplus, if any, may be applied to the improvement of rural roads. Notwithstanding all the reforms effected, the majority of French highways continued decidedly inferior to our own. This inferiority has been most marked in the case of the roads committed to the care of the 36,000 or 37,000 different communes, where, not only the means for repair, but the roads themselves, resemble the parish highways of England a century ago.

Having now reached the fourth epoch in our highway legislation, we may be permitted briefly to contrast the facilities for locomotion at each of the periods we have adverted to.

When the Highway Act of Philip and Mary was passed, few roads were more than open spaces along which the public was privileged to travel. The directions given in an Act of the first year of Queen Mary, for the repair of the causeway between the important towns of Gloucester and Bristol show the highest standard of road-making at that period. This 'causey' was to be made 'good and substancyall; well syded, pitched, and bot-'tomed with stones and other workmanshippe, and guttered for 'avoiding of waters.' Goods were conveyed by waggons, where the soil was naturally firm and level, or a road exceptionally hard, but more generally by packhorses. Travelling was performed on horseback. Ladies rode, sometimes on side-saddles, which had been introduced by Anne of Bohemia, the wife of Richard II., but more commonly upon pillions, seated behind

their friends or their servants. The aged, the sick, and the delicate were conveyed in horse-litters, such as are still used in parts of Turkey and other primitive countries. The usual rate of travelling did not exceed a foot pace; what progress was made in a day, or whether any at all, depended upon the season of the year and the accidents of the weather. The journey from London to Liverpool was, under ordinary circumstances, reckoned to take fourteen days; a voyage from London to Bristol was looked upon by Queen Elizabeth as a dangerous undertaking. At the period when Cromwell issued his ordinance, pack-horses still offered the only means of transport on cross-roads, and in the northern and western counties. Stage-coaches ran or rather crawled at the rate of three miles an hour, from London to many of the principal towns in the kingdom. That from London to Oxford took two days to accomplish its journey of fifty-four miles; that to Exeter, an exceptionally fast one, professed to reach its destination in four days. During the reign of Charles the speed of coaches was accelerated, and the fastest achieved distances of fifty miles a day in summer, and thirty or forty in winter. Thus, the 'Flying Coach' went from London to Oxford in a single day, but as late as the year 1742 the ordinary or heavy coach did not reach Oxford till the second day. In the reign of George III. the speed of travelling had so far increased that the journey from London to Oxford was performed in nine hours, instead of in thirteen, as in the time of Charles II., while the 'Hereford Machine' was advertised 'to fly' to London in a day and a half. At the fourth epoch of our highway legislation, the Exeter coach, conveying fourteen passengers and a load double of that which a waggon was permitted by the Caroline statutes to carry, accomplished its journey in twenty hours, and the Exeter mail in eighteen; while the mail went from London to Oxford in less than six hours. The first public coaches travelled at the rate of three miles an hour; this speed was increased at the second epoch to four, at the third to six, at the fourth to ten, and even twelve miles an hour. At this latter period, the pace of one of the fastest French mails, that from Paris to Calais, did not average more than six miles an hour. In the time of Philip and Mary posting on horseback cost 1*d.* a mile, in the days of Cromwell, 3*d.*; in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the term had come to import travelling in a chaise, the cost was 9*d.*, and in the reign of George IV. 1*s.* 6*d.* a mile. Coach fares at the period of the Restoration averaged from 2½*d.* to 3*d.* a mile, in the days of George IV. they amounted to 3*d.* or 4*d.* for the same distance. The expense of personal conveyance in-

creased with its rapidity and its comfort, but the difference in the cost of the carriage of goods and produce at different epochs most clearly marks the vast improvement of our roads, and the immense benefit that thence accrued to the public. What was the cost of transport on the backs of animals in former times, we are unable to say, but it must necessarily have been large. Under Charles II. the charge for transport of merchandise by waggon averaged from 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a ton for every mile; under George IV. the average was reduced to less than one-half, and did not exceed 5*d.* a mile for the transport of minerals, and 7*d.* or 8*d.* for commodities in general.

Owing to bad management and other causes, the majority of turnpike trusts had long been sinking into debt, and in 1835 not a few were in danger of becoming altogether bankrupt. The revenue derived from tolls amounted at that period to no less than 1,500,000*l.* a year, but was in great part payable to creditors, and not available for the repair of roads. The practice of renewing or continuing road Acts, instead of suffering them to expire at the time originally intended, often proved the means of aggravating, instead of relieving, the disastrous position of trusts. The introduction of railways came to add to their financial difficulties. Notwithstanding the policy pursued of extinguishing arrears of debt, and reducing the rate of interest, and the attempts to consolidate trusts with a view to economy of management, the debt upon turnpike roads at the present time amounts to between 5,000,000*l.* and 6,000,000*l.*, while out of nearly 1,100 trusts in England and Wales, not more than 150 can be said to be free of debt.

Tolls necessarily constitute obstacles to trade and intercourse, yet turnpike trusts have in this country proved of great utility, and furnished it with roads such as it would not in all probability have obtained by other means. But the necessity for their maintenance appears now to have passed away. Railways have reduced turnpike roads from being the main lines of communication to the rank of tributaries, and have removed the differences that distinguished them from ordinary highways. The latter have since 1835 much improved; still they do not as a rule come up to the desired standard. It has been estimated, that at the present moment one-third of our highways may be pronounced good, another third indifferent, and the remainder positively bad. Uniformity in the state of repair of a continuous road is most important, but such uniformity is not ensured, as each parish, township, or other division repairs the section that falls to its share, at such time and in such manner as pleases its surveyor, without reference to its neighbours. Within the

borders of the parish similar patchwork frequently prevails, as each successive surveyor profits by his term of office to mend that bit of road which leads immediately to his own house or farm, and neglects the remainder. This state of things is aggravated wherever parts of a highway are reparable by some foreign jurisdiction, by counties, by hundreds, by individuals, or by public bodies. In the debates on the Highway Bill of 1862 a case was instanced, and many similar ones might be adduced, in which the way from a country town to a railway station five and a half miles distant, lay through seven different jurisdictions for repair, the limits of each of which were sharply defined by a change in the state of the road, which in the short space mentioned passed through every phase from the best to the worst.

The power enjoyed by the ratepayers of dividing 'team-work' among themselves, and thereby working out their rates, has perpetuated some of the worst evils of statute-labour. The old, the sick, the blind, the crippled, are set to work, not to improve the roads, but that poor-rates may wear a false appearance of reduction. Every illegal or questionable charge is saddled upon the highway rates, as they are subjected to a less stringent audit than most other local taxes. We have heard of a church-rate being paid, of overseers and vestry clerks receiving salaries, of a poor-law guardian being provided, even of a bastard child being maintained, out of the highway rates; the latter for the appropriate and cogent reason that it was alleged to have been found in a ditch by the roadside. Nothing, however, in the annals of jobbery can parallel a recent case, in which the expenses of preparing, and procuring signatures to, a petition to quarter sessions against the adoption of the Highway District Act were paid out of the parish highway rates; the chief reason urged by the memorial against such adoption being, that the new Act did not provide a sufficiently perfect audit of highway expenditure to satisfy the minds of the petitioners!

These evils are mainly due to two radical defects in our highway law, both of which the Act of 1835, like all preceding Acts, left untouched. From the days of Philip and Mary the need has been felt of some incentive to move parishes and surveyors to the discharge of their duties, beyond the apprehension, generally remote, of incurring legal penalties. From the days of Elizabeth the inconveniences resulting from the maintenance of highways by single parishes have been constantly apparent. As in the support of the poor, so in that of highways, the want has been found of some intermediate division between the county and the parish, corresponding to the old hundred; which, if

necessary, shared the burdens, and in a measure watched over, and was responsible for, the performance of their duties by the parishes that it contained. Accordingly, successive governments, without distinction of politics, Peelite, Whig, Conservative and Coalition, made the attempt to combine parishes into highway districts, and to transfer the superintendence of their roads to boards, employing the services of professional surveyors. After repeated failures by different Ministers, Sir George Grey, in 1862, succeeded in carrying the Highway District Act, the provisions of which are too well known to need repeating here.

The measure, though carried by large majorities, was stoutly opposed in the House of Commons, both on its merits and its demerits, and also on the more general ground, that it was a centralising measure, and calculated to increase expenditure. All these arguments have since been repeated, often exaggerated and burlesqued, at different courts of quarter sessions, which have by this Act been converted for the time being into legislative assemblies. Thus the transfer, with enlarged powers, of the management of highways from a single parish to a group, has been described as 'trampling out the last spark of local 'self-government, and the last vestige of English liberty,' and elsewhere, as 'infusing poison into the life-blood of the Con-'stitution.' Parish roads have been spoken of as if they were the property, not the burdens, of the parish in which they lie. Parish rights have been invoked as if the British Empire were a mere confederacy of sovereign parishes; and one enthusiast went so far as to exclaim, that the adoption of this Act would give rise to such intense bitterness of feeling between classes, as to produce a schism akin to that which has rent the American Union. Another argument, or rather assertion, advanced against the adoption of the Act in many counties has been, that the roads are good, and need only be let alone. Good is often an indefinite term, but perhaps more so in its application, especially by the mouth of a surveyor, to a highway than to any other object. In some counties 'a good road' denotes a rugged pavement, over which vehicles pitch and toss like a ship at sea. In other parts the same term imports a track that is axle-deep in sand in summer, and axle-deep in mud in winter. It may mean a steep incline covered with loose-rolling stones of any description and of all sizes, or a succession of faggots laid across a stream of mud, in which some float while others sink. It may signify a way scored with deeply-cut ruts, or, which is worse, one where they have been lately filled up with treacherous sand; we have also found it to mean a road just repaired with brickbats and broken bottles. It may be applied to a deep narrow channel

between moist banks, overgrown with vegetation, or to a track so indefinite that, like the roads of the old British king, 'its 'limits are unknown.' We have known a surveyor depose at petty sessions to the excellence of a road, within ten minutes of a man being acquitted of trespass on the adjoining land, upon undoubted proof that the road was impassable even to a foot-passenger.

Notwithstanding these objections, the Highway District Act has been extensively adopted since it received the Royal Assent on the 20th of July 1862. From a Parliamentary Return, dated April 20, 1863, it appears that in the course of nine months its provisions had been introduced into thirty out of the forty counties in England. Out of 90,000 miles of highway, maintained at an annual cost of 1,000,000*l.*, 30,000 miles had been finally placed under the charge of Boards, and 6,000 more were, by provisional orders, destined shortly so to be. The size of the districts was widely different in different counties, Northumberland showing the largest, and Warwickshire the smallest. The largest district in England in point of mileage was Hexham, with 823 miles of road; the smallest, Moreton-in-Marsh, with 11. The most numerous Board was that of Morpeth, equalling, with its 234 members, an American House of Representatives; the smallest were Moreton-in-Marsh, and Alston in Cumberland, each consisting of seven members only. Time and experience will show the most advantageous size for highway districts. In the meantime we shall scarcely err in considering it a matter for congratulation that some advance has been made towards reducing the number of the 18,000 or 20,000 localities which up to the year 1862 separately managed their own highways. In April 1863, 211 districts had been constituted, and had superseded the petty jurisdictions of more than 5,750 parishes, townships, or other divisions of parishes.

The Highway District Act is a timid measure, rather suggesting what it wishes to effect than venturing to enjoin it. The exceptions from its operation are so numerous as to constitute a serious drawback to its value. Bolder and more comprehensive propositions had however failed, and it is not probable that any measure that might be looked upon as a settlement of our highway system for any length of time, could, in existing circumstances, have been carried through Parliament. We believe that the recent Act is but the herald of changes that will constitute a fifth epoch in our highway legislation. The establishment of District Boards is in itself an important step. It may be hoped that the position of members of a representative body, entrusted with wider and more important duties than

those of mere parish surveyors, will come to be regarded not as an ungrateful task, but as an honourable post, and will awaken a sense of duty and of responsibility in the minds of those who fill it; and we are happy to find, as these sheets are passing through the press, that a Select Committee of the House of Commons has been appointed to enter more fully into the subject of turnpike trusts.

It will probably, however, before long be found desirable to assimilate the area of rating to that of administration. So long as the two are not coextensive, a few retrograde and unenlightened parishes will have great opportunities of thwarting the wishes and neutralising the efforts of the more intelligent majority of a Board. So long as each parish bears its own expenses, will the notion be fostered that interests are not common but conflicting; and so long will it be impossible to arm Boards with such powers as would enable them effectively to deal with those multiplied petty jurisdictions and personal privileges or responsibilities which it would be beneficial to absorb. So long, too, will it be difficult to authorise Boards to raise money by loan—a resource which is in many instances sorely needed to meet the necessarily heavy expenses of converting a bad road into a good one. These are points which immediately present themselves; others there are which will at no distant period claim attention. Railways have, as already observed, in great measure superseded turnpike-roads as the carriers of that through-traffic which was at once the object and the justification of tolls. The tolls formerly levied for the benefit of the neighbourhood upon the passing stranger, now fall almost exclusively upon the neighbourhood itself; and toll-gates, however well selected their position, cannot but operate partially and unjustly upon a purely local traffic. The probable consequence appears to be that, sooner or later, turnpike-roads must return to their normal condition of highways. Should they, however, once more come upon the parishes, they will aggravate a mischief already felt, namely, that certain parishes are by the accident of their situation condemned to provide the main channels through which flows the trade of a whole neighbourhood. Again, the subject of tramways, whether of wood, stone, or metal, will have to be dealt with. We know full well the real difficulties inseparable from their more general employment, and the stout prejudices to be encountered, but we refuse to believe that a simple and inexpensive contrivance, which enables one horse to draw with ease the load that now requires ten, can long continue to be neglected. The use of locomotive engines on ordinary roads is another subject that may force

itself more than hitherto on the attention of the public. All these are wide questions, with which merely ministerial officers acting for isolated parishes must be held incompetent to deal. The Central Government, apart from other almost insuperable objections, can never possess such a knowledge of local circumstances as would enable it to act satisfactorily, except by way of general regulation or supervision. To commit the requisite powers to the hands of county magistrates, who are not a representative body, but a rural House of Lords, would be at once unjust and invidious. But the solution of such questions might, perhaps, in accordance with the spirit of our ancient law and of our representative institutions, be entrusted to Boards representing the interests of a union of parishes, authorised to raise funds for the common weal, but responsible to their constituents for the expenditure incurred.

Be this however as it may, there can be no question of the fact that each successive addition to the facilities of intercommunication has contributed to national prosperity and to individual comfort. Our *viabilité* (to borrow a French term which, though we fear unacademical, is expressive) has for a long period maintained a superiority over that of other countries. That superiority is more than ever important, now that our industry is engaged in open competition with that of the whole world. Improvements that reduce the cost of transport, lower the price of every article brought to market, and are equivalent to an addition to the natural productive powers of the country. Our highways not only admit of, but call for amelioration. The subject must before long again engage the attention of the legislature. It is one on which a government may exercise great influence for good or for evil, not by taking power into its own hands, but according as it provides a machinery that will call local energy and intelligence into play, or the reverse. Measures connected with highway legislation excite little political feeling, and are not of the class that make or unmake administrations; but fraught as they are with consequences more important to the industry and well-being of the country than many questions which are raised to the dignity of election cries, or party shibboleths, they well deserve the vigilant care and patient consideration of the people and of its representatives in Parliament.

ART. III.—1. *Le Pays Basque, sa Population, sa Langue, ses Mœurs, sa Littérature et sa Musique.* Par FRANCISQUE MICHEL, Correspondant de l'Institut de France, &c. Paris, London, and Edinburgh: 1857.

2. *Le Romancero du Pays Basque.* Paris: 1859.

THE mountains which divide the Spanish peninsula from France have preserved to us some strange memorials of ages that have left behind them few traces elsewhere. The faded glories of Saracenic dominion were extinguished in Spain by the fall of Boabdil: the great monarchy of Ferdinand and Isabella passed into a state of lethargy and degradation which it is now slowly shaking off: France has twice accepted the splendid yoke of Imperialism in place of its ancient dynasties and its modern liberties, while the tiny republic of Andorre*, chartered by the son of Charles the Great, still maintains its old freedom, and exhibits in the nineteenth century the independence it acquired in the ninth. But if singularity of position has preserved in Andorre the independence of a scanty people speaking the same language with the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, the more western valleys of the Pyrenees disclose a mystery which historians and philologists have not yet succeeded in solving. The Andorrians speak a dialect not differing substantially from that of Catalonia: the people of the Basque country retain a language which has no affinity whatever with any language of the nations by which they are surrounded. While the former are without a literature, and, indeed, without much learning beyond the power of reading a few Latin manuscripts inherited from the age of 'Ludovic the Pious,' the Basque tribes have preserved, by a tradition which down to a comparatively recent age was entirely oral, a poetical literature which certainly cannot be despised for its poverty. If, unlike the Andorrians, they have failed to maintain their political independence, the influence of their rulers has not as yet succeeded in rooting out either their peculiar customs or a language which is separated by a vast geographical barrier from any kindred form of speech. In this tongue, which in its framework so resembles the languages of the Turanian race, while in its material elements it differs widely from them all, they have preserved a collection of proverbs and songs which at once exhibit the special

* An account of this singularly isolated state is given in a previous number of this Review, for April 1861.

characteristics of the people, and go far towards explaining the general course of their history. With a legitimate pride in this ancient speech, and a passionate love of their native valleys, they exhibit every feature that has marked races destined to pass away before others of keener intellect and stronger will. Their philosophy has been embodied in pithy maxims, some showing a common element with the popular sayings of European nations — others furnishing a curious comment on distinguishing marks of Basque thought and society. Their ballads are full of quiet pathos, and not without a certain tranquil humour which sometimes passes into wit; their historical songs express chiefly the patient resignation of a brave people who submit to inevitable evils; their traditional tales recount the exploits of heroes by whom the career of the contrabandist has been accepted as a necessary substitute for that of the patriot. If during the middle ages they were willing to espouse any cause for an adequate recompense in money*, they are now content to prove their strategic powers by conflicts with custom-house officers who are tacitly assumed to lie beyond the pale of human sympathy. It may be therefore a subject for regret, but scarcely a cause for wonder, that a people, whose traditions dwell on struggles between Kings of Navarre and Caliphs of the West, should be confined to a constantly narrowing area, and that in the space of a single generation their very language should have been utterly lost through districts extending over many leagues.

A narrow tract on either side of the Pyrenees is all that remains to the representatives of the old Iberians. The provinces of Guipuzcoa, Alava, and Biscay are the remnants of their inheritance in Spain. From the western crests of the French Pyrenees four valleys run northwards, each watered by its own river. The westernmost stream, known as the Nivelet, or lesser Nive, flows into the sea near St. Jean de Luz: the Cesson sinks near Sauveterre into the gave of Oloron, while between these two the Nive and the Bidassoa join the Adour, the former near Bayonne, the latter a little below Guiche. These valleys, divided into three cantons, Labourd, Soule, and Basse Navarre, formed in the old geography the Basque country, which in the modern style comprises the arrondissement of Mauleon, with the greater part of that of Bayonne. No subdivisions exist in Labourd or Soule, the former of which has about 60,000,

* In his History of the Conquest of England by the Normans (iv. p. 122.), Thierry, insisting more particularly on the mercenary spirit of the Basques (whose name he identifies with that of Vascons and Gascons alike), has drawn an admirable sketch of their general character.

the latter about 30,000 inhabitants, while Basse Navarre, with a population of 45,000, is divided among three distinct communities, known as Cize, Ostabaret, and Mixe. This province has long served as a borderland for the Basques of France and Spain. The tradition is that the people of Labourd and Soule yielded up the territory now called Basse Navarre to the Basques of Alava, when, hard pressed by the Visigoths, they resolved to abandon their homes rather than yield up their freedom. Thus, scarcely severed from their old country (for a road leads directly from the one into the other by the hill of Roncesvalles), the Basques of the Northern Navarre have from that time maintained a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of Navarre in Spain, although they have never swerved from their allegiance to the crown of France.

In truth, the fidelity, with which the Basques of both countries have discharged their duty to their sovereigns, is a characteristic scarcely less marked than the manly dignity with which they have maintained the *fueros* or privileges guaranteed to them by solemn compact. Unable, from the same cause which has made the Celt give way before the Teuton, to maintain their old possessions against more powerful races, the Spanish Basques clung to their laws and freedom with a resolution which called forth the enthusiastic praise of the late Lord Carnarvon.* That praise was not undeserved, although there may be only a partial truth in the statement that 'there 'is no great principle of law and liberty engrafted upon our own 'constitution in later times, which may not be found embodied 'in their early code.' Their freedom, like that of the Greek autonomous city, clearly lacked the power of expansion and comprehension, which has marked the national growth of Rome in ancient and of Great Britain in more modern times. Yet the city life of old Hellas was, possibly, more graceful than the national life of our own country; and there is no slight beauty in the character of the Basque people, 'trained,' as Lord Carnarvon describes them, 'to habits of self-reliance by centuries 'of self-government; freemen in spirit, not in name alone; 'drinking in with their mother's milk a love of justice and a reverence for the law; in thought sober yet independent, and wholly 'without fear, except the honest fear of doing wrong; models 'of ancient manners, and not unfrequently of manly beauty;

* 'Portugal and Galicia, with a Review of the Social and Political 'State of the Basque Provinces.' Lord Carnarvon's zeal for the cause of Don Carlos was, perhaps insensibly, affected by his admiration of the Basque character; and undoubtedly the Carlist war became a lengthened struggle, chiefly from the skilful way in which a question of succession was mixed up with the subject of the Basque *fueros*.

'faithful friends, generous hosts, simple yet inflexible observers 'of their word.' Lord Carnarvon denounced, with an indignation which can scarcely be termed excessive, the invasion of their privileges and the curtailment of their freedom. But there is no mystery in the antagonism between the spirit of French imperialism or of Spanish monarchy and a form of personal liberty, of which one of the strongest bulwarks is a language utterly alien to that of any among the surrounding nations. To confine this language within narrower limits was manifestly a sure means of weakening the strength of Basque independence; and the efforts of Frenchmen and Spaniards have during the present century been crowned with a singular success. From the popular traditions which speak of Basque blood lavished in behalf of Iberian freedom against Carthage, the Romans, and the Goths, and of a struggle between the Caliphs of the West maintained through more than six centuries, we turn to the significant fact that forty years ago their language was spoken at Olite, while it is now cooped up within a district (seven or eight leagues narrower) scarcely extending beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Pampeluna.

The mere fact that in the secluded nooks which form the borderland between two large centralised states, a people still exists speaking a language without the slightest likeness to any Aryan dialect whatever, and only in grammatical form resembling the languages of the Turanian race, must of itself impart to their character and fortunes a peculiar and indelible interest. If this language has only within comparatively recent times been reduced to writing, and if, as it would seem, it is, in spite of the pathetic attachment of the people, rapidly dying out, their most trivial songs, their poorest romances, their most stupid superstitions, become memorials of bygone times, with which we would not willingly part. The evidence of inscriptions on coins or monuments, the names of cities, rivers, or mountains, may prove that the Escuara (or Basque), now spoken only by the insignificant tribes who style themselves Escualdunac, was once the language of a race spread over the whole Spanish peninsula; but the language itself carries us back to times compared with which the days of Carthaginian or Roman ascendancy fall within the period of modern history. It seems to point, in geological phrase, to strata of which almost every vestige has been obliterated by later floods, or, as the philologist might say, to a time when the only languages spoken throughout Europe (so far as it was inhabited) belonged to the class of which specimens are still seen in the Basque and Finnic dialects.

Of the grammatical system of this singular and deeply inter-

esting language, M. Michel has given a clear and satisfactory account. But we feel bound to say that he has not increased its value by indulging in speculations on its origin and affinity with other tongues. No benefit can be expected from researches into such a language as the Escuara, unless they are carried on with systematic precision; nor can we, from the present condition of the people, throw much light on the origin and history of their speech or their civilisation, unless all points of difference between them and surrounding nations are brought out at the least as prominently as the features which they exhibit in common with them. If we smile at the haste with which Dr. Arnold concluded that in the Basque *gu* and *ni* or *neu* we have respectively the lost plural and singular of the Latin *ego* and *nos**, the ingenuity with which M. Michel draws from a few Basque words the evidence of Biblical traditions will excite the astonishment of philologists. It is hard to believe that M. Michel is speaking seriously, when he affirms that in the word for Thursday, 'orzeguna' (from *orzu*, behold, and *eguna*, day, a compound from *egi*, the sun), we have a distinct reference to the work of the fourth day of Creation as recorded in the first chapter of Genesis, and that an analysis of *ereba*, sister, gives us *ar-eba*, the Eve of the male. If the Basque tradition is so surprisingly in accordance with the Biblical account as to reserve for the fourth day of the week a name which expresses the first sight of the sun, why should not the fifth day have a name signifying the creation of fish and fowl, and the sixth a name indicating the creation of man? Such speculations are, in truth, mere guesswork, and only hinder the progress of the science which they are intended to support; and it is greatly to be regretted that M. Michel should have followed a method much like that of older critics who derived all languages from the Hebrew.

M. Michel remarks that in the Basque language the names of mountains, rivers, districts, and villages commonly tell their own tale. This transparent character is not peculiar to Basque names. If Mugerre, near Bayonne, means the burnt country, it is simply the land of the Phlegyes; Etchegorri, the red house, is Erythræ; while Artetche would answer to Glaphyræ, and Larrart to Trachis. It is, however, a noteworthy characteristic of the Basque people that the names of houses are used by them

* Life by Stanley, vol. ii. p. 312. The futility of such a conjecture is seen as soon as we remember that the Latin *ego* must be traced through the cognate forms of the Greek *ἐγ-ών*, the Sanskrit ah-ám, the Zend az-èm, to the harder Gothic and German forms *ik*, *ich*, &c.; and *nos*, in like manner, through the Greek *ἄ-μμε-ς* and the Gothic *wei-s* to the English *we*.

in the place of patronymics. The redoubtable Pierre de l'Ancre, the terror of all reputed sorcerers in the Basque country, writing in the early part of the seventeenth century, remarks that, 'In Labourd the poorest inhabitants in the villages called themselves lords or mistresses of such or such a house—these houses being their dwellings, although perhaps not much better than a pigsty' (p. 17). The contemptuous expression of the French judge betrays his utter inability to understand the reason for a habit which appeared to him so singular. The Biscayan's house was his castle, in a sense far stronger than that which the phrase bears in England. No officer of justice could enter it, nor could any warrant be issued against the owner, until he had first been summoned to the tree of Guernica, there to answer to the charges brought against him. Lord Carnarvon has rightly described this privilege as 'a custom more determinately in favour of the subject than even our own cherished Habeas Corpus;' but it must not be forgotten that it could be exercised only under the special conditions of Basque society.

No such marked peculiarity can be found in their popular superstitions. The Basques do not stand alone in their dislike of sitting down thirteen in number at a dinner-table, or in their dread of a fit of sneezing, the upsetting of a salt-cellar, the crossing of knives and forks, or of beginning a voyage on a Friday. They are not singular in looking on haggard and wrinkled old men and women as wizards or sorcerers, or in their belief in lycanthropy; but in his elaborate and instructive chapter on Basque superstitions, M. Michel seeks to prove that they cling to such fancies, not because they are, but because they are not credulous.

'The famous criterion, *magister dixit*, is nowhere for principles of practice less popular than among the Basques. Tell them of some true fact, which to them may appear improbable, they will listen politely, and perhaps even applaud your statements; but you must not suppose that they believe what you say. Groups of mountaineers may be seen shaking their heads incredulously at the bare mention of railroads or electric telegraphs, with which but a few years later they may have grown familiar. To believe in such things every one must see them with his eyes, and touch them with his hands. I lay stress on this point, which I regard as fundamental and necessary, if we wish seriously to account for the superstitions of our rural districts.' (P. 156.)

But when M. Michel speaks of them as 'more rationalistic than the rationalists themselves,' his anxiety to parry the charge of credulity has led him to impute to them the very essence of all credulity. The wildest superstition is grounded on some

congenial authority, and there are laws of superstitious as of mythological credibility. The charge of credulity can be repelled only by showing that the belief of a people rests directly on the method of searching into the truth of facts; and M. Michel makes a strong effort so to save the credit of the Basques, when he expresses his belief that the source and foundation of their superstitions is to be looked for 'in certain 'truths which it may be useful to establish.' This can only mean, if the plea is to be worth anything, that they rest on certain facts which are in themselves true. M. Michel's instances scarcely prove his conclusion. In July 1854, a peasant was convicted at Romorantin, and severely punished, for breaking open a grave, because he wished to mingle filings from a human skull in an infusion for epilepsy. M. Michel can scarcely think that medical prescriptions of the seventeenth century, which gravely enjoin the use of this ingredient together with parings from the nails of executed felons, establish the efficacy of the injunction. The superstitious use of mineral waters is more easily accounted for; but M. Michel, perhaps unconsciously, modifies his position, when he says that the custom rests on 'a basis sufficiently reasonable for the age in which it 'took its rise.' His position is still further changed, when he traces the prevalent belief that the pressure of the hangman's hands can cure the goitre, to a phrase which spoke of his hempen cord as a panacea for all evils. The explanation is a good one; but there is no truth of facts to be established either here or in the atrocious cases in which reputed sorcerers, on a charge of producing epileptic affections, were sometimes placed over blazing furnaces; nor is anything gained by a reference to the language of Arnold of Villeneuve (a physician of the thirteenth century), who draws a distinction between mere charms or amulets and the remedies which, however fanciful or absurd, he recommends as operating by the intrinsic virtues of their material. His language shows the feeble influence of a science yet in its infancy: but as the efficacy of raspings from human skulls was not established experimentally as a fact, there is so far no truth underlying the physician's prescription or the superstition of the Basque people.

But, if we cannot admit a philosophical basis for their popular belief, the proverbs and poetry of the nation explain in some degree the general course of their history. Their whole original *

* In his chapter on Basque Bibliography, M. Michel gives a list of works printed in the language. With the exception of the national songs and romances, they consist almost wholly of translations, and

literature belongs clearly to a people destitute of the power of political combination, and unable, therefore, to impress their will on others or to keep their own ground against them. Like most races, whose lot it has been to be continually worsted, they have fought bravely in defence of their ancient country; and their songs have preserved some memory of a few of these contests, in which, with a true instinct, they attribute victory, when gained, rather to their rugged mountain-passes than to their own military skill. Alike in their popular sayings and their popular songs, there is much true and tender feeling, with a tone of pathos which in many a poem sounds like the dirge of a fallen people. It is the patient utterance of a nation which accepts the gradual decay of its power as its allotted portion. M. Michel has drawn a perfectly true picture, when he says that—

'The exhaustion and weariness caused by so many wars, the useless shedding of so much blood, followed only by further weakening of their nationality, made war appear to the Basque as a scourge, and deeds of heroism as the natural expression of courage roused by unjust aggressions. It became thenceforth difficult for him to indulge in romance, or to listen with delight to tales and descriptions agreeable only to those who have not experienced their terrible realities, or rather perhaps to those who, having been tried in the furnace of peril and disaster, can still trace to past dangers some solid gains for the present or the future. In short, there may be feelings of pleasure in the idea of dangers to which there is a brighter side; but there was nothing of this sort to quicken the imagination of the Basque—sufferings without end, pillage and horrors of every kind, formed the sequel to all their battles and all their struggles.' (P. 226.)

There is, however, no real warrant for believing that the general character of their poetry was ever different from what it is now, or that any great epic poems have, as M. Michel fears, been lost. The popular songs, of which writers in the fourteenth and the two following centuries speak, were probably songs of much the same kind as those which are most widely circulated now. In these M. Michel asserts that—

'Among commonplace or even trivial thoughts, we meet not unfrequently with happy inspirations and outbursts of true poetry,

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these mostly of devotional works, as the Spiritual Combat, the Imitation of Christ, the Exercises of Ignacius, and Devotions to the Sacred Heart. There are also some translations of Cicero and the Fables of La Fontaine, and many more of sermons and narratives from the Bible. To this habit of translating, the History of Guipuzcoa, by Don Juan de Iztueta, and the History of the Basques (in verse), by M. Hiribarren, furnish almost the only exceptions.

which, for boldness, strength, richness, or grace, may bear a comparison with the most perfect productions of a like nature left to us in Greek or Latin literature. May we not fairly say with Nodier, "The Basque and the Bas-Breton wait only for poets. All the "instruments of poetry are ready for them, as they were in England "on the coming of Chaucer, and in France on that of Villon"?' (P. 221.)

Yet, unless an exception is to be made in favour of some of their tragedies, the poets have not come: and to indifferent judges the character of the people sufficiently explains their absence. But a further difficulty with regard to Basque proverbs and poems arises from the fact that they have only in comparatively recent times been committed to writing. Hence it is not always easy to determine how much may be consciously borrowed from those of other nations, where a marked resemblance may be discovered between them. The proverb, 'Erroma 'ecen horen batez acabatu' (Rome was not built in an hour), is a mere translation. But when the Basque colonist far away in Montevideo says plaintively,

'Churiguriac oro
Ez dire, Ez irin,'

('All that looks white is not corn-flour')—p. 345,

he may not have been conscious that the same bitter experience found expression in the saying, 'All that glitters is not gold.' There was doubtless the same unconscious agreement between the proverb

'Escont eguna
Aise isanaren biharemuna,'

('The marriage-day is the morrow of good times')

and the Hesiodic sarcasm,

ὃς δὲ γυναικὶ πέποιθε πέποιθ' ὅ γε φηλήτῃσι.

But M. Michel is mistaken in thinking that the earliest trace of the almost universal proverb

'Gois gorriac laklarke uri,
Arrats gorriac egur aldi,'

('A ruddy morning betokens rain, a red evening promises fair weather'),

is to be found in the Gospel of St. Matthew. The maxim is modified to suit the climate of each country, and the same observation of phenomena led Virgil to remark,

Vento semper rubet aurea Phœbe,'

and to caution the farmer against rain,

'Sol ubi nascentem maculis variaverit ortum.'

The proverb

'Othrizen estaquiena Jaincoiri
Berraio itsasoari,'

('The man who knows not how to pray to God should go to the sea to learn,')

bears a resemblance, the more remarkable if undesigned, to the saying of the Hebrew Psalmist, 'They that go down to the 'sea know the works of the Lord.'

Of the dramatic representations amongst the Basques M. Michel has given a valuable account, which would have been still more interesting if he had been somewhat less lavish of unnecessary detail. Of these dramas, whether religious, tragic or comic, the people are passionately fond. The subjects of their pastorals (of which M. Michel has himself collected thirty-four) are taken from the Bible history, from Christian hagiology and the chansons de geste, or even from the mythology of heathen Rome. The day of representation is necessarily a general holiday, for the whole community must be present, whether as actors or spectators. The former are selected from among the young men of the district, for, by a custom unlike that of the Tyrolese, girls rarely appear on the stage, while an *etcheco-alhaba*, or maiden of good family, never takes part in these performances. For the moderate sum of about forty francs, the schoolmaster of the place generally undertakes the duties of copyist, manager, and prompter. A few rehearsals in a private house prepare the actors for their public appearance on a stage which much resembles that of Thespis. At one end of the scaffold may be seen commonly a monstrous puppet, to which motion is imparted by ropes, and which among the Basques passes for the Mahometan Allah. The gymnastic dances which, during the accidental interruptions of the drama, represent the struggle of good and evil spirits for the possession of man, make it more probable that the real meaning of this curious custom is to be sought in the personification of the evil power, which in every system of mythology counteracts the beneficent principle. On the stage with the actors are to be seen the chief persons of the district, the dressmakers, who also are charged with the scenic decorations, the prompter, and two minstrels, who, with violin and flute, aided by a tambourine, accompany the songs which in the form of prayers or hymns are chanted in critical parts of the drama by the actors, or by a chorus of children. Thus the angels comfort Geneviève in her agony with the vision

of the glories of heaven, which like a brilliant star shall shed their splendour on her when she stands, in Paradise, before the throne of God. It is not surprising that the enthusiasm of the moment should sometimes upset the reason of maidens who have acted the martyr's part, or that even in old age their eyes should flash and their breast heave at the mere remembrance of the scene enacted before the enraptured crowd. The Christian king and his nobles, the Mahometan caliph and his servants, the *Satans* who appear in the gymnastic dances have, each, a conventional costume, and these dresses are procured by a general levy on the goods of the inhabitants, which it would be dangerous to resist. Jewels and ribbons are especially laid under contribution for the crowns of kings and the coronets of princes and nobles. On the day of performance, the actors ride in procession through the streets, and having passed before the houses of the mayor and chief inhabitants, dismount at the theatre. The evil archangel is the first to mount the steps, followed by his ministers, and the rest of the actors in an order of precedence determined by the importance of the part which each sustains. At the end of a prologue which sketches the incidents of the drama as carefully as a prologue of Euripides, the pastoral begins.

'It is impossible to do justice to the attention and stillness of the audience, in spite of the vast throng of people of every age and condition. They remain crowded and suffocated in a wearisome posture during the four or five hours of the performance. On the faces turned eagerly towards the stage not a sign of impatience is to be seen; although they can scarcely breathe, not a sigh is to be heard, except when innocence and virtue are persecuted, and then their sympathy shows itself in tears. All the dialogues and maxims are received with avidity, and furnish afterwards material for conversation, or lessons for the education of children.' (P. 51.)

No charge is made for seats at these performances, and there is therefore no need, as at Athens, for a Theoric fund to enable the poorer citizens to be present at them. But there are two sources of revenue for defraying costs. The spectators pay voluntarily a price far exceeding their value for the refreshments which are distributed to them in the name of the actors, while the pastoral is followed by a series of dances, of which the first three are a costly amusement for the dancers. To take part in the first, a sum varying from 150 to 200 francs must be paid, while a place in the second can be obtained from 20 to 50 francs, and in the third from 15 to 30 francs. If any profits remain after paying all costs, they are expended in discharging the account for wine drunk during the rehearsals, and for a

dinner and ball given about a week after the performance. The actors and spectators carry with them on their way home some little of the enthusiasm with which they witnessed or took part in the pastoral; and if the people of villages between which there is any rivalry chance to take the same road, the encounter not unfrequently leads to hard knocks, 'and the drama, which 'was supposed to be ended, is sometimes renewed at the 'assizes.'

If the frequent adoption of sacred subjects furnishes some reason for thinking that these pastorals came into fashion among the Basques during the centuries in which mysteries such as those of the Ammergau were most in vogue, the many plays founded on the death of Roland, or other events in the age of Charlemagne, serve, in M. Michel's opinion, to prove that they spring from the original genius of the people. Whatever may be their origin, M. Michel notes as remarkable, the fact that these pastorals, with the satirical dramas and masquerades of the carnival, are to be found only in Soule, the country of the best-known Basque poets. In Labourd the change which has led to this difference appears to be a recent one. There are, or were not long since, living at St. Jean de Luz women who have taken part in tragedies. The possibility that what has happened in Labourd may happen also in Soule, is a strong argument for collecting the text of all existing pastorals, 'before the wind 'which blows from France or Spain shall have scattered them 'away for ever.'

Their comedies (Tobera-munstrac), far from serving as a vehicle of satire against abstract human vices, treat simply of scandals which may arise in their own society. Conjugal infidelity, or the infraction of Salic law by a wife who usurps sway over her husband, furnished in times past the subject of a stinging comedy, and the offending wife or husband was paraded before the public in the *asto-lastercac*, or ignominious procession in which the culprit, as in Eastern lands, rode facing the tail of an ass. The houses of widowers or widows who ventured on a second marriage were visited down to the very night of the wedding (for in Soule no widow could be married during the daytime) by noisy crowds, whose words were neither soft nor courteous. The original motive of these disagreeable attentions may have been to put a check on second nuptials; but the ceremony may now be avoided by the payment of money, and the gift of a barrel of wine will secure impunity for the nuptials of the oldest widow in the community.

Among their historical tragedies are some which, as specimens of oral traditions, are at least as remarkable as their earlier songs,

while they certainly exhibit the highest form of Basque poetry. M. Michel may fairly speak of one scene in the tragedy of 'Mary of Navarre' as 'really sublime.' The true Basque spirit is shown in the bearing of the captive King Sancho Abarca, as well as in that of his daughter. 'What answer shall I take 'back to the Caliph?' says the slave of Abdalrahman: 'am I to 'tell him that thou spurnest his love? I must fulfil his behest; 'what shall I say for thee?' 'Tell him that I will die, die a 'thousand times —' 'I can never take him such a message as 'this,' is the answer of Osman: 'Thou knowest not how fearful is 'his anger.' 'A creature of dust can make thee tremble,' replies the captive maiden, 'how much more ought I to fear the King 'of Angels. I fear not men: but thou mayest fall down before 'them, if it pleases thee.' Without exaggerating the merits of Basque poetry, we may say with M. Davoisin, 'Si, après quel-'ques siècles, quand ce petit peuple aura perdu, avec sa nationa-'lité phénoménale, la langue qu'il parle aujourd'hui, si, dis-je, 'on retrouve encore ses pièces dramatiques, on sera tenté de 'croire qu'elles ne sont pas l'œuvre de pauvres gens qui n'ont eu 'aucune teinture des lettres: alors encore un rayon de gloire 'brillera sur eux.'

One of these tragedies, on the life and death of Clovis, adheres with very tolerable faithfulness to the history and character of the age. At however late a time the play may have been composed or reduced to writing, the materials must, it would seem, have been handed down by word of mouth without substantial change during a period which might fairly have excited the wonder of Sir Cornewall Lewis. It is, at the least, strange that a tragedy, professing to relate events of the sixth century, should contain more of real history than a play designed to illustrate the life of the first Napoleon in the nineteenth. Possibly the Basques may have felt a deeper interest in the fortunes of the earlier than in those of the later conqueror, and the drama of Napoleon may be the work merely of 'some village philosopher who looked 'contemptuously on popular tales with corporals and quarter-'masters for their heroes. But the tragedy of Clovis would at once yield in value to the song of the Cantabri, if we could only believe that the latter was composed not long after the victories of Octavianus, of which it professes to speak. But, as M. Michel justly remarks, it is not easy to think that a nation, 'which forgets so quickly,' has thus retained the memory of a siege which took place nearly two thousand years ago; and the account that the song was found by Juan Ibañez de Ibarguen about the year 1590, on an old worm-eaten piece of parchment, is open to grave suspicion. It presents, in short, 'marks of

'antiquity, which, if they fail to prove that of the poem, create 'from their mere number a distrust of its authenticity.' (P. 231.)

The song of Attabiscar is on every ground of greater importance. Fully admitting the difficulties connected with oral transmission, and the lateness of the time in which the Basque poems were reduced to writing, M. Michel is still inclined to believe that this song belongs to the age of which it speaks, both from its general character and more particularly because the Frank king mentioned in it is called Carloman. 'There is every reason,' he remarks, 'for concluding that this during his lifetime was 'the name of Charlemagne, who received the title of Carolus 'Magnus merely by latinising the sound of his real name. This, 'it is true, has been fully shown by J. Grimm and M. Michelet 'before the publication of the song: but it is unlikely that their 'works should have suggested the idea of giving an air of anti-'quity to this poem by assigning to the great Emperor another 'name than that by which he is generally known.' (P. 235.)* The following version may give some idea of a song which the student of Basque may read in the original language in M. Michel's pages. It is a song of triumph over Roland the brave who fell in the disastrous fight of Roncesvalles:—

'A cry is heard
In the Basque mountains.

Every *etcheco-jauna* [master of a house], standing before his door,
Listens and cries, Who is there, and what seek they?
The hound, which was sleeping at his master's feet,
Rises; and his deep baying resounds through Attabiscar.

'There is a noise on the hill of Ibañeta;
It echoes, as it draws near, between the rocks.
It is the dull murmur of a coming host.
Our men have answered it on the mountain-tops,
The warning of their horns has been heard,
And the *etcheco-jauna* sharpens his weapons for the fight.

'They come, they come! What a hedge of spears!
Banners of all hues float in the midst,

* The argument is, seemingly, of no great force. The mark of Charles the King (signum Caroli regis) is attached to existing charters; and Charlemagne had a brother named Carloman, who survived his father Pepin three years, and so left an undivided sovereignty to Karl or Charles, afterwards called the Great. The Basque poet may possibly have confused the names of the two brothers, although Carloman died seven years before the fight of Roncesvalles; but if the occurrence of the name Carloman does not tend to establish the authenticity of the poem, it is of little weight against it.

And a dazzling light flashes from their arms.
How many are they? Comrade, count them well.
One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve,
Thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty.

'Twenty!—aye, and thousands more.
It would be a waste of time to count them.
Let hand join with hand, to uproot the rocks,
And hurl them down from the mountain summits
On their heads,
Till they lie crushed and dead.

'What would they with our hills, these men of the North?
Wherefore have they come to vex our peace?
When God made these mountains, it was that men should not pass them.
But the rocks fall, and smite down their hosts.
The blood flows in streams, the mangled limbs quiver.
Ha! for the crushing of bones! ha! for the sea of blood!

'Fly, ye who have the strength; fly, ye who have horses!
Fly, King Carloman, with thy sable plumes and scarlet mantle!
Roland the brave, thy loved nephew, lies dead;
Thy bravery hath been of no avail for him.
Now, ye Basques, leave these rocks,
And shoot down your enemies in their flight with your arrows.

'They fly, they fly! Where is the hedge of spears?
Where are the banners of all hues that floated above them?
No dazzling light flashes from their blood-soiled armour.
How many are they? Comrade, count them with care.
Twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen,
Twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, one.

'One!—there is not even one remaining.
All is over. *Etcheco-jauna*, thou mayest go back with thy hound,
Embrace thy wife and thy children,
Furbish thy weapons, hang them up with the horn, and then lie down to sleep beneath them.
The eagles will come in the night to feed on mangled flesh,
And the bones shall bleach on the ground for evermore.'

With these songs and the tragedies which relate the fortunes of Clovis and Sancho Abarca close, if genuine, the Basque traditions of ancient times. Their other songs belong, by comparison, to the present generation. Some of the most interesting of these, weak and prosaic as they may be, relate to Basque colonisation in America,—the sequel, if we are to

believe Cleirac, of explorations which anticipated those of Columbus and his successors. There are few more conspicuous instances of the folly of trusting oral tradition as a means for establishing the truth of facts. If Basque sailors had for generations fished in American waters, there is a bathos in the idea of Columbus as a discoverer; and the absurdity is heightened by the Basque legend that he was guided by one of their own seamen who knew all about it. But Basque exploits, like all others, must pay the penalty imposed on defective evidence. In the judgment of some modern writers, the American continent was discovered by Phœnicians*; and the explorations of the Basque fishermen must be classed with those of the Venetian Nicolo Zeno, who saw marvellous things in Estotiland and Drogeo.

The Basque, indeed, have reaped little glory or profit from their settlements in America. The songs, which embody the experience of the colonists, contain, unlike their superstitions, a doctrine wholesome for these times, and instil a wise suspicion of emigration agents.

'From all quarters and every point,' (says the song,) 'hurry the dupers of men. Little good do they bring, and much cost. Assuredly they would not be ill placed if thrown into a dungeon. . . . Too late I see the truth, too late I mourn my folly. Let all take warning from me, and let no one in his senses think of coming to these countries.'

His grief borrows the language of the Hebrew dirge: 'If 'ever I forget my mother, whose tears fall as she thinks that 'she may never see me more,—if I forget my father, my friends, 'my country, may my tongue remain motionless in my mouth' (p. 348). The same love for their mountains and valleys, the same home-sickness during absence, the same sensibility to tender emotions and the softer sights and sounds of nature, with deep religious and moral convictions and a spirit of manliness equal to everything but the work of aggression, mark their recent poetry as a whole, and exhibit the mind of a people who, seeing their fate in the future, are determined that the period of their decay shall lack neither dignity nor consolation. The song of the Tree of Guernica, beneath whose ancient branches meet the Guizon-onac, or good men, of the land†, expresses the assurance that the true foundations of a state are laid in righteousness.

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* Sir G. C. Lewis, On the Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 448.

† Lord Carnarvon, Portugal and Galicia, p. 322

'The tree of Guernica is blessed,
And loved by all among the Basque people.
Flourish, and spread thy fruit through all the world;
We cherish thee, O sacred tree.

'It is now a thousand years
Since God planted the tree of Guernica.
Remain, then, standing, for if in our day thou fallest,
Utter ruin is our portion.

'But thou wilt not fall, O loved tree,
If the senate of Biscay bears itself well.
In thee we have a surety
That the Basque people may dwell in peace.

'Mayest thou flourish always:
To beg this gift we fall on our knees in prayer.
And, when we have sought this with our whole heart,
The tree shall live now, and in all the time to come.'

In their love-songs, all of which have at least some prettiness, stars, doves, and roses furnish the favourite imagery. They are commonly thrown into the form of dialogues. The lover is ready with his comparisons.

'The morning star rises first on the horizon;
They say that of all stars it is the fairest.
But on the earth I see one fairer still,
Which hath not its equal in the heaven.

'Fair star, thou art full of charms:
I cannot live without thy presence.
Open then the gate in the name of love,
For thy parents doubtless are asleep.'

The maiden answers cautiously:

'In the name of love I will open the door,
Yet I fear that thou mayest deceive me.
Of all who have trusted in young men
I have seen but few who have not been deceived.'

The song closes with a protest against so disagreeable an insinuation.

'Why speak to me thus?
Knowest thou not that I am a man of honour?
Knowest thou not that I have no will to hurt thee,
That no thought of trickery has passed across my mind?'

The Basque humour lies chiefly in quiet innuendo. A poem on a shipwreck in which the captain and most of the passengers were lost, begins with the complacent declaration, 'In the year '1842, on the 16th day of July, I composed these fine new 'verses, having found the finest possible subject.' The poet

avers that some laid the blame of the disaster on the captain. 'But I do not know,' he carefully adds, 'on which side the 'truth may lie. There is no further remedy, since all have 'perished. The captain of the ship had been put to severe tests, 'and he would never have received the appointment, if he had 'not been a fit man; but death was his portion, as it is also ours, 'and for all who died with him, the hour in which they died 'was destined to be their last.' Indeed he had known the captain, and had not much envied his office. 'He was a touter for 'passengers,—a wretched employment, so far as I can judge of 'it—but, perhaps, like the rest of the passengers, he is now in 'heaven' (p. 351). The song entitled 'L'Eau et le Vin' is a sharp strife of words, in which the water finally conquers by asserting its pre-eminence as the medium for all sea-traffic, while at the same time it has its place in two sacraments. The wine urges its presence at the sacrifice of the Mass, but is rebuked by the charge,

'Thy sprightliness soon passes away,
Thou leavest no peace in families,
Often thou makest thy favourite prevail in tavern controversies;
Hence arise quarrels and, frequently, murders.'

To this there is no reply, and the water winds up the argument in a way which would have gladdened the heart of Father Mathew. 'Men will be better for hating thee, and loving me. 'Enjoying a tranquil calm, and good health which is sweeter 'still, they will have a long life' (p. 359). Another song which bids all give 'Honour to the labourer' may be commended to the consideration of the mean-whites in the Confederate States, as laying down the only course by which they may hope always 'to have a full pot on the hearth.'

The Basque smugglers are a formidable body, their work being carried on in wholesale by associations regularly organised, and in retail by scattered parties of men, women, and even children, on the mountains. Some of their chiefs attain a high reputation for bravery and generalship, and any idea of disgrace as attaching to the calling is indignantly repudiated by a logic firmly opposed to all doctrines of protection. 'After all are we 'not men and Frenchmen, like them? They have fabrics and 'staples, we have the frontiers. Let each take his profit from 'what he has' (p. 119). Their appreciation of the smuggler's life varies naturally with the measure of their success. On the mountains the contrabandist boasts that he could drown his cares in wine, but that of the latter he has plenty, of the former none. In prison he confesses that the occupation is but a doleful one, but that the virtues of his comrades are by no means

estimated at their true value. They do no harm to any one, and they deserve to be remembered by all in their devotions. 'Mention not our names without a prayer, for no life can be 'more sad than ours' (p. 363).* Yet a picture far more wretched is disclosed in the life of the Bohemians or gypsies who haunt the remote glens of the Basque mountains. Except at St. Jean de Luz, where some of these outcasts have become fishermen and intermarried with the Basque inhabitants, not much to the improvement of the latter, they lead a life more miserable than that of their kinsfolk in other lands. Hunted down in some cantons like noxious beasts, the remnants of this race, who escaped the wholesale arrest of 1802, live during the winter in trunks of trees or in huts abandoned by shepherds, and in summer under the open sky, feeding on vegetable matter, fresh or decayed, or on the flesh of cattle which have died from poison or by a natural death,—in short, on anything that they can find; and nothing, M. Michel remarks, either disgusts or hurts them. Like the gypsies of England and other countries, they look on baptism as a spell, of which the power is strengthened by repetition. Many of their children are educated in the communal school, but after their first communion they return invariably to the savage life of their fathers. 'He who is born 'in the wood must go back to it;' and some striking legends in the Romancero illustrate the truth of their favourite proverb. In death these wanderers are as mysterious as in their life they are wretched; their graves are never to be seen, and M. Michel conjectures that, like Attila, they may be buried under the bed of a stream, which for a few hours has been diverted from its course.

The identity of customs and legends in countries utterly cut off from all communication with each other is, perhaps, a

* Some of the most interesting among the pleasant tales collected in the 'Romancero du Pays Basque,' the authorship of which we are tempted to attribute to M. Michel himself, relate the exploits and lives of Basque smugglers and gypsies; but their value is certainly not increased by the free treatment which they have undergone. In the volume on the Basque country (p. 122), Ganis, one of the most noted contrabandists, carries the princess of Beira, the affianced bride of Don Carlos, across the Spanish frontier—the only sufferer being a geologist named Collegno, who was hurried off to prison under the idea that he was the Count of Montemolin, the son of Don Carlos. In the Romancero, the Princess becomes the Queen of Spain, and Ganis is represented as falling in love with her, while he strives to rescue her from the officers on the frontier. Such variations make the narrative a pretty tale, and nothing more, when a different handling might have given it a historical value.

greater mystery than any with which the science of language has to deal. The latter admits that tribes and nations may even change their speech from contact with their immediate neighbours: their legends and customs, if they differ from those of the nations round about, they must have brought with them; and if these are found in other lands with which no intercourse has been possible during historical ages, we are confronted with a problem which we cannot thrust aside, but on which it would be rash to pronounce judgment without the most ample evidence. Of all customs few are more singular and apparently more unintelligible than the Basque practice of the Couvade (or hatching) at child-birth. 'En Biscaye, 'dans des vallées, dont la population rappelle, par ses usages, 'l'enfance de la société, les femmes se lévent immédiate-'ment après leurs couches et vaquent aux soins de ménage, 'pendant que leur mari se met au lit, prend la tendre créature 'avec lui, et reçoit ainsi les compliments des voisins' (p. 201). Yet this custom (without laying stress on the statement of Marco Polo that he found it in Tartary) existed in Béarn and still exists among certain African and American tribes. As M. Michel remarks, nothing is gained by referring the practice to the Basque legend of Aitor; but his own conclusion, that in this custom we have an 'expression of the barbarism, in which 'man the warrior is everything and the woman nothing,' scarcely amounts to an explanation. M. Michel cites Diodorus, who speaks of the practice as existing down to his own day in Corsica: but the whole stress of his account is laid on the fact that the man feigns to be sick*, a pretence scarcely consistent with the boasted strength of the warrior. The coexistence of such practices in the most distant parts of the world points the way to inquiries which may lead us to some strange conclusions; but the path is one which must be trodden with the utmost wariness.

* ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀναπεσὼν ὡς νοσῶν λυχνεύεται τακτὰς ἡμέρας, ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ κακοπαθοῦντος. (V. 14.) See also Strabo III. iv. 17. Among some of the American tribes, the father is compelled not merely to take to his bed, but also to undergo a long and rigid fast. In others, he is allowed to walk about, but his amusements must be only those of a child. Probably Southey ('History of Brazil') has approached nearer to the true meaning of this custom, when he says that the union between the father and his progeny is 'regarded as so 'intimate that the utmost care should be taken of him, lest the child 'should suffer.' This supposed material connexion evidently lies at the bottom of the Obeah sorceries, as well as of countless other superstitions, and may be distinctly traced through certain stages in growth of language.

ART. IV.—1. *A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice.* By Major-General JOHN CAMPBELL, C.B. London: 1864.

2. *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India under the Government of Bombay, including Notices of the Provinces and Tribes in which the Practice has prevailed.* By JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. Bombay and London: 1855.

SOME years ago, an impression prevailed in England, that the Government of the East India Company was over-tolerant of idolatrous superstitions, and too reluctant to interfere with those gross acts of inhumanity and indecency among the Hindus which were screened by the pretext of religious observances. At that time it was also popularly credited by the natives of India that, in order to ensure the aid of the native Gods, the English Government made offerings annually at great temples of the funds of which they were the financial administrators; and British officers unquestionably used to be present officially, at idolatrous ceremonies. In regard to these proceedings, the sharp strictures of the religious party of England, though often exaggerated as to facts, gave an impulse to reform; and by the abolition of Suttee, the abandonment of connexion with the funds and endowments of temples, prevention of swinging festivals, and other remedial measures, the Government of India fulfilled the desire of the English people, and publicly acquitted itself to the Hindus of all sympathy with their superstitious rites. But apart from these, other strange and terrible varieties of religious and normal crime were discovered from time to time, for the abolition of which Special Agencies have been established; and in the suppression of Thuggee, Dacoity, Infanticide, and Human Sacrifice, we can now estimate the rare devotion and continuous perseverance which have crowned those measures with success. In the works now before us, we have two examples of the mode of effecting these ameliorations; and it will be a grateful task to review them in detail. To the best of our knowledge, no continuous official accounts of the transactions of these agencies have ever been published; and but for private authorship, and the casual comments of the local press of India, the public of England might never have known that thousands of female infants were once systematically destroyed to gratify Rajpoot prejudice, and that

hundreds of human victims were annually slaughtered in sacrifice to the bloody earth-demon of the Khônds of Orissa! Yet it is certain that down to a very recent period these atrocities were going on, at no great distance from the seats of ancient civilisation and of modern power in British India.

We have no intention of defending Hinduism; but, in its original purity, it was at least a gentle and spiritual adoration of Divine beneficence: ideal, metaphysical, and pantheistic. Its ordinary sacrifices were simple oblations of flowers and fruits, milk and butter; and its ritual, a minute observance of forms, accompanied with the repetition of prayers, hymns of adoration, and sacred texts. It prescribed no sacrifice of animal life, and one of the holiest of its perfections was existence without the destruction of any living creature. This at least we believe to have been the pure Hinduism of the Vedas to which many Hindus of the present period still aspire, while the mass of the population follows the more licentious, though popular and picturesque mythology of the Poorans. But everywhere throughout India there are evidences of a previously existing primitive or 'aboriginal' worship, which has served, together with the inventions of the Pooranic Brahmins, to corrupt and debase original Hinduism, and reduce it to its present condition; and it is evident that, as the purer elements of Hindu belief have declined, the original deprecatory worship of implacable demons has risen through the stratum of a purer faith which had overlaid it. Throughout India there are manifest traces of a rude primitive stock: that is, a stock anterior to the invasion of Aryan Scythians; and there are still great divisions of people preserving distinct national characteristics and superstitions which are not Hindu. The earliest knowledge we possess of them is from the Mahabharat and Ramayun, the great epic poems of the Hindus, which describe the histories and contentions for superiority of the Solar and Lunar races, and the mythical war with Ceylon. At the period at which these poems were written, probably in the fourth or fifth century before Christ if not indeed at an earlier date, and when the northern portion of India had become civilised and Hindu, the then existing aboriginal tribes of the South were so far below the social scale of those who wrote of them, that they are described only as 'Rakshas,' evil spirits, frightful and malignant demons, and wild animals. The country they inhabited was covered with impenetrable forests where these savage tribes wandered, and the direst poetical images of the ancient Sanscrit poets were drawn from the localities and habits of these beings. They were subdued by successive waves of invasion of Scythic Aryans, Boodhists, and Hindus, and the

aboriginal tribes adopted, so far as they were permitted, the religion, arts, sciences, and caste divisions of their conquerors. Thus it was that Hinduism, so far as its social character is concerned, was moulded into what it is at present, or rather what it was before the Mahomedan era, and our own.

But though Hindu civilisation affected all classes drawn within the influence of its conquests, there has always remained an undercurrent of strange, savage, religious superstition, not Hindu, which must have descended from the primitive period; and this has never lost its influence over 'Sudras,' the fourth caste in the Hindu social scale, who most probably were converts from the aboriginal tribes. The deprecatory worship of the destroying power in its male and female elements with weird and bloody rites, belongs, we consider, especially to this ancient superstition. Among Hindus it is known under the appellation of 'Shakti,' or 'the energy,' and it is admitted to be very ancient. Orthodox Hinduism held out no consolatory equivalent for it to its converts; a belief therefore in the necessity and efficacy of the rites of blood sacrifice has never been eradicated, and there is no doubt it exists everywhere throughout India, but more particularly south of the Nerbudda.

Those who know the central and southern provinces of the peninsula will remember certain insignificant temples, often empty, or containing stones or rude idols, which are generally deserted, but are nevertheless dedicated to deities having no place in the Hindu Pantheon. And they will have found in the open fields, under great and ancient trees, and by the wayside—stones, smeared with red or black paint, denoting a sacred character. Mountain tops, rocky desolate places, secluded nooks in deep dells, caves, crags, springs, waterfalls and pools in rivers, are often sacred to some 'Mother' or 'Father' who has held a local name and influence (not of love, but of fear) for generations which cannot be reckoned. Does small-pox, or cholera, or cattle murrain exist, the Brahmins offer sacrifices and oblations to the orthodox gods; and so far, the worship is purely Hindu. Should the disease abate, enough has been done; but otherwise, the 'Grāām-Deotás,' the ancient tutelary village gods, must be appeased, for dire is their wrath and malignancy believed to be if neglected. In these ceremonies ordinary Hinduism is set aside as worthless. Wild orgies, bloody sacrifices, self-mutilation and torture, take the place of offerings of fruit and flowers. Men and women, in a frenzied spirit of excitement, possessed, as is believed, by the 'afflatus' of the being worshipped, foam at the mouth, shriek out unintelligible or disconnected words which are accepted as prophecy, and at

length sink exhausted or writhing in convulsions before its effigy. The priests of such rites are not Brahmins: they belong to the lower orders of the people. All orthodox Hindus affect to despise them, yet they yield to the dread of malignant influences; nor are the lower orders of Mahomedans, originally converts from the inferior castes of Hindus, exempt from the same fears, and they often join freely in these degrading rites. At many shrines in the Dekhan and Carnatic, Hindus and Mahomedans unite in offering sacrifices at the annual festivals of the ancient divinities. The rites are not, however, invariably of a savage character, and many of the rural festivals are simple and natural rejoicings. One of the most popular is that when every father takes his family into his best field to eat the green grain once before it ripens, passing the night there, roasting ears of corn in hot ashes, with harmless merriment.

But there are some darker phases of mysterious 'Shakti' rites which we can only touch upon, for their horrible and loathsome filthiness and profligacy are quite indescribable, and surpass the Fetish rites of savage Africa. These are, happily, only known to a few initiated, who believe them to have magic power, and to possess an influence which renders the demons subservient to requisitions for aid in the commission of crime or profligacy, or in the exercise of malignant power upon men.

These facts, like the demonology and witchcraft of Europe in the middle ages, indicate a continuance of the ancient primitive belief. No doubt Hinduism and its concomitant civilisation have much ameliorated ancient practices. Where human beings were before immolated, buffaloes, goats, and fowls have taken their place; but the 'Shaktis' must still have blood, else the sacrifice offered to them when they are believed to be aroused to action, is utterly vain. While these superstitious rites are in actual practice among Hindus, belonging to the castes and practising the sacraments of their faith, we find in India many remnants of primitive tribes which, in creed, language and habits, are still separate from Hinduism, as there are others who have attached themselves to Hindu society and serve in a condition of degradation from which it is impossible to rise. These, 'Chandals, or Mléchas,' we now see in the Chamars and other low castes in Hindustan Proper: in the Mahars, Dhérs, Mangs, Beydurs, and Whallias of Central and Southern India. They hold offices of trust and responsibility in village communities, but cannot advance in the social scale beyond the rank they at present occupy.

Nearer, however, to their primitive condition are the other large tribes which cannot be said to have mingled with

Hinduism at all, or only very partially. These are the Koles of Bengal and Eastern Nagpoor, the Gônds of Central India, Berar, the Satpoora and other central mountain ranges; the Waghurs of Guzerat, and the Bheels of the Vindheya mountains, Khandesh, Malwah, and Central India, with other tribes which need not be enumerated. In the south, amidst the eternal forests which clothe the lower slopes of the Neilgherry and Animalli Mountains, wild tribes are still found in a state little beyond that of nature, shunning civilised men, whether native or European, or at most carrying on a rude barter by means of the natural products of their forests; and such may have been the allies of Ram in his war against the Ceylon monarch more than two thousand years ago. None of these tribes ever marry with professed Hindus, or even with the Chandals. They preserve their own exclusiveness of habit, custom, and locality, even where Hindu civilisation has most pressed upon them. Among them are no distinctions of caste, nor any rank but the rajah or chief to whom they profess obedience. They have probably changed little in habits since the period of the Raymayun and Mahabharat, using bows and arrows for arms, following predatory habits, and subsisting upon milk, curds, and butter, with roots of orchises, or the seeds of wild grasses with the spoils of the chase; unaffected by civilisation, which, as it spread around them and absorbed the aborigines of the plains, in many places failed to reach the mountains, forests, and ruder portions of India. We now therefore see primitive or aboriginal tribes still existing, and preserving their own savage rites unchanged, side by side with the science and philosophy of the Hindus in their most advanced condition, and of the Mahomedans in their greatest power and splendour—unaltered through the many centuries of their dominion up to the period of our conquests — unknown perhaps, or, if known, uncared for.

Among all these tribes those least raised above their primitive condition are the Khônds, or, as they term themselves, 'Kui,' of Khondistan in Orissa. The tract they inhabit lies west of that great bend in the peninsula where the coast-line trends east to Calcutta and south to Madras. It is well peopled, and in many respects very productive. The mountains of Khondistan are a continuation of the Vindhyás, Satpoorás, and other mountain plateaus of Central India; and in their fastnesses these people have been undisturbed, and have existed for ages uninfluenced by all around them. Between them and the sea lie a number of petty Hindu states which professed to hold the Khônds in subjection, but had in reality little practical power over them. These states are possibly remnants of the ancient kingdom of Orissa, whose

chiefs and warriors fought three thousand years ago at the famous battle of Kooroo Kshétra, as described in the Mahabharat. They claim to be of great antiquity; and there is no doubt, as well from the remains of ancient temples and other buildings in these territories, and the inscriptions which have been deciphered, that the kingdom of Kalinga or Orissa was at that time and subsequently, in a high state of civilisation. Yet, for all this, the effects of Hinduism never appear to have reached the Khônds. The successive waves of conquest—Bhuddist, Hindu, Mohammedan—broke against these mountain fastnesses without effect; and thus the yearly slaughter, in solemn sacrifice of many hundreds of human beings, and Infanticide, must have continued among them with a terrible regularity, till the victims might be counted by thousands upon thousands, if not indeed by millions!

Hideous as this is to contemplate, it is probable that we might still have remained in ignorance of the existence of the Khônds, or of their bloody sacrificial rites, but for a local dispute in 1836 between one of the petty chiefs of Orissa and the agent of Government in regard to the payment of the tribute agreed on by treaty, in which the superior power was defied. A display of force was eventually necessary, and the Rajah's country was invaded. The British forces were thus led into collision with the Khônd hill tribes of Goomsoor, who, like all mountaineers, made a stubborn resistance; and during the campaigns against them, their hitherto unknown and unexplored country was occupied by detachments of regular troops, and the terrible fact of human sacrifices became known to the officers employed in political duty. Horrible as this was in any point of view, it was, if possible, more shocking when the fact became known that it was perpetuated by a systematic kidnapping of our own subjects in the plains, by the agents of this people. Mr. Russell, then Commissioner for the Orissa provinces, reported his discovery to the Government of India, and operations were at once undertaken for the suppression of this practice. Captain Campbell, the author of the work before us, was selected for this arduous but interesting service.

The Khônds believed that unless a human being were sacrificed to allay the malignity of the 'Earth-Spirit,' the earth would yield no produce, and there would be sickness and misfortune among men; and the records of the past in many countries, comparatively speaking in a far higher state of social development than the Khônds, tell us of similar rites from similar motives. On what he had discovered, Mr. Russell reported as follows:—

'In the Malia hill tracts of Goomsoor, the sacrifice is offered

annually to "Todo Pennor," the earth-god, under the effigy of a peacock, with a view to grant favourable crops. The Zani, or priest, who may be of any caste, officiates at the sacrifices; but he performs the poojah (offering of flowers, incense, &c.) to the idol through the medium of the "Zoomba," who must be a Khônd boy under seven years of age, and who is fed and clothed at the public expense, eats alone, and is subjected to no act deemed impure.

'For a month prior to the sacrifice there is much feasting, intoxication, and dancing round the "Meria" (victim), who is adorned with garlands, &c. On the day before the performance of the barbarous rite, he is stupefied with toddy, and is made to sit, or is bound, at the bottom of a post bearing the effigy above described. The assembled multitude then dance to music, and addressing the earth say, "O God! we offer this sacrifice to you. Give us good crops, "seasons, and health." After which they address the victim. "We "bought you with a price and did not seize you. Now we sacrifice "you according to custom, and no sin rests on us."

'On the following day, the "Meria" being again intoxicated and anointed with oil, each individual present touches the anointed part and wipes the oil on his own head. All then march in procession round the village and its boundaries, preceded by music, bearing the victim in their arms. On returning to the post, which is always placed near the village idol called "Zacari Pennoo," represented by three stones, a hog is killed in sacrifice, and the blood being allowed to flow into a pit prepared for the purpose, the "Meria," who has been previously made senseless from intoxication, is seized, thrown in, and his face pressed down till he is suffocated in the bloody mire. The "Zani" then cuts a piece of flesh from his body, and buries it near the village idol as an offering to the earth. All the people then follow his example, but carry the bloody prize to their villages, where part of the flesh is buried near the village idol, and part on the boundaries of the village. The head of the victim remains unmutilated, and, with the bare bones, is buried in the bloody pit.

'After this horrid ceremony has been completed, a buffalo calf is brought to the post, and, his four feet having been cut off, is left there till the following day. Women dressed in male attire and armed as men, then drink, dance, and sing round the post; the calf is killed and eaten, and the "Zani" dismissed with a present of rice, a hog, and a calf. Of the many ways in which the unhappy victim is destroyed, this is perhaps the least cruel, as in some places the flesh is cut off while the unfortunate creature is yet alive.' (Pp. 54–56.)

And such a ceremony is described by General Campbell, in his notice of another tribe of Khônds, in the following terms:—

'One of the most common ways of offering the sacrifice is to the effigy of an elephant rudely carved in wood, fixed on the top of a stout post, on which it is made to revolve. After the performance of the usual ceremonies, the intended victim is fastened to the proboscis of the elephant, and amidst the shouts and yells of the excited

multitude of Khônds, is rapidly whirled round, when at a given signal by the officiating "Zani" or priest, the crowd rush in, seize the "Meria," and with their knives cut the flesh off the shrieking wretch as long as life remains.' (P. 126.)

Another mode followed in an adjacent locality was that of inserting the head and neck of the victim between a split bamboo, by which he was held down, when the people fell on the living body with their knives as before related. The same practice was found to exist on the northern frontier of the Khônd country, and Mr. Ricketts, the commissioner of Cuttack, ascertained particulars which were corroborative of those reported by Mr. Russell.

'The Khônds supposed, that good crops and safety from all disease and accidents were ensured by this slaughter. They considered it peculiarly necessary when engaged in the cultivation of turmeric. They very coolly reasoned as to the impossibility of the turmeric being of a fine deep colour without shedding of blood. They said they would not knowingly sacrifice a Khônd or a Brahmin: with these two exceptions, victims of all ages and colours, of every religion and of both sexes, are equally acceptable, but the fat are considered more efficacious than the thin, and those in their prime, than the aged and young.

'The victims are purchased at from sixty to one hundred and thirty rupees (6*l.* to 13*l.*) of persons of the Panee and Haree classes, who sell them as their own children: but, as individuals of all classes are found among those rescued, it is evident that these miscreants steal them and sell them for slaughter to the Khônds.'

Enough, however, of these horrible details, which further experience only proved to be more cruel and more frequent than had been at first supposed possible. Anxious as was the desire for the suppression of this rite of sacrifice, it was evident that it could only be accomplished by very gradual means. Too great a zeal would only defeat its own object. The people who professed this fearful superstition, the growth of ages, had only recently been discovered. Nothing was known of their country or of their language. Any immediate measure of coercion would inevitably unite all the powerful clans in a common cause, and their nominal rulers, the petty Hindu rajahs, could afford little, if any, practical assistance; for, when the quarrels between them and Government were adjusted, there was no ground of interference with their people. 'From all I have seen of them,' writes Mr. Russell, 'I feel that no system of coercion can succeed. 'Our aim should be to improve to the utmost our intercourse 'with the tribes nearest to us, with a view to civilise and en-'lighten them, and so reclaim them from the savage practice, 'using our moral influence rather than our power;' and this

wise policy was adopted by Government. A Special Agency was at once formed, and General, then Captain Campbell, who had been secretary to the Commissioner, was selected to carry it out.

The work could not have been placed in better hands. To understand fully with what zeal, patience, and unflagging perseverance amidst many discouragements, and in an almost pestilential climate, the author of this work and other officers carried on their benevolent mission, we must refer our readers to the narrative, which abounds with curious and interesting details and remarkable incidents, and by it we are enabled to follow, step by step, the working of the system which was put in operation.

Captain Campbell's first essay in his new office was made in December 1837. He was fully alive to the difficulties he would have to encounter in attempting to reform the Khônds, but he had as fully considered the means of meeting them. He took with him a company of Seebundees, or irregular native soldiers raised and chosen by himself, and in concert with a native chief Sám Bissoi, who had rendered good service during the war, and possessed influence over the Khônds of Goomsoor, the first measures were devised and executed. The war in Goomsoor had ceased, the petty chiefs had submitted, and a public ceremony of investing each with a turban in recognition of his rank, afforded a good opportunity of explaining to all the Khônds of Goomsoor the desire of Government that the Meria sacrifice should cease.

The meeting took place at the hill fort of Bodeagherry, and to any one familiar with the manner of dealing with masses of Indian people, the following graphic description will recall many a vivid image of similar scenes, with the picturesque adjuncts of mountain scenery and the fantastic appearance and rude manners of these hitherto unknown mountaineers.

'I took my place,' says Captain Campbell, 'under the shade of a tree whilst the chiefs and many of their followers ranged themselves together squatted on the ground in a semicircle in front. The rest of the Khônds, smoking vigorously, were collected in groups around us. These were chiefly the young men of the tribes who rarely take part in the debates, having full confidence in, and respect for, their elders.

'I made them a lengthened address through the medium of the two chiefs Punda Naik and Sám Bissoi. I told them how painfully the English Government had been affected by the discovery of the horrible nature of the sacrifices they offered annually in considerable numbers, to avert the wrath of the earth goddess. I said that the time had come when this savage and impious ceremony must terminate for ever. I was not there to upbraid them with the past, but to inaugurate for them a better future. They were no longer subjects

of an ignorant Rajah who took no interest in their welfare and happiness; but, by the fortune of war, they had become subjects of the British Government, in whose dominions the revolting ceremony I had come to denounce, not only did not exist, but could not be tolerated.' (Pp. 69, 70.)

With these declarations, supported by judicious arguments of a simple character, Captain Campbell dismissed the assembly, enjoining all to deliberate upon the subject, and return to him. An alternative was suggested, that one sacrifice should be allowed to suffice for all Goomsoor, a proposal which, as we need hardly remark, was instantly rejected; and when the assembly met again, five or six of the chiefs came forward and expressed with a rude eloquence the sentiments of all: —

'"We have,' they said, 'always sacrificed human beings. Our fathers handed down the custom to us. They thought it no wrong, nor did we: on the contrary, we felt what we were doing was right. We were then the subjects of the Rajah of Goomsoor: now we are the subjects of the Great Government whose orders we must obey. If the earth refuses produce, or disease destroys us, it is not our fault. We will abandon the sacrifice, and will, if permitted, like the inhabitants of the plains, sacrifice animals.' (P. 73.)

Long and tedious discussions ensued, and the people were dismissed with orders to meet again on a certain day, bringing with them all their intended victims: and at the appointed time, nearly one hundred human beings, male and female, who had been stolen as children, brought up by Khônd families for the especial purpose of sacrifice, and for the most part confined in chains from the time they could understand the purpose to which they were doomed—were delivered up. Obedience was again enjoined upon all, and the chiefs then took a peculiar but solemn oath, in a strange manner, to abide by their engagements.

'Seated on tiger skins, they held in their hands a little earth, rice, and water, repeating as follows: "May the earth refuse me its "produce, rice choke me, water drown me, and tiger devour me and "my children, if I break the oath which I now take for myself and "my people, to abstain for ever from the sacrifice of human beings."' (P. 74.)

Captain Campbell's sword was then passed round and touched by each chief in token of mutual protection and submission, presents were distributed, and the second Khond Parliament was dissolved. Some chiefs who, residing at a distance had not been able to attend, sent in their Merias, and, 'in less than 'a month, one hundred and five were rescued from death.'

It is probable that no authority however powerful, no agree-

ments however stringent or solemn, would have had of themselves any permanent effect upon these rude tribes without other motives which Captain Campbell was able to excite in furtherance of the great design. It was by his happy conciliation of prejudices, by familiar intercourse, and by strict justice according to their own customs, that the first step to the ultimate confidence of this strange people was won. These qualities, joined to inflexible determination in resisting any approach to a breach of agreement, aided, if they did not accomplish, the ends in view. Such has been the invariable result among rude tribes of India; by such means were the Bheels reclaimed by James Outram, and in a similar spirit did Captain Campbell treat the difficulties in his way.

'For four years,' he says, 'I continued to watch over them unceasingly, visiting them in their mountain homes once, sometimes twice in a year, during which visits I greatly strengthened the influence I had previously acquired. All matters which to them appeared important were then brought before me and settled. In all their most serious quarrels, not excluding blood feuds, I acted as their arbitrator, and was very frequently called upon to adjust their family disputes, in which I must say, the weaker, as I may not call them fair sex, bore the most prominent part. I readily, and always with real pleasure, joined their hunting parties; and few who have no experience of hill tribes, can estimate the vast amount of influence which this simple act inspired.'

Thus it was by a judicious combination of personal and administrative power, that Captain Campbell's mission prospered. Notwithstanding the moral influence derived from constant intercourse, occasions arose when it was necessary that the Khônds should be reminded that force *could* be used if necessary.

'I should indeed have been astonished,' he says, 'if the prosperous results which have blessed our efforts on the hills could have been attributed to the moral reasonings we adduced. Hence in assigning motives for their abstaining from their ancient rites, the Khônds rarely made allusion to the "moral persuasion" that had been urged upon them, but laid marked stress upon the futility of all resistance, and the necessity of obeying the will of Government.' (P. 132.)

In January, 1842, the author tells us (p. 78) 'the Meria 'sacrifice was at an end among the Khônds of Goomsoor, 'though I did not pretend to have eradicated all inclination for 'the rite from the minds of these wild people.' We can have no doubt that the public celebration of sacrifice had been checked; but we question whether it could have been possible, in the comparatively short period during which the

Agency had been at work, to have caused the rite to cease altogether. General Campbell admits the desire for it to have existed; and among a wild and hitherto unrestrained people like the Khônds—between the recognition of a new duty and the necessity of propitiating Deities in whose benignity and malignity lay the safety or miseries of their lives—there would exist a very narrow margin indeed, easily overstepped. Nor was it long before occasion arose for a fresh demonstration of force. In 1842, Captain Campbell joined his regiment on service in China, and Captain Macpherson was appointed Agent in his room. The Khônds were then unquiet. What was believed hitherto to have appeased the wrath of malignant spirits was no longer in existence. Nothing, so far as the people were concerned, had been substituted for it in their minds, except a dim belief in the power of the British Government to punish relapse, but this did not prove as strong an incentive to absolute obedience as had been calculated upon. The Goomsoor Khônds joined human sacrifices in the adjacent districts of Boad and Chiuna Kimedy; pieces of the flesh were openly brought into the Goomsoor districts; and the people protested against observance of their agreements unless the Khônds of Boad and Chiuna Kimedy were coerced like themselves. The chief who had assisted Mr. Russell and Captain Campbell fell under the suspicion of the new Agent, and was eventually banished from the province, upon which a new chief was appointed, who in turn also failed. Captain Macpherson visited the disturbed tracts, and the people, professing submission, delivered up to him one hundred and seventy purposed victims; but as he was retiring with them to the plains, the Khônds succeeded in forcibly obliging him to give them up, and with them their Hindu rajah, who was carried off in triumph. This act of open revolt was fomented by local intrigues of the partisans of the banished chief, into a general rising of the Goomsoor and other Khônd tribes against Government. Such open defiance of authority, and breach of covenant could not be tolerated; and the Khônd country was again invaded: the Khônds again submitted, and Captain Campbell was reappointed to his old duty at the close of the Chinese war. With the events of the second Goomsoor campaign we have no concern: and it is noticed only as the prelude to a much larger extension of the operations for the suppression of Meria sacrifice than had been originally supposed necessary.

The intermediate outbreak had strengthened the Government cause very materially, and we much question whether it could, under any circumstances, have been avoided: for the

prestige which accompanies the successful exertions of one man cannot extend to the minds of savages in regard to his successor till it had been proved. The resistance to Captain Macpherson brought no release to the Khônds from previous obligations, but the contrary; and therefore Captain Campbell, on his second mission, had even greater success than on his first. Thenceforward no armed opposition of a serious character was experienced: the repetitions of human sacrifice grew more and more distant: and the substitution of the sacrifice of animals rapidly extended among the people with the conviction of its efficacy. In 1854, when Captain, now Colonel, Campbell relinquished his interesting work, the operations of the Khônd Agency had extended to the whole of the Khônd tribes, and from the southern frontier of Goomsoor, to the northern upon the Mahanuddy, there was no portion of the Khônd country, and no tribe, which had not been visited by the officers of the Agency—none in which the twofold crimes of Meria sacrifice and infanticide had not been prevented by the combined exertion of moral influence and authority. The mere repetition of uncouth local names would convey no information to the general reader, and they are therefore omitted; and in respect of the system pursued we do not follow the narrative, interesting as it is, because we observe little deviation from that originally devised in Goomsoor, which was continued in all to the close. The gratifying result was everywhere the same: the systematic annual sacrifice of human life seems to have ceased, and the whole of the intended victims to have been rescued. Up to this period, 1,506 persons, 717 males and 789 females, were restored to their friends, married, apprenticed, or settled in villages as cultivators and artisans—the mere children being placed under the instruction of the Missionaries of the province. Schools were opened among the Khônds themselves, and their language reduced by Dr. Cadenhead and Captain Frye to grammatical rules, so that it can now be written or printed; but the idea of instruction seems to have been regarded in as great a light of innovation as the abolition of human sacrifice, and the first offers of education were scornfully rejected. Other material improvements, especially in the administration of justice by British officers, resulted in much amelioration of savage exclusiveness. The Khônds, invited to the marts and fairs of the plains, became excellent traders; raised more produce, and attracted more Hindu dealers than before. Roads have been opened through their districts by which the Brinjaree carriers of salt and coast produce pass into the interior of India by a shorter and easier route than before: and, as united

under the Government of India, the Khônds are drawn within civilising influences before unknown and unexperienced.

It was difficult, even for those who had gained the largest experience of the Khônd people, to estimate the number of victims annually destroyed in their sacrifices, for these rites evidently depended upon uncertain contingencies, such as dearths, severe visitations of sickness, and the like; nor does it appear that they were offered on fixed anniversaries, or were regular in the number of victims. Captain Macpherson estimated them at five hundred persons per year! Captain Hill mentions the fact of a sacrifice of twenty-seven adults having been made at one time in Bustar, a district bordering upon the Godavery; but General Campbell does not rate the average above one hundred and fifty for the whole district. Whatever the amount, the broad fact of the prevention of these horrid rites, and, beyond this in importance, the moral conviction conveyed to the people that such rites were no longer indispensable, have been triumphs of no mean order. Reviewing the proceedings up to the end of 1854, the Honourable the Court of Directors paid a graceful tribute to the services of the officers employed.

'Viewing the "Meria" operations as a whole,' they write, 'they have been highly successful, and are creditable to the officers concerned. Nor is it in measures of repression alone that we see cause for present satisfaction and future hope. It is obvious that the germs of an ultimate civilisation have been planted in the country, and we entertain a confident hope that the advance of the population towards a higher social condition will be in an accelerated ratio of progress.'

These expectations have not been disappointed. The Special Agency was continued with persevering success up to the year 1862, when it was abolished, and the duty merged into the general police establishments of the country. In a despatch dated the 31st of October 1862, Sir Charles Wood stated that, 'he trusts the arrangements in question will be found effectual 'for preventing a revival of the barbarous practices which the 'Special Agency has been the means of repressing: but as 'observed in my despatch dated the 8th of April 1862, constant 'vigilance will be required on the part of the Madras Govern-'ment and the officers connected with the administration of the 'Khônd district, to guard against a relapse of the inhabitants 'into their former habits.'

Unhappily these apprehensions have very recently been verified. A serious outbreak of the Khônds occurred in last November and December. The disturbances were however confined to Sooradah and Chiuna Kimedy, the latter always

perhaps the most daring and obstinate of the hill tribes, and they have been quelled by the prompt action of Captain Stuart, the Superintendent of Police, and Lieutenant Lyo, his assistant, without any loss. But it is stated in an article of the 'Madras Athenæum' of the 26th of January of the present year, that for the last two years—that is, since the withdrawal of the Special Agency—both Human Sacrifice and Infanticide have occurred, and that the latter crime is even still 'systematically practised.' As this is asserted upon official data, we have no doubt that the serious attention of Government, both at home and in India, will be directed to the subject; and we must rest at present in the earnest hope, that the warning conveyed in Sir Charles Wood's despatch of the 31st October 1862, will not be neglected.

This, no doubt, is the great point; for under any relaxation of supervision, relapse is certain, and while missionary exertions are not wanting, both Protestants and Catholics being engaged in them, we trust also that the civilising influences of secular education of a simple character are not absent. General Campbell took an important share in the interesting measures he has described, but he is roundly accused of having failed to do justice to his fellow-labourers in the same field. There are others—Russell, Hill, Macpherson, Cadenhead, Macviccar, and Ouseley—who co-operated with energy and success in the early portion of this good work, and we regret that the limits of the present notice prevent more than a mere allusion to their eminent services.

But it was not only in regard to human sacrifice at the rude altars of the local deities that the operations of the Khônd Agency were necessary. Female infanticide was found to prevail among one of the divisions of Khônds which, curiously enough, did not practise the other rite at all: nor was the destruction of their children by any means a religious observance. They were destroyed, partly because it was customary, partly because they were difficult to rear, but most especially because it was esteemed disgraceful to marry their offspring to other Khônds. This tribe had hitherto obtained wives from foreign sources, and in some instances women doomed to sacrifice had lived with them as concubines: but female children had not been preserved. The transactions for the suppression of Infanticide, form curious and interesting episodes in the work before us: and that they were attended with a great measure of success we are assured from the result of the inquiry of 1854, which 'showed a registry of nine 'hundred and one females under five years of age in 2,149

'families located in villages where, in 1848, there were few if any 'female children to be seen:' Khônds had married their Meria concubines; and many of the rescued children, having been educated, were married to Khônds, with, as we may reasonably expect, some effect in the amelioration of their husbands' practices.

We wish we could state that female infanticide in India had been confined to these rude and previously unknown tribes by whom an evidently 'primitive' rite had been preserved. But the fact is far otherwise; and the details of Dr. Wilson's book relate to Hindu tribes comparatively high in civilisation, living in prosperous communities, among whom comparatively few, if any, female children were ever permitted to survive. The first discovery of the actual existence of this shocking practice was made by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, a Bengal civilian, in 1789, when investigating the condition of a district near Benares, which had been recently ceded to the East India Company. Among the population was a tribe of Rajpoots entitled 'Raj Kumár,' who invariably destroyed their female offspring, 'except in rare instances when no other issue existed.' The custom had been followed for ages, and seems to have been based as well upon the false notions of honour which prevailed among these haughty tribes in regard to the fancied disgrace of giving their daughters as wives to others, as in regard to the expense of providing suitable portions and other expenses on the occasion of marriage. We need not follow Dr. Wilson's references to ancient writers on India, who described this inhuman custom: nor discuss doubts which long obtained, as to whether it had existed in reality, or only in the imperfect information upon which those writers described it. Here, however, was a notorious fact, admitted by the tribes themselves, as having been practised for ages—the suppression of which became at once an evident and necessary duty. Mr. Duncan was an excellent linguist, and was deservedly respected among the people he had to govern for his just and benevolent character: and he was not long in obtaining a formal covenant from the Raj Kumárs to abandon the practice, which was executed on the 17th of December 1789. This first discovery was followed by a second among the Raghavanshás, another Rajpoot tribe, and they were dealt with in like manner; and it was hoped for some years that the practice was discontinued. Subsequent discoveries, however, showed that it had been revived; and the Parliamentary papers of 1789 to 1820 show that the penal enactments against it had become a dead letter in the absence of any registration of births, and that a more stringent policy must be pursued.

Meanwhile Mr. Duncan had been transferred from Bengal, in 1795, to be governor of Bombay; and filled with the impression that he should find infanticide existing among the Rajpoots of Western India, he at once pursued his investigations. In 1800, he obtained from a Guzerat lady of rank, Gujra Bai, full confirmation of his suspicions; and a correspondence with Captain Seton, then on a political mission in the principality of Cutch, ensued, which showed that the practice was universal among all the highest in rank in that province. 'Every female infant born 'in the Rajah's family of a lawful wife, or Rani, was drowned as 'soon as it was born, in a hole in the earth filled with milk;' and among the Jaitwa Rajpoots in Guzerat, the Ranás or chiefs had had no grown-up daughters for more than a hundred years. Cutch, or, as Dr. Wilson writes it, 'Kachh,' was then tributary to the Guicowar, the ruler of Guzerat, at whose court the Government of Bombay maintained a political Agent or Resident. Cutch was therefore far removed from our direct influence; but Mr. Duncan was not to be deterred by this from the prosecution of his benevolent endeavours, nor by the doubts of Major Walker, the Resident; but certainly, at a first glance, the prospect of making any moral impression upon the people of this province, 'so little acquainted with the principles of im-'proved society,' was very remote.

The Jadejas were a tribe of Rajpoots, haughty, turbulent, and impatient of any interference, most especially on the subject of domestic observances. The political affairs of the province had fallen into confusion, and a state of lawless turbulence ensued in which piracy by sea and robbery by land eventually brought the Rajah into collision with the British authorities, and the invasion of the province followed. In 1808, at the head of a combined force of British and the Guicowar's troops, Major Walker made a circuit of Cutch, and in March of that year reported that the Jadeja nobles had agreed with him to abandon female infanticide in future. Major Walker's report, from which Dr. Wilson quotes at length, shows that he had investigated the subject to the utmost to ascertain the origin of the practice. It was not a religious rite, for it was diametrically opposed to the text of Hindu Shastrás: it seemed only that the destruction of their daughters had grown into a privilege, jealously maintained, and regarded as a distinction. 'Pride, avarice, the cares of a family, the disgrace 'that would attend the misconduct of their women, the dif-'ficulty of establishing them in life, and apprehension of ex-'posing their daughters to illtreatment, are assigned invariably 'by every person acquainted with these subjects, as the causes

'that inclined these tribes to commit infanticide.' This inflexible murder of female infants had thus been practised for ages: but it was difficult to obtain evidence of the actual number destroyed per year. The first estimate was far above the truth, and even reached 20,000: this fell to 3,000. Eventually, on the registry of Rajpoot families in the northern province of Kattiawar, and the southern of Cutch, the relative proportion seemed to be 250 and 325 female births per year; a low rate probably, and yet even thus, the annual slaughter must have exceeded 500 in these two tribes only!

It was not, however, by a mere covenant that these long-existing customs were to be overcome. The attachment to old observances, and false views of honour, lay deeper than Major Walker in his first enthusiasm had supposed possible; and with them was combined a mercenary as well as a turbulent spirit which it was difficult either to satisfy or to overcome. Chief after chief was canvassed with the same result: 'If one would set an 'example,' they said, 'others would follow;' but no one took the lead. Ladies of rank were tried, and though for a time natural instincts and maternal feelings appeared about to triumph, the relapse into original callousness was even more distressing. Last of all, Major Walker began to discuss the subject among people of all castes, and thus excite public opinion. He denounced it as inhuman, and the conduct of the Jadejas was freely commented upon and held up to public opprobrium. Probably this had some effect, for one chieftain of Kattiawar at last signed an agreement to discontinue Infanticide, and others followed his example. They held themselves amenable to penalties, to be inflicted upon them by the joint authority of the British and the Guicowar's government; but it was evident that the efficacy of these engagements was only to be maintained by a vigorous exercise of power in case of transgression.

As they deserved, the exertions of Major Walker received the most cordial approbation of the Bombay Government, and the Court of Directors acknowledged that his perseverance was entitled to the highest commendation: but the success of his plans depended upon the active co-operation of the Guicowar's administration. Fines, and expulsion from caste, were penalties which might be inflicted: but they were slow if not impossible of execution, and, as was to be expected, many sad relapses took place. Yet the humane movement had nevertheless actually taken ground. Whether from dread of punishment, or higher motives, thirty-two influential persons had preserved their female children, 'and now doated on them with fondness.' Their names were brought prominently to the notice of Government,

and honorary presents were publicly distributed to them as one of the closing acts of Colonel Walker's administration.

Major Walker was succeeded by Captain Carnac, who prosecuted the subject vigorously. The Jàm Raja of Nowanugger was the first called to account for infringement of his engagements, and was fined 5,000 rupees, while at the same time he entered into a new covenant of a more stringent nature than the first. His submission was a great point gained, both on account of his rank, and because his resistance had greatly encouraged others; nevertheless, in July 1816, Captain Carnac's report showed that very little, if any, real progress had been made since Major Walker's report of 1809. Indeed, on a review of correspondence up to 1820, the Court of Directors record, that the Baroda register of births only accounts for sixty-three female infants saved in ten years; 'whereas one Talook alone 'contained 400 Jadeja families in which there was not a single 'female child in existence!'

The Peshwah's government had now disappeared, and the Gaicowar was tributary to the British, so that a more direct and efficient exercise of power could be brought to bear on the subject. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay, a man of whose practical philanthropy too many evidences remain to allow of the supposition that he was indifferent to this subject. Yet he saw real objections, which the over-sanguine minds of his predecessors had overlooked, and he utterly rejected the system of espionage over the Jadejas which Captain Carnac had proposed.

'It may also be doubted,' he writes, 'how far we have a right to interfere to such an extraordinary pitch with the private life of a people with whose civil government and internal police we do not pretend to have any concern. We must therefore be content to follow the footsteps of our predecessors (without attempting to go beyond them) in their most meritorious endeavours to discountenance this enormity, and we may flatter ourselves that, as the manners of the people become softened by a continuance of tranquillity and good order, they will gradually discontinue a practice which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct.'

It is probable, however, that all the exertions which had hitherto been made by Mr. Duncan, Major Walker, and Captain Carnac, would have remained of no effect at least in Cutch, but for the necessity of armed interference on other grounds, which resulted in the complete supremacy of British authority. In 1819, the former prince and his Mahomedan minister being dead, the province fell into a state of lawless disorder, which was intolerable. A large and influential portion of the chiefs

and nobles, unable to endure oppression, declared themselves in favour of British interference, and a force marched into the country. The prince was deposed and confined, and his son, a boy of three years of age, was elected by the chiefs as his successor. A council of regency was appointed, having a British officer to preside over it: and a new treaty, with an especial provision against Infanticide, strengthened by an agreement with the chiefs, promised a speedy success.

Notwithstanding these fair appearances, however, we cannot discover that any very material progress ensued. But a new era of open and practical endeavour for the suppression of the crime was about to commence. Any hopes of the voluntary exertion of the Jadejas had long ago proved futile, and the subject, like most other difficult problems in India, awaited the resolute exertions of one man, who should master its difficulties and provide practical remedies.

In 1831 Mr. John Pollard Willoughby, a Bombay civil servant, was appointed to the Political Agency in Cutch. As assistant to the Resident at Baroda, he had previously gained experience of the working of the projects for suppressing Infanticide; and he entered upon his new duty with a determination to suppress the practice, or in any case to improve and extend the means of doing so. In 1834 he submitted a voluminous report to Government, in which the past was reviewed, an analysis of the census of Jadeja families supplied, and suggestions offered for future progress. The census formed the basis of all further proceedings, and it stood thus:

Jadeja males of and under the age of twenty . .	1,422
Females of all ages known to have been preserved .	696
Excess of males	731

By another table we find 571 as the total saved in twenty years, which, if divided into two portions, shows 201 of the first ten years, and 370 of the second; and compared with Colonel Walker's experience, when no Jadeja had more than one daughter alive, there were found among the above —

2	instances of	4	daughters to	1 person.
13	„	3	„	„
80	„	2	„	„

But this did not satisfy Mr. Willoughby, and his remedial and more stringent measures, which had been sanctioned by the Bombay Government, were forthwith put into execution. They were—a correct census, the furnishing by the chiefs of periodical returns under penalties for disobedience, and notice by proclamation that all offenders, of whatever rank, should be tried

by the High Court of Criminal Judicature for Kattiawar, or, in certain cases, by the British Government. This court was not long without occupation. The Rajah of Rajkot was found guilty of being accessory to the murder of a daughter, and at the trial, which was a public one, the whole of the circumstances were disclosed by the evidence of the attendant Brahmins, the slave girls who smothered the child, the midwife, and the mother herself, 'who cried, and said her fate was hard.' The Rajah was fined 12,000 rupees, and held liable to the forfeiture of the whole of his estates if the offence were repeated. This, and other convictions which followed, left no doubt that the British Government was at length in earnest; and at the end of 1841 the census showed 6,106 Jadeja males in Kattiawar, to 1,662 females; proving at least that there were nearly a thousand more females than in the previous census of 1834. In 1843 the census showed 6,243 males and 1,857 females among the Cutch Jadejas, and in other tribes also an evident improvement; and in 1844 a further satisfactory progress was apparent, the Jadeja numbers rising to 6,430 males, to 2,175 females, which continued to 1849, the numbers being then 7,353 males, to 3,237 females. These censuses were open to many suspicions of incorrectness in detail; but of the general results, as establishing the fact of the gradual discontinuance of Infanticide, there could be no doubt, as there was equally no doubt that the stringent and practical measures of Mr. Willoughby *alone*, carried out as they were with tact and ability, had caused the evident and gratifying improvement.

Since 1824 there has been no return to Parliament that we know of on this subject; and were it not for the compilation by Dr. Wilson now before us, many most interesting reports would have remained unknown, and by the public unregarded. As it is, the local publication of his work in Bombay has prevented that notice of it, and of the subject generally, which it would otherwise have received. It is time therefore that public attention should once more be attracted to the question of Infanticide, and there is no doubt that public discussion of it here would very much strengthen the hands of the Indian Executive. The English nation has a right to know the results of a continuous policy of ninety years, in regard to the entire success of which we confess to have serious misgivings. We have evidence in the proceedings now briefly sketched, both of vigour and of apathy; of the highest zeal, and of conventional indifference; and it seems to us that although professing, as the British Authorities in India and the Home Government undoubtedly did, a sincere desire for the extermination of an

abominable crime, the proceedings, as their records show, were desultory or spasmodic; now taken up with zeal and energy by one officer, to be almost disregarded by another.

Against the peculiar public crimes of India the most efficient mode of proceeding is by the creation of a Special Agency for the detection and punishment of the offence. In the cases of the suppression of Meria sacrifice, Thuggee and Dacoity, for instance, the success has been absolute. The two former crimes have ceased to exist, and Dacoity has been so broken as to professional hereditary pursuit, that where it exists at all, it is only as an ordinary crime to be dealt with by ordinary means. After thirty years of exertion, Government has been able to withdraw special agency for the repression of Thuggee, as it has withdrawn that of Meria sacrifice, under a conviction that neither existed any longer; and we feel that we cannot adduce a stronger and more practical reason for the formation of one for the extirpation of Infanticide. It ought not to be acknowledged, as we fear must be the case, that Infanticide can by any possibility exist in any condition of native society; or among any people directly or indirectly under the influence of British authority, without the existence of measures strong enough to extirpate it. The people who practise Infanticide should know that it is murder, just as much as those who would practise Suttee again if they could, know that it is murder, and that, like Infanticide, it is not to be condoned by fine. Men who deliberately destroy their own offspring, or cause them to be destroyed on the chance of paying a fine if detected, would probably be deterred altogether if capital punishment, or penal servitude for life—whatever was their rank—awaited them, with the confiscation of their possessions.

The Government of Her Majesty the Queen in India, now occupies too proud a position to dread the discontent of individuals, or of the rulers of petty states who might possibly object to such proceedings against the higher classes of their subjects; but the majority of the population of India, Hindu as well as Mahomedan, to whom the crime is hateful, would give their entire sympathy to its extirpation.

We can understand incitements to Thuggee and Dacoity, because the love of adventure and plunder are combined in them with no small amount of daring. We may even conceive the religious excitement of Suttee, and the ferocious craving for Meria sacrifice; but the deliberate stifling, in regard to female children, of parental instinct and affection not denied to males, and the shallow pretexts by which these acts of continuous and deliberate murder are sought to be justified, are

evidences of inherent and savage barbarity which are revolting and unendurable to the last degree.

In noticing these subjects, we desire to make our readers more cognisant than perhaps they hitherto have been, of the progress made by the late Government of the East India Company in the unostentatious reform of great abuses and public crimes in India, which, in England, have been little understood by the few who may casually have heard of them, and are we think altogether unknown beyond the very limited circle of those interested in Indian affairs. In these there is no dazzling glitter of warlike achievement, or brilliant notoriety of public exertion to distinguish the eminent services of individuals: but we see by the records before us — of which our present space only allows us to give the merest outlines — how much devotion and energy have been applied by the agents of the Indian Government to the work they have had in hand; and how, neither deterred by the pestilential jungles of the Khônd hills, nor the dread of offending powerful Rajpoot tribes (by far, we think, too tenderly treated by Government), English officers have fulfilled their benevolent missions with a zeal and perseverance which entitles them to all honour. Many of them are, we rejoice to think, still living; and, while we congratulate them one and all on what they have done, we hold up their actions to the imitation of others who are following in their steps. More powerful, because more centralised and responsible than the Government of the Company, that of Her Majesty the Queen has given a new era of impetus to real civilisation in India. All we hope is, that while the brilliant path of material advancement is being vigorously pursued, those byways of hideous crime and superstition, which are found to exist, may be thoroughly purged from their contaminating and morally debasing influences.

In this brief notice of the transactions for the suppression of Meria sacrifice and Infanticide, we have purposely avoided allusion to the several disputes which from time to time have arisen among officers entrusted with, or concerned in, portions of these services, and which, in some instances, have assumed a distressingly personal character. In the Khônd agency, General Campbell and the late Major Macpherson are the officers who took the most prominent part in the early executive operations; and while we have accorded to the former a full tribute for his exertions, we are by no means disposed to overlook the very prominent claims and services of the latter. Major Macpherson, unluckily, had to meet the first revulsion of feeling

among the Khônds excited by local intrigue, and the example of their neighbours, which moral force assuredly could not be expected to overcome. Disaffection openly prevailed, and he had to stand the brunt of it; and we are by no means certain that the same mischance would not have befallen General Campbell if he had remained. It cannot be doubted that Major Macpherson's reports of the social condition, customs, and superstitions of the Khônds displayed great research and ability, and that many of his suggestions for the dispensation of justice, the furtherance of education, and moral improvement among the Khônds, were eminently valuable and practical. There was no doubt either, that his patient application to duties which he himself had devised were admirably persistent, and that the broad lines of his policy served in many respects as guides to subsequent operations. The questions, however, of whether Mr. Russell, General Campbell, Major Macpherson, Dr. Cadenhead, or any other of the Khônd Agency, did most in their several missions in Khondistan—or Walker, Carnac, Erskine, Willoughby or Lang in Cutch and Kattiawar—belong to the past, are merged in the general success, and could not be resumed with any advantage; while to each may be accorded a certain amount of immediate success, with a proportionate amount of failure. Such variations are inseparable from the nature of the duty, and the amount of authority which is brought to bear upon it. Unless Khondistan had been invaded, and brought directly under British authority, as little practical result would have followed bare engagements there, as for many years attended the covenants of the Rajpoot tribes with Major Walker and his successors: and we feel assured that every impartial mind, following the example of Government, will be ready to accord a hearty tribute of sympathy and congratulation upon the share of services which was rendered by each and all in these interesting transactions.

ART. V.—1. *Karl von Bonstetten—ein Schweizerisches Zeit-und Lebensbild*—VON KARL MORELL. 1861.

2. *Charles-Victor de Bonstetten. Étude biographique et littéraire.* Par AIMÉ STEINLEN. Lausanne: 1860.

3. *Charles-Victor de Bonstetten.* (*Causeries de Lundi.*) Par M. DE SAINTE-BEUVE. 1860.

4. *Correspondances Inédites de J. C. Sismondi, de M. de Bonstetten, de Mdme. de Staël, et de Mdme. de Souza.* Paris: 1864.

THE rivers and headlands of a new continent often perpetuate the name of their discoverer or explorer: the engineer is remembered by his viaduct or bridge: the laurels of the soldier are in the safe keeping of his country: and the peaceful labours of the naturalist are commemorated in the flowers of the hot-house and the garden. But the man who achieves social distinction only runs a great risk of being forgotten. The flow of genial talk leaves nothing tangible by which it may be recalled, the play of kindly fancy is as fleeting as the sunshine it resembles, and the man of many friends, when his place once comes to know him no more, leaves no proper monument to fill it. Such a man was Charles-Victor de Bonstetten, called by his countrymen 'the illustrious Bonstetten;' and if the love of noble and good men and women may be accepted as a proof of a man's own nobility, M. de Bonstetten had such credentials in extraordinary abundance. He was intended for a political career, nay, he was in a manner born to it: he acquired a fair share of literary fame during a long and blameless life, which was partly devoted to letters: yet his political course was all but a failure; his works in two languages have failed to impress the world; and he is remembered less as a magistrate or an author, than for his wise and tolerant disposition, and for his singular talent in making and keeping friends.

Of these friends, two have endeavoured to write such a memoir of him as should recall to the present generation one of the best-known and best-loved men of the past. Some notice of their works will hardly fail to be welcome to those who still remember him in his green and sprightly old age; while to those who never saw him, the subject will become one of more general interest, when we consider, not only the close relations of M. de Bonstetten with all the most eminent men of the day, but the great and curious lapse of time which is, so to say, represented by his life. He was born in 1746, and surviving to the great age of eighty-six, he belonged to the life of two

centuries: he witnessed, and he also took a part in the most complete revolution in manners, politics, education, literature, and art that was ever effected in any age of the world. His boyish visits were to Ferney, then the residence of Voltaire: his first enthusiasm was for the theories of Rousseau, and he wist not as he read, that in his time order was to be broken up into chaos, and chaos was again to settle down into order. Gibbon was the historian, Gray the classical poet, of his youth; but his last hours were occupied by Victor Hugo's impassioned pages, and he was led by Lamartine to linger in thought by the tideless margin of the gulf of Baiæ. He sat in Madame du Deffand's rooms while the Encyclopédists were still in the zenith of their fame; and down to the period of her marriage, he enjoyed that exquisite friendship of Madame de Circourt which afterwards attracted around it all that was most brilliant, wise, and refined in the modern life of Paris. It is curious to run one's eye over a list of Bonstetten's contemporaries. In his holiday rambles in the woods of Yverdun, he met 'a strange 'man with such fiery eyes as were never seen in Yverdun:' that restless stranger was Jean-Jacques Rousseau. At a party at Mdme. de Vermenon's, he was introduced, when still a lad, to her *demoiselle de compagnie*, Mademoiselle Curchod: M. Necker, having been refused by the mistress of the house, afterwards married that humbler companion who had already inspired the only love of Edward Gibbon's life; and to Bonstetten Madame Necker proved a constant friend, as she was also the cause of his hereditary friendship with her daughter Madame de Staël. At Geneva, Moultou and Abauzit received him into their houses, and Bonnet strove hard to be at once his guide, philosopher, and friend. There were Matthison, Müller, Diderot, d'Alembert, Gray and Wieland, with Mdmes. Geoffrin, Bondeli, and Frederica Brün,—all ties made in England, Heidelberg, or Paris, before the outbreak of the French Revolution. Later there were the two Schlegels, Humboldt, Rumford, Pestalozzi, Hüber, Jurine, Pictet de Rochemont, Benjamin Constant, Sismondi, Portalis, Zschokke, and Lacretelle: there were foreign poets, Byron, Hobhouse, and Œhlenschläger; learned ladies like Mdmes. Krüdener and Necker de Saussure; authors like Tieck, Werner, and Chamisso; artists like Dannecker and Overbeck. These are some of the shadows which pass across the magic lantern of his varied and amusing existence. He lived for society, and probably no man ever enjoyed a wider range of it. His biographers have therefore at least as much to say of his acquaintances as of himself, and for this reason the sketch of M. de Bonstetten contributed by M. de

Sainte-Beuve (in his 'Causeries de Lundi') is a charming paper—short and very able, the author having all the dexterity of the finished artist while he seems to touch the lines with all the appreciation of a friend. Herr Morell's essay is much more elaborate but less vivid, because he has made it less a memoir than 'a picture of life and times:' the animus of it is purely democratic, and he rather endorses than otherwise all the extreme opinions of Bonstetten's uneasy youth. M. Steinlen, on the other hand, has aimed at making a finished literary study serve as the biography of the Swiss magistrate who filled so curious and notable a place in European society. He gives great space to those religious difficulties which beset M. de Bonstetten, and has indeed taken what might be called the religious aspect of the man and of the age. We ourselves well recollect him in the closing years of his life, when the society of Geneva was in all its lustre, adorned by Sismondi, Rossi, De Candolle, De la Rive, and many others. Bonstetten was still the youngest man of the party—not a wrinkle on his smooth face, not a care on his light heart; yet he was one of the few living links between two ages which had witnessed the greatest revolutions in the history of the world: and it was impossible to see him without thinking with a sort of amazement of those whom he had seen.

Charles de Bonstetten was born at Berne, as we have already said, in 1746: he was not only a native of the canton, but the representative of one of the old patrician families in whose hands its government was vested. He was an only child, and his mother, to his great loss and disadvantage, was an uneducated commonplace woman. His father, Charles-Emmanuel de Bonstetten, was, on the other hand, no unworthy descendant of those bold barons whose names have had honourable mention in Helvetian records ever since the middle of the eleventh century. Their old manor of Bonstetten lay in the environs of Zurich, and from under its roof came forth good soldiers and magistrates for the country during the long struggle for Swiss independence. By the end of the fifteenth century 'the savage virtues of the race' had given place to more peaceful achievements; and Albert de Bonstetten was able to dedicate to Louis XI. a 'History of the Swiss 'Confederation;' while another branch, acquiring great estates by marriage, went to settle in the Jura, and on the confines of Neufchâtel. The Treasurer de Bonstetten (the father of Charles-Victor) bore in Berne the character which the de Bonstettens had long earned and maintained. He was a man of good abilities, and a faithful servant of the state, where his

singularly humane and conciliatory temper made him at once useful and beloved. It was his intention that his only son brought up at his side should walk in his steps, and rise in Bernese official life. The boy's education was begun at Berne, but at fourteen he was removed to Yverdun, and thence to Geneva, and in that place passed those years of adolescence during which his mind was most to be formed for evil or for good. The first impressions made on it were by his intimacy with M. Moultou, his visits to Ferney, and by the works of Rousseau. At eighteen, so far from being a Bernese senator in embryo, Charles de Bonstetten was a democrat at heart, and had already found insuperable obstacles in the reception of revealed religion.

It was perhaps not wonderful. His temper was restless and independent in an extraordinary degree: 'Dependence,' he would say, 'turns me into a fiend; liberty makes me an angel.' His imagination was brilliant, and his love of knowledge and of inquiry insatiable; he had been little controlled by others, and at eighteen self-control was a virtue still to be acquired. *Reason* was, however, what he believed to be the sole object of his worship, and by reason only he declared that he would be ruled. The instructions of M. Prévost, with whom he had been placed, were so unfortunate as not to satisfy him in this and other particulars; but his contempt for his tutor had good results, since it drove him to cultivate the acquaintance of M. Bonnet. Bonnet endeavoured to discipline the thoughts of his protégé, and greatly gained on his esteem; so much so that young Bonstetten, while he could not be prevailed on to close with the positive tenets of Christianity, was fain to admit that in M. Bonnet at least, religion and philosophy, piety and common sense, sympathy and sobriety of thought, were very admirably met. Through the summer of 1765, they read together, the pupil happily unconscious of the ascendancy of the teacher, for he wrote to his father of his present enjoyment, adding that *guides* were what were necessary for him and not masters, and that a master in anything he would not have. The republican influences of Geneva also charmed him: to his heated fancy it seemed the only place where life was to be endured, and every place in which another form of government prevailed was nauseous and irritating. 'There is some activity here,' he informed the Treasurer de Bonstetten, 'but the very look of 'the Pays de Vaud is enough to set me to sleep. I yawn if I 'do but pass through one of its towns.' These letters, with the reports which reached the elder Bonstetten of his son's ill-disguised sympathy with the revolutionary party, so alarmed him

that he determined to recall the young *philosophe*. The letter which conveyed this determination came as a blow to the son, who objected to the summons from every point of view: theoretically 'because an unreasoning obedience was to his 'mind the vilest sentiment that ever infested the human breast,' and practically because the command made him wretched now, and would assuredly render him doubly so when carried into effect. But the Treasurer was inflexible; and after bidding farewell to Bonnet and to Geneva with bitter regrets, Charles-Victor returned to inhabit the paternal mansion in Berne.

It was in truth a dull, uncongenial home, especially so for an only child, as he lacked companions for his studies, and was deprived of the society of women. He abandoned himself to his feelings in all their violence, till his health gave way, and he wandered about in Berne the spiritless martyr of his own too quick imagination, and of conditions which were not only trying in themselves, but had to be endured in that idleness which is the sorest trial of all. He found himself unoccupied among people who were happy in the routine of small business, and in the practice of what seemed to him very small virtues; thus he fell a prey to the *ennui* which Maurice de Guérin truly described as making us 'so extravagant in our talk.' 'To what 'purpose, we cry, is life, since it is a weariness, and duties, since 'they are heaviness? and whereby are we profited by having a 'heart and a soul? and so on, questions without end—and when 'they are exhausted, only suicide remains.' Bonstetten reasoned but too much in this way, and in 1765, he made an attempt on his life. After the loaded pistols were in his hand a bright ray of moonlight attracted his attention and delayed the act — the gracious Providence he as yet so dimly recognised, preserving him for wiser thoughts, and for a life as long as it was to be useful, honourable, and happy. M. Steinlen has touched all this part of the biography with great tenderness, and it is not the least graphic chapter of the book, for the human family is apt to exhibit the same symptoms in all ages, and by some this sketch will not be thought over-coloured. With Bonstetten the crisis of this fever of self-will was happily past, and the Treasurer, who had watched it with more anxiety than power to arrest it, sent him away from Berne to finish his studies at Leyden. He made no great progress there, and the climate disagreed with him so much, that he obtained permission to leave it and go to England. His stay in our island was one of the happiest episodes of his life. It was in the summer of 1769, that he touched our shores. Herr Morell says:—

'At that season the English gentry reside on their estates, and Bonstetten also went into the country, to learn English, which he did very rapidly, and to restore his health. In the retirement of this rural life, he formed a project of marrying, but his passion disappeared as rapidly as it had arisen, and of much more lasting importance was the short sojourn he made in Bath. He became acquainted there with Thomas Pitt, the brother of Lord Chatham, and with another young Englishman, Mr. Nicholls, with whom his friendship proved a lasting source of pleasure. Mr. Pitt showed Bonstetten every kindness, and presented him to George III., at whose court the rather easy manners of the young Swiss scandalised the more punctilious of the officials. From Mr. Nicholls he had a letter of introduction to the poet, Thomas Gray: Bonstetten waited on him in London, and was so fascinated by the intellectual conversation of the poet, that he followed him to Cambridge, where Gray held the chair of History. There he seemed to live over again the happy hours he had spent at Geneva, with Bonnet or with Moulton, and Gray applied himself in earnest to making his young friend familiar with the works of Shakspeare and Milton, and with those of Dryden and of Pope. The pupil tells us how almost every afternoon he passed through the wide and silent halls of Pembroke, and crossed the grass of its cloisters to reach the rooms of the lonely and melancholy poet.'

Mr. Thomas Pitt, here called the brother of Lord Chatham, was, as Gray termed him, 'not the great, but the little one, my 'acquaintance,' the son of Thomas Pitt of Boconnock, and the eldest brother of William Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford. Bonstetten's visit to Cambridge and to Gray took place in 1770, about fifteen months before the death of the poet. There was something morbid and extravagant in the affection Gray conceived for him, as will be seen by the following letter written just after Bonstetten's departure*:—

'19th April, 1770.

'Alas! how do I every moment feel the truth of what I have somewhere read, "ce n'est pas le voir que de s'en souvenir," and yet that remembrance is the only satisfaction I have left. My life now is but a perpetual conversation with your shadow. The known sound of your voice still rings in my ears. There on the corner of the fender you were standing, or tinkling on the pianoforte, or stretched at length on the sofa. Do you reflect, that it is a week or ten days before I can receive a letter from you, and as much more before you can have my answer? that all that time I am employed in pushing the tedious hours along, and wishing to annihilate them: the more I strive, the heavier they move, and the longer they grow. I cannot

* Some further account of this romantic attachment is given by Mr. Mitford in the Appendix (p. 476.) to his 'Correspondence of 'Gray and Mason.'

bear this place where I have spent so many tedious years within less than a month since you left me. . . . You do me the credit (and false or true, it goes to my heart) of ascribing to *me* your love for many virtues of the highest rank. Would to heaven it were so! but they are indeed the fruits of your own noble and generous understanding, that has hitherto struggled against the stream of custom, passion, and ill company, even when you were but a child; and will you now give way to that stream when your strength is increased? Have a care *of loving what you do not approve*, and know me for your most faithful and most humble despot.'

Though Gray playfully styled himself the despot of the boy whose loss moved him so deeply, it is impossible not to see that the pale poet was himself the slave of his affection for Bonstetten. Making full allowances for the charms of the younger man, such feelings in the elder are as curious as they are touching: they belong to the same class as those of the prisoner for his pet or for his flower: Bonstetten was the 'Pic-'ciola' of Thomas Gray, who felt for him one of those strange and morbid passions into which solitude can convert a very ordinary regard. That their victim suffers as acutely as the exile ever does from home-sickness is evident from the next letter.

'9th May, 1770.

'I have returned, my dear Bonstetten, from the little journey I had made into Suffolk without answering the end proposed: the thought that you might have been with me there has embittered all my hours. Your letter has made me happy, as happy as so gloomy, so solitary a being as I am, is capable of being. . . . All that you say to me, especially on the subject of Switzerland, is infinitely acceptable. It feels too pleasing ever to be fulfilled, and often as I read over your truly kind letter, written long since from London, I stop at these words, "*la mort qui peut glacer nos bras avant qu'ils soient "entrelacés.*"'

Gray seems not to have had the heart to reproach Bonstetten in absence for those faults of temperament which he had nevertheless perceived in him. He only undertakes in another letter to show Bonstetten his own likeness as in a glass, darkly. He tells him how Plato once spoke of the genius which is truly inclined to philosophy, of its grace, and of its rare endowments; but added, that these endowments are often the ruin of the soul, and that the man whose mind is formed to govern mankind is often lost for want of good nurture. 'In this case he is de-'praved by the public example, by the assemblies of the people, 'the courts of justice, the theatres that inspire him with false 'opinions, terrify him with false infamy, or elevate him with 'false applause.' Gray is uncertain if this disguise is thin enough to allow the covert warning to appear, and he con-

cludes:—'If you have ever met with the portrait sketched 'out by Plato, you will know it again; for my part (to my 'sorrow) I have had that happiness; I see the principal 'features, and I foresee the dangers with a trembling anxiety.' This anxiety seemed for a time rather to increase than to diminish. 'I do not know what to make of his last strange 'letter,' Gray wrote later to Nicholls (May, 1771), 'and I 'beg you will not mention its contents to anyone. He says he 'is the most wretched of men; that he is determined to leave 'his country,' &c. . . . 'He must either be deranged (which 'is only too possible), or he has by some strange step ex-'asperated his family, which is, I fear, equally possible. I 'know not what to think; it is for you to see and know more 'about it, but pray do not spare pains in trying to curb this 'fanciful and wandering imagination of his, and if it is possible 'to insinuate some good advice.' Mr. Nicholls, who was as much devoted to Bonstetten as Gray could desire, enjoyed the pleasure, denied to the elder friend, of seeing the development of a character which already possessed, along with all its faults, so singular a power of winning and giving love.

The summons to return to Berne which had curtailed Bonstetten's happy hours at Cambridge, was generously accompanied by a permission to visit Paris on the way. Some of the best houses were, as a matter of course, open to him; such as were those of Mdmes. Necker and De la Rochefoucauld, and he was soon introduced to those literary salons which as *bureaux d'esprit* exercised so much influence on society. He was received by Mdme. du Deffand, as well as by her rival and former friend Mdlle. de l'Espinasse, and there he learnt to know D'Alembert, Diderot, Mably, and the other celebrities of the day. Fresh from English circles, Bonstetten amused himself with noticing the social difference between the two countries. He had already said that England was the only place where people cultivated silence, but in some of his letters from Paris he now gives the preference to English men and manners.

'Most of the authors here,' he says, 'have wit, knowledge of many things, and many new and brilliant ideas, but they have no method. It is quite different in England, and French writers seem to me most useful in enlarging and polishing those ideas which take their rise either in England or in Geneva. A learned Englishman is often a fine character—a learned Frenchman generally a *bel-esprit*. In England it is an exception to see talents abused, in France this is the rule.'

This last sentence sounds as if the Wertherism of Bonstetten's extreme youth was beginning to rub off, and we accordingly

find by the notes he made on his way home to Berne, that his appetite for novelty and excitement, even for exclusively literary society, was satisfied or at least appeased. He returned anxious to find occupation and something to do by which some one should be benefited as well as himself. His first business there was a mournful one. The Treasurer's health had given way, and after nursing him through his last illness, Bonstetten closed his father's eyes. 'Ah, we never understood each other' was the only comment made by the elder Bonstetten, as holding his son's hand he reverted in thought to the unhappy years they had spent together, when his heir had returned from Geneva in 1765. Immediately after this loss, M. de Bonstetten went abroad. He travelled through Italy as far as Naples, and when he returned to his native town, it was to become a member of the council, and shortly after to take office.

It may seem strange after such passionate declamations against aristocratic governments in general, and the government of Berne in particular, that M. de Bonstetten should now seek to become a member of the most oligarchical administration that (without excepting even the palmiest days of the doges and admirals of Venice) ever prevailed in Europe. But in Berne, to be occupied at all, was to belong to the magistracy of the canton; to belong to certain families, was to become sooner or later a member of the sovereign body. At this period there were but five families which could rank with the De Bonstettens in great descent and in hereditary value to the state: these were the Diesbachs, the Mülinen, the De Louternaüs, the Watteville, and the Erlachs; the last-named being the most important, as a descendant of the Captain von Erlach, who had defeated the Austrians at Lappen, was, at the time of Charles-Emmanuel de Bonstetten's death, *avoyer* or chief magistrate of Berne. Political tradition affirms, it is true, that the Bernese constitution was not always as purely patrician as when Simond described it, and Gibbon sketched its outlines with so unsparing a pen. It is said that the choice of the magistrates lay originally in the heads of families, and that every man then felt that he might be called to office if he showed himself worthy of it. However this may have been, one thing is patent, either that 'Jacques 'Bonhomme' never proved an eminent legislator, or that his superiors took care that he should not exhibit his talents in that line, since as early as 1353 there were frequent complaints of the despotism of the nobility. Among the eight aristocratic cantons, Berne enjoyed in this, as in other points, an undoubted pre-eminence, and some of its institutions were felt to be bad precedents for the neighbouring states, which, if they were less powerful

abroad, had more liberty at home. In Zurich, for example, the council of the Two Hundred elected the Senate, and the Senate named the Burgomaster, while in Berne the nobles chose the Avoyer from their number, and recruited the Senate from their own body. To complete the absurdity of the system, the lucrative offices of the government, that is more especially the administration of the subject bailliages, were distributed by lot among the patrician competitors. One peculiarity of such a society must always be the absence in it of a middle class: there was no room in Berne for an educated body not connected with the landed interest, and trade was necessarily depressed where it was the object of the nobles to prevent commerce reaching that stage of development at which the successful merchant or artisan becomes the rival of the gentry. There was a considerable number of wealthy farmers, whose rentals even exceeded those of the myriad cadets of patrician houses, but they were not likely to compete with their landlords, and the poor were as needy as they were ignorant, and as ignorant as they were completely isolated from the other classes. It was a country of few wants, and, what was worse, it was one of few aims. The highest order was undesirous of change, the lowest was unfit for it; still change was impatiently demanded by a few, by the men of the Helvetic League: disquiet and discontent grumbled like thunder on the horizon, but the thunder was still distant, and dullness hung like a pall over the homely circles of Berne.

Fortunately for Charles de Bonstetten, he had, before entering them, travelled a great deal, and improved all the opportunities that had presented themselves for acquiring knowledge at its purest sources. The society into which he was now to be incorporated was one very likely to dwarf or stunt a growing mind; it was certain to fret a liberal and an active one. Yet it by no means deserved all that M. de Bonstetten had said of it in his first fever of democratic ideas. If the government was antiquated, it was also patriarchal in spirit, and if it was arbitrary at times, as it must needs be when there was no appeal from its decisions, it was remarkable for its integrity. Peculation was unknown, and breach of trust very rare; and an executive which failed lamentably in its educational measures, and never fostered the arts, was skilled in the effective suppression of crime. The members of the council, like the Avoyer at its head, were unostentatious, and also (and this is a notable point) unguarded: no popular risings disturbed their decisions, and they feared no danger from the hands of the armed population which obeyed them. A vast public treasury had accumulated,

as we know, at Berne—which a French army carried off, and which a French fleet lost in Aboukir Bay—but the patricians themselves were not very opulent. Taxation was moderate, and their official incomes varied from 500*l.* to 1,500*l.* a-year. The Avoyer had an official residence in Berne, and this palace was tenanted in 1776 by one of the Von Erlachs, an old man of whose mental and political insignificance Bonstetten's biographers have many gossiping tales to tell. His Council was composed (*inter alios*) of twenty-two members of the family of Steigner, of fifteen Wattevilles, fourteen Jenners, nine Fischers, twelve Tscherners, eleven Gräfenreids, ten Sinners, eight Diesbachs, eight Mays, seven Wagners, six Frischlings, six d'Erlachs, six Effingers, six Stettlers, six Thormanns, five Herberts, five Tavels, five Mulinen, and five Manuels, &c.: thus out of a body of three hundred persons, twenty-three families alone afforded a contingent of a hundred and eighty members—a sufficient example of its exclusive nature. M. de Bonstetten became a member of this Council in 1775, but he was not very welcome in its fold. His sympathy with the revolutionary party was well known: it had been very frankly professed, for he was closely united in friendship with Müller, the historian of the Swiss Confederation, and with Matthison, the poet, both distinguished clients of that 'Helvetic League' which had first sounded the ominous word 'Progress' in the ears of the sleepy and hitherto complacent senators of Berne. Müller wrote to him on his recent election, reproaching him vehemently with what seemed to him a total defection from his friends, and from literature: it was an exaggerated letter, so much so that M. Steinlen remarks from the way in which Müller advocated a purely literary life, and decried all public business, one would suppose that Cæsar, Cicero, and Tacitus had never been seen in any other attitude than pen in hand. It all failed to convince M. de Bonstetten that there was any enormity in the choice he had made, and he accepted his appointment to the magistracy of Gessenay at the same time that he received an order to wait on the Avoyer at his palace. The young politician was anxious to acquit himself well in all things, to make a favourable impression on his chief, and to enter on the discharge of his functions without delay. He turned his steps to the palace, and as he went, 'wise saws' from his favourite authors, from Tacitus, from Montesquieu, and from Macchiavelli, mingled in his mind with 'modern instances,' and the busy plans of youth. He was received by the Avoyer with gentle and ceremonious politeness.

'"Good day, my good cousin! you are now a *bailli*. Pray be seated! I do not know if you are aware of the customary proceedings

of such persons, but you shall be furnished with the necessary instructions. Every councillor receives yearly a certain tribute of cheeses. Your predecessor (Bonstetten's father-in-law) was, I must tell you, a fool. He always sent me very small cheeses, and they are not worth as much as a large one. Pay attention, I beseech you, and always send me large cheeses. Adieu, my cousin. Is my cousin well? (Bonstetten had married one of the Wattevilles). I wish you a good journey"—there the interview terminated, and the "bailli" departed for his new home.'

M. de Bonstetten's attention was first attracted, as was natural, by the educational condition of his charge. Schools, he found, were open during the winter only, that is, for four months of the year: the fees were small, and the attendance and allowances both so limited that the teachers had to eke out their living by the exercise of another, and not always of a cognate trade; as, for example, when the schoolmaster of a hamlet which boasted of the euphonious name of Bumplitz accepted, in 1740, the office of rat-catcher to the district. The books used in tuition were, with few exceptions, catechisms and manuals of piety. This cultivation of the religious element to the exclusion of the secular and practical ones, did not eradicate superstition as effectually as it fostered sloth, for M. de Bonstetten was once mobbed and threatened as a wizard because he was overheard to read a passage of Tacitus to a friend, as they rested for their mid-day meal beside a cottage door. The valleys which seemed to the rustic mind to be haunted by weird and ghostly shapes, were in reality afflicted with hunger and with cretinism, that terrible endemic form of bodily and mental disease, which was at once the curse and the reproach of Switzerland. Yet these districts produced a race of peasants at once hardy, persevering, and ingenious, and they furnished, for self-defence or for hire, legions of stout soldiers. Swiss mercenaries were to be found in every army of the Middle Ages, and the hearts of the mountaineers reverted to their own land, to its snowy ranges and to its deep secluded vales, with that peculiar longing which is felt by the inhabitants of poor and wild countries.

The life which the *bailli* led in Gessenay was a new existence to him, but it was not an unhappy one. Rougemont was a retired and solitary spot in a cheese-making district, as might be gathered from the Avoyer's injunctions. The season was winter, and the scattered huts of the cowherds and dalesmen alone broke the great expanse of snow. After his father's death, M. de Bonstetten had married, and his wife, though she never shared his literary tastes, was a wise and gentle com-

panion in his solitude. He here learnt for the first time something of the pleasures of work, even of routine work, and in tasting the anxieties and responsibilities of those who govern, he found that the rights of the governed gradually occupied a less solitary and conspicuous position in his mind. He had hitherto despised his compeers for their apathy and ignorance: at Rougemont he discovered that he had himself much to learn, for of the nature of his magisterial functions he had, when he first undertook them, much less knowledge than he could have wished, and his knowledge of the dialect of the country was none at all. He visited every corner of his district; he found, we may hope, 'love in the huts where the poor men lie,' and in making himself acquainted with their simple virtues and simpler wants, he discovered interests for his own delicate and cultivated mind. The result of his observations he gave to the world in those 'Letters from the Herdlands of Switzerland' which Schiller used as the motive for one of his most beautiful ballads.

By Müller and Matthison his book was received with delight; it was a proof to them that Bonstetten's name was not to disappear, and that the man of letters was not to be sunk in the official. Like all M. de Bonstetten's first publications, it was written in German, for 'Bonstetten,' says Sainte-Beuve, 'had 'no mother tongue.' Sismondi said that his German was harmonious and picturesque, but with regard to his style, it was his misfortune to write fluently both in French and German, without being able to write perfectly well in either of them. He was, to use the expression of Horace, 'Canusini more bilinguis,'—born between two languages, and absolute master of neither. The first studies he had pursued were in French, and his own turn of thought was in some things essentially French; but this only insured the introduction of Gallicisms, while the constant use of German turned the edge, so to say, of his French sentences.

He continued to write some occasional papers during his stay at Rougemont, and again after his removal in 1787 to Nyon in the Pays de Vaud, a change which was acceptable to him in many respects. The great attraction of that place was its neighbourhood to Geneva and to Lausanne. 'Lausanne,' said Mr. Gibbon, who in this same year completed his great work in a self-chosen retreat by the Leman Lake, 'Lausanne 'is peopled by a numerous gentry, whose companionable idle-'ness is seldom disturbed by avarice or ambition.' And to Bonstetten's mind such a society, enlivened by the constant presence of some learned or famous stranger, was congenial in

the highest degree. Round the borders of the Lake of Geneva a colony of lettered and independent men had gradually been formed; so that Lausanne, crowded as it was with English, French, and German persons of distinction, seemed a focus of intellectual life. The revenues of the bailliage of Nyon were large, the castle was pleasantly situated, and there, whether engaged in business or in the education of his boys, Bonstetten's time was always pleasantly engrossed. Madame Brün was a frequent visitor; Matthison also made a stay of about two years at Nyon, and it is frequently mentioned in his poems—a volume which the world will never wholly forget, since it contains in 'Adelaide' the words of the most beautiful love-song that ever floated from Beethoven's brain.

Unfortunately the tranquillity of Nyon and of its magistrate (the 'Agathon' of Matthison's verse) was not doomed to last, and as France was heaving with revolution, the shocks of the earthquake were not long of reaching the Pays de Vaud. That canton, which complained of the harsh supremacy and excessive taxation of Berne, was tolerably ripe for revolt, and its proximity to France as well as to Geneva had furthered its liberal tendencies. Bonstetten's conduct, at such a time, was sure to be much canvassed. The patrician party could not, when they recalled all his antecedents, fail to suspect his sympathies if not his actions. The liberals, on the other hand, were surprised at the unvarying but unofficious kindness shown by him to the *émigrés*, and in many things they discovered that he was not disposed to join the revolution, since on all these points his opinions had undergone a gradual but remarkable change. He was no leveller: his character, though it had ripened slowly had ripened surely; and if, in common with many others, he looked hopefully on the first aspects of the French Revolution, he was not so blind as to fail to observe as it advanced, how enormous were its excesses, and how much of selfish violence was covered by the words 'liberty,' 'fraternity,' 'equality,' and 'progress.' His mind had a deep respect for the rights of all, and he wrote to Müller in 1789, that if the revolution which he foresaw as threatening Berne, should turn Berne into a *bonâ fide* republic, he for one should not forget that he was a Bernese nobleman, and that he should stand fast by his Order—a determination founded partly on principle, partly on the fact that he was now the father of two sons, whom he would not, he said, see robbed of their patrimony and just rights. Such an attitude of firmness and moderation was not without good results in the canton, which owed not a little of its peace and safety to the wise measures and amiable intervention of the *bailli*. But to Bonstetten,

from his coign of vantage at Nyon, the prospect was as stormy as the period was anxious.

'All my friends,' he wrote, 'are uneasy from knowing that I am in a place where foreign armies are but the precursors of civil war, and where from Geneva, as well as from the German frontier, the booming of the cannon announces the close of the Golden age (1791). Two thousand four hundred German troops occupy Lausanne, and all the towns are more or less agitated: still if the Government knows (as I hope it will) how to unite firmness with moderation, it will come to nothing. As yet the cantons are united, and hold together better than ever.'

M. de Bonstetten was an optimist, but though sanguine he was also vigorous; and when in the following year, Geneva was threatened by the army of the Convention, he took the most active measures for the defence of his neighbouring and exposed province. Some of the steps were not in themselves judicious, for Bonstetten had entirely escaped the military training which generally formed part of the education and experience of young Bernese patricians; and his superiors also felt that his movements had been rather too sudden and too independent. So soon therefore as the immediate danger was averted, and the troops of Berne disbanded on the conclusion of a treaty with General Montesquiou, M. de Bonstetten, aware of the ill feeling which had arisen towards him in the mind of the Avoyer and his compeers, begged leave to exchange his bailliage of Nyon for the syndicate of the Italian bailliages in the valleys of the Ticino and the Maggia.

His petition was heard, and with something of that sense of failure which attaches to men who in troublous times have done well, but not excellently well, he left Nyon, once his most congenial haunt. The boy in this instance had not been father to the man. Revolutionary as Bonstetten's tone had once been, no one was ever less fitted to stem or share a revolution. Kind and moderate in daily life, his opinions never touched the harshness of extremes; he was not made for strife, and being essentially the friend only of gradual measures and of wise reforms, he could not but be aware that the violence of the Revolution must retard by many years the establishment of a true, 'manly, and regulated' liberty in France. His liberalism, if once tinged with restlessness, had never been a cover for selfishness; and thus in the midst of personal failures, and in a time of political doubt, he never swerved from his belief that, as such a storm had been needed, so it would ultimately bear peaceable fruit. He could not forget many evils of which he had once been deeply cognisant, and to which he hoped the new order of things might bring permanent relief. H

faith was large in time, and as such he was able to prophesy a happier future for the world in all its present passions and excess. Such consolatory thoughts accompanied M. de Bonstetten when he again exchanged the society of Geneva and Lausanne for a secluded life. But the silence of the Pennine Alps was welcome to him after the din of armies and the angry councils of senates, and he immediately began to explore the beautiful district under his charge, from its northern frontiers to the margin of the Lago Maggiore. The characteristics of northern and southern Europe mingled in its scenery; above it frowned the fastnesses of Switzerland, below it lay the Italian lakes, the districts of Como and Lecco, and the plains of Lombardy stretching up to the gates of Milan. Bonstetten occasionally pushed his explorations as far as Milan, where he once met the victorious general of the armies of the Republic, Napoleon Buonaparte. He had an interview with Napoleon, and the conversation seems to have turned on the government of Berne, and on the way in which so large a public treasure had been accumulated in so small a state. Perhaps this circumstance contributed to direct the attention of the French Government to a strong box it was so easy to rifle.

Bonstetten's great interest in his last bailliage was the same as in his first — a crusade against sloth, indolence, and superstition. He found in the valleys of the Maggia and of the Ticino a people as uncivilised as the herdsmen of Gessenay, and more indolent and apathetic in their poverty, because their lives were passed under a less inclement sky. He made the tour of the canton, and gives many curious descriptions of the hamlets and townships of the different districts. From Lugano he wrote 'that such things as schools, reading rooms, benefit 'societies, and the like institutions for promoting the interests of 'civilisation, are unknown, and the arts are in the same predica-'ment as the sciences. Poverty, both in money and in brains, 'reigns in these Italian valleys, and not only is poverty, 'but beggary and idleness are encouraged by the convents; 'while, from the want of infirmaries, the sick are in the most 'deplorable condition.' Agriculture he found in its most primitive stages; the vines, which crept or flung themselves in tangled masses about the southern slopes, owed their purple clusters rather to the sunshine and the dews of heaven, than to the care of the vine-dressers; and it was with the greatest difficulty that M. de Bonstetten persuaded the people of Locarno to grow or eat potatoes. The most curious feature of the community was its litigious spirit. In Locarno alone, a town of about 1,074 inhabitants, there were thirty-three

lawyers, and the suits before the civil magistrate amounted to many thousands. Any famous cause divided the neighbourhood into factions; the earnings of a poor population flowed away in the purchase of the dear luxury of the law, and blood was spilt in the frays that ensued. In such quarrels Bonstetten was often called on to mediate, and here again his good sense and good temper healed many a breach; but the taste was so strong in his clients that nothing but the Revolution and the military occupation of the country put an end to the lawsuits of the Tessin. The syndic's observations were not all of so disagreeable a character: the people were gay, lively, and very sociable; their games at ball and at *morra*, their national dances, and the strains of their bagpipes were new to him, as were the processions, pilgrimages, and brotherhoods of this Catholic canton. The presence of this last peculiarity was offensive to Bonstetten, whose mind abhorring priestcraft in all its shapes, was peculiarly averse to it when combined with idleness; and he noted with sorrow that alongside of the four monasteries of Locarno, thirty-seven taverns drove a flourishing trade, while it was impossible to find a shop or stall in which to buy books. 'So long,' he exclaimed, 'as the women of the upper classes are brought up 'in convents, and the men are educated by priests whose talk 'is of grammar, rhetoric, and frippery, and who understand 'nothing else, so long will the nation continue ignorant and 'insignificant.'

During three years, M. de Bonstetten administered the affairs of these Italian bailliages as their syndic, with full, we had almost said with arbitrary, powers in criminal and in civil cases; surrounded by temptations to sell justice, and by contradictions enough to provoke him to forget mercy. He left his office in 1797, and when reviewing his life in the Tessin in a melancholy mood, he was once heard to aver 'that he had seen 'a hundred occasions of doing harm and thereby enriching 'himself, but that he had never had the opportunity of doing 'any good.'

In the following spring the French troops swept over Berne. Bonstetten passed through his native town almost as a fugitive, leaving nothing behind him, he said, 'but a revolutionised 'place, full of hatred and thick clouds of darkness.' His intention was to abandon the country, perhaps to fly from Europe for ever, and to find a new home for himself and his successors, in some free but primitive city of the West. But the solicitations of Madame Brün induced him to turn his steps northward, and during a visit to Copenhagen to mature his plans for the future of a life whose political importance was

now over. Thus at fifty-five, the son of the Treasurer de Bonstetten, the patrician patriot of Berne, always 'as little as 'Bernese as possible,' always so ill at ease in his own city and in his father's house, seemed destined to wear out the remainder of a desultory and disappointed life in the remote Scandinavian peninsula.

But if the mornings of youth's early promise often prove themselves forsworn, it sometimes also happens that there is a break in the thickest noonday gloom, and that for those who know how to outride the storm, there is, as in the words of ancient promise, at 'evening, light.' Thus Bonstetten, if he seemed to sink, did but sink as a diver plunges to rise, and to swim for the future against less adverse tides. He was saved by his sympathy and his energy. At his age he might fairly have reasoned with himself, that men have either scaled the steep ascent, and entered the Temple of Fame, or they have been tried and found unequal to the effort. Heroes and statesmen, poets and painters, have often achieved greatness before they were thirty, and then (since those whom the Immortals love die young) dropped into early but unforgotten graves. For himself, he was now in more than middle life; he had lost one of his sons, a youth of great and promising talent: he had tried literature without either charming or startling the world by his pen: he had tried to further the welfare of his fellow-men, and had had a philanthropist's success: he had tried politics, and there also he had failed. All these things were against him; but he had for him the two great allies whom the poet describes as alone found faithful to man after the loss and flight of the ideal: he had friendship in its best and widest senses, and he had employment, the habit and the love of work. Thus was Bonstetten, to use the happy phrase of Sainte-Beuve, 'born again.' He had been compelled by duty and by circumstances to be a Swiss and a Bernese, but this new turn of affairs, and the independence of his means, allowed him to become what he truly was—a citizen of the world. Towards Berne and the Bernese his sentiments remained of a mixed nature. He could not forget the old stronghold of his family and his race, but the place, the people, the manners, and the *régime*, had all been distasteful to him as a youth, and the rulers had been, he thought, unjust to him as a man. With something of resentful affection he was wont to revert to Berne in his talk and in his books; with something of lingering pride he spoke of her to Napoleon in their singular interview at Milan. He determined to settle at Geneva, and, with the exception of an occasional ramble abroad, or of a visit

to Paris, his home was fixed there till the last. It united to many present advantages all the best recollections of his past life, and if he recalled the old lessons with Bonnet, or the life with Matthison at Nyon, there lay around him all the features of the landscape which he had been wont to associate with the wise and with the good: there stretched the lake, and there above his old haunts rose the blue grey crests of Jura.* He was now in the possession of a modest competence, he had a peaceful home, abundant leisure, a few attached companions, and troops of friends who claimed and filled his sympathy, his time, and his love. All these advantages came to him late in life, but he perhaps realised their value more that they found in him the serenity of the philosopher, the same love of knowledge, with a better measure of the limits of all human wisdom, the same respect for men, with a wiser estimate of their rights, and a deeper insight into their needs.

Thus it may truly be said that the years that succeeded the French Revolution and the formation of the Helvetic Republic were the happiest in Bonstetten's life. He followed with the deepest interest all the changes wrought in Europe by the crisis; and in the rush and abundance of literary life and work he took the greatest delight. His associates for the future were to be all the great and all the busy men of that great and busy epoch. We have seen of how long standing was the friendship of M. de Bonstetten with M. and Mdme. Necker. After the fall of the monarchy, Louis XVI.'s minister established himself in his old home at Coppet, and found in the rising reputation of his daughter some counterpoise for his personal failures and his great political sorrow. In 1807 M. Necker died. It was then the business of M. de Bonstetten to endeavour to console his daughter. To such a task he had a prescriptive right, being at once her own and her father's oldest friend, and the companion whom Madame de Staël had most anxiously endeavoured to secure for her tour in Germany. Bonstetten remembered Germaine a lively and impetuous child, and he found her in her bereavement full of the same passionate spirit, as she poured out her love for her father in alternate floods of tears, or bursts of tender and eloquent words. She would not remain at Coppet. 'I will go

* Matthison's expression is a singularly happy one; speaking of Nyon, he says,

"Wo Agathon, den Grazien vertraut,
Der Musen Stolz, bewundert im Pallaste
Des Volkes Lust, bis wo der Jura *blaut*,
. . . . mit Liebe mich umfasste."

'to Italy,' she told Bonstetten; 'I will carry my burden there; 'in that land, I am told, people are partly able to forget their 'existence.' 'God only knows,' was Bonstetten's remark to Frederica Brün, 'whether this creature would be happy had she 'all the world can give—this world is too narrow for such a fiery 'soul, and I fear that of the cup of love, she will drink nothing 'but the dregs and lees.' Madame de Staël's great intellectual energy, if it served to intensify her feelings, was able to prevent her losing herself even in sorrow. When she did return to settle at Coppet, the house, lately one of mourning, became, in spite of all the despotism of Napoleon, the most brilliant spot upon the continent of Europe. French, German, and Danish authors brought their works to be discussed in her salon. Benjamin Constant fed her with the politics of the city she was forbidden to revisit, and Madame Krüdener entertained the circle with her newly acquired mysticism, and with her piquant recollections of the past. Bonstetten remarked: 'You hear more wit at Coppet 'in one day than you can hear in a year in other places. It 'is impossible to be cleverer than Schlegel, and his German-'French is so witty, so cutting, and so droll, that every adversary 'is disarmed in ten minutes. Madame de Staël seems every day 'better and greater. But it is a misfortune to have so much 'talent. Mont Blanc is not more solitary in the world than she 'is.' His brilliant hostess felt that truth deeply, and the loneliness which increased for her after her father's death, found vent that winter in the pages of 'Corinne;' the exceeding bitter cry by which she revealed that fame (to use her own words) is but a royal mourning, in purple, for happiness. Rome had charmed her as much as her 'Corinne' had charmed the Romans. She wrote to Bonstetten from that eternal city:—

'One learns to love Rome, but the feeling grows on one as if I were bewitched; the more so in my case that I have found no one among the Romans to whom my mind or spirit can turn, so for some time I have learned to live alone. William Humboldt (who begs to be remembered to you) is the best company I have had here, for the rest I occupy myself mainly with the things of Rome. The princes are extraordinarily tiresome; I get on better with the cardinals, because as they know something of government, their intellectual circle is a little enlarged: but what need has one of *men*, when *things* cry with a loud voice.'

During the ten following years M. de Bonstetten lived in close friendship with this gifted and erratic woman. She passed through Geneva for the last time in 1816, and she would seem to have had some presentiment of her death, as she took an almost final leave of him. Their mutual friend, Dr. Jurine,

attended her in her last illness, and through their correspondence we learn some traits of her character in sickness and in death.

'Her physical forces decreasing, she seemed being let down gradually, but her intellect was never clouded even for a moment. On the contrary she was never more eloquent than during her illness, and she never slept or would allow herself to sleep, lest she should never see her invalid husband (Rocca) again. She was haunted by the idea that during her slumber, his eyes or her own might be closed for ever. The evening before her death, she gave some orders about his medicines being taken to him, and a little later said to M. Rocca, "I have "told the servants to light a fire in your room, the evening is very "cold." Alas! it was the chill of death beginning to creep over herself, for the evening (July 7th) was very warm. She added, "We "must go to Naples this winter—now good-night." On the following morning she died, quietly and without pain.'

Bonstetten was much affected by the news. He went to Coppet to receive her remains, and to lay them beside those of her father and mother. Alluding to her in one of his letters, he said:—

'One of the highest and best traits of her character was her true and most generous power of forgiving; and what gave real worth to her goodness of heart was that no one knew mankind better than she did, and that no one was ever more able to revenge themselves by a witty retort; the goodness of some people consists, I think, in the fact that they do not know their neighbours, and do not see how bad they are. But this was not the case with Madame de Staël. I cannot yet feel that she is dead to me. What a loss! What a blank from henceforth in my life! My heart aches with new pain every time that my eyes light on the heads of the waving poplars that surround her grave. I miss her as if she were a part of myself.'

In all that relates to literature, no loss could well have been greater to Bonstetten than that of Madame de Staël. She had not only fostered and shared his tastes, but she had encouraged him again to use his pen. Thus, at her instance, he published, as a result of his Italian tours, his 'Journey over the Scenes 'of the last six books of the Æneid.' With 'L'Homme du 'Nord et l'Homme du Midi' she was equally pleased. This little essay had a vogue at the time which will not, we fear, serve to rescue it from oblivion. Yet its author ingeniously discriminated the characteristics of the two European races. He had studied the men of the north among the fiords of Denmark and in the halls of English colleges; and he had seen the mixture of the two elements in the populations once under his rule round the margins of the Italian lakes. At Geneva he still enjoyed ample opportunities, had such been needed, for observing

the men and manners of all nations. He used to say playfully that the hordes of Croats and Cossacks which had traversed Switzerland during the war had been succeeded by another, but more pacific invasion. The *corps d'armée* was in this instance mainly composed of English travellers and sojourners, but there were also Italians, Germans, Greeks, and Russians. Among the most distinguished Englishmen were Lord Brougham, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Minto, and Lord Byron, with whom M. de Bonstetten had a short acquaintance in 1816. The poet, then in all the glory and the mystery of his surpassing but exaggerated fame, affected to hate the society of Geneva in general, and of its English residents in particular. But he was living at the Villa Diodati, on the Savoy side of the lake. There the third canto of 'Childe Harold' dropped from a pen which, since his late domestic misfortunes, seemed to have acquired more of passion, and to have added more of power to its already consummate skill. There he also lived in close intimacy with the Shelleys. He visited Madame de Staël at Coppet, and so made the acquaintance of the Swiss man of letters who interested him because of the connexion with Gray. Lord Byron was favourably impressed with the little veteran, and in a letter to Mr. Murray, says:—

'Bonstetten is a pleasing old man with a great deal of animation. He is much looked up to by his countrymen, and in literature he enjoys such a distinguished reputation, that his friends address much of their correspondence to him. I have met him at Coppet several times.'

With the English poet Bonstetten was charmed:—

'There is no one,' he wrote to Matthison, 'whom I could compare with Lord Byron. His voice is music, and his features are those of an angel; only a little mocking devil of a sneer flits across them at times, and it disappears as it came. His lordship has inquired very pointedly for you, and I had to describe to him and to his friend Hobhouse where and how you lived; to show them your poems, and to compare your style with Bürger and Salis. We drove by moonlight that evening, and at Genthod the two friends returned to their home by water. Hobhouse is a very attractive person, full of fire and of spirit. I had spent the evening at Coppet with these two strange beings, with Madame de Staël and her beautiful daughter. All were witty and gay.'

It is reported that M. de Bonstetten did not always find Lord Byron equally propitious, and that he once saw him extremely out of temper. Dr. Polidori thought proper to invite two friends to the Villa Diodati, and Bonstetten was sufficiently ill-advised to accept of the invitation. The master

of the house, very pardonably angry at the liberty taken by his apothecary, remarked that as Polidori had asked these gentlemen, he must also entertain them himself, and departed, leaving MM. Pictet and Bonstetten to the man of drugs for the rest of the evening.

Coppet was in those years so filled with visitors, that all sorts and conditions of men passed under the review of any one who, like M. de Bonstetten, was a neighbour and *habitué* of the house which he helped to enliven. But in that shifting society of foreigners there was one sage of Geneva, with whom Bonstetten was constantly brought in contact, whose condition in some measure resembled his own, from whom he might have learnt much, had there not been a curious disparity in their feelings—had not the one been as grave as the other was gay. Sismondi, the historian of the Italian republics, himself the scion of an old Tuscan house, was, like Bonstetten, a man of letters, of independent fortune, and of aristocratic descent. Like Bonstetten, his youth had been fed with the lessons of Voltaire and of Rousseau; like the son of the Treasurer of Berne, he was a liberal, not by birth or accident, but by conviction and principle. Both cultivated literature, both corresponded with all the notable literary men and women of their day. There, however, the likeness ends. In temper and in judgment the two men were the very antipodes of each other; and if we may venture to measure Bonstetten by Sismondi, the faults and failings of the former appear with a distinctness which partial biographers have sought to deny or to conceal. Bonstetten was a creature of fancy and of impulse. Already in his adolescence Gray had seen how his vivacity and his love of approbation might be the ruin of his character; still in middle age that 'wandering imagination' ruled supreme over all his other qualities, and was the key at once to his virtues and his shortcomings. His very liberalism had originated in a restless dislike to restraints, preconceived opinions, and rights founded on precedent alone, though it was afterwards matured by his ready sympathy with all who were or seemed to be oppressed. His threats and professions always went far beyond his actions, and even beyond his sober wishes: the whole sentiment was of the kind more likely to be developed in a woman, than fitted to guide a statesman in any steady career. The liberalism of Sismondi was, on the contrary, a profound belief, a wiser because a more patient creed. He had suffered in his person and in his family from the excesses of an angry democracy, and had seen the effects of its ignorant and brutal frenzy; but neither democratic virtues nor democratic excesses ever assumed to his philosophical eyes the proportions

which they did to many spectators of the Revolution. Both Bonstetten and Sismondi were incapable of any wish to see the direction of the country abandoned to its unlettered classes, but Bonstetten's hopes were always Utopian, even when his views were moderate. He dreamt of a future for his country when, as in the Republic of Plato, 'every human creature 'should find its proper level, and every man settle into that 'place for which his natural qualities fitted him.' Sismondi, better read in the past history of the world, and better acquainted with the laws by which it is governed, had no such brilliant hopes. He contended for what he felt to be just, but he accustomed himself to acquiesce in what is inevitable: he understood that progress in human affairs is not in the same ratio with the restless beating of human hearts: he felt this world to be one of trial and of experiments: he believed that Justice, though she follows with lagging steps, has her appointed hour; and he distinguished among all the disorders which mark the workings of the human will, the perpetual action of a present Providence, a Power as merciful as just. It will be remembered that Sismondi, like Bonstetten, had been a sceptic. Both lived to review their opinions, but Bonstetten had not sufficient perspicacity of thought to disentangle Christianity from the administrative evils of priestcraft, or from the doctrinal mists of Methodism. Sismondi rose above the intolerance of scepticism and the blank infidelity of the eighteenth century to a philosophical, though not an orthodox, belief in the truth of Christianity. He avowed his altered but distinct convictions, and sent an expression of them to his friend; but Bonstetten, who had quarrelled with Mdme. Necker de Saussure about her pietism, refused to read Sismondi's letters on 'Religious Progress.'

In all these things Sismondi was real, while Bonstetten remained a trifler. It is true he was an amiable one. The critical faculty was entirely wanting in him: he seldom saw that other people were ridiculous: he never saw that he made himself so; for his vanity was harmless, and his partiality excessive. Sismondi, on the contrary, saw faults very quickly, and only excused them because faults are common to the race. He knew Bonstetten well, lived much in his society, much under the same roof, and he has left a sketch of him which it is useful to compare with the portraits of a more lenient posterity:—

'We live in the same house, and meet daily with the greatest pleasure. His body and mind have recovered from his last illness, and both seem in their first youth. . . . He is so young that one would think he had by some charm cheated time into passing him over, but it always makes me anxious if he ails in any way: I fear

lest something should break the charm. He is much attached to you, and you must not judge of the depth of his feelings by the extreme levity of his manners. He has all the tender and gentle emotions of a man of twenty, and as for sorrows they do not seem to reach him. . . . Berne he has so entirely forgotten, that he observes it whenever he goes there, as one would do some strange town. The Bernese, on the other hand, begin to forgive him for possessing more wits than the whole of them put together, and for being younger in mind, in body, and in hopes, than themselves or than their children. It is odd that he should have been born at Berne, for his character is that of a native of a southern clime. Imagination is the groundwork of his nature: it is by imagination that he suffers and that he is consoled. . . . I love him tenderly, but I blush for his follies as if I was responsible for them; he is twenty-five years older than I am, yet I always feel as if he were a young man given into my charge. He has all the heedlessness of a boy, and such is his want of thought, that I find it needless to attach more importance to his words than he does himself. Still he has all the attractions of youth as well as its faults, and one must forgive him the last in favour of the first. I have seen him show the greatest generosity of character; he is incapable of malice or of bitterness, and is full of zeal and enthusiasm for everything that is noble, beautiful, and good; with all this he is also perfectly gentle and easy to live with. We have passed months, and sometimes whole summers together, and I cannot recollect to have seen him out of temper for a moment. He has never abandoned his friends, but he forgets them very often.'

It would have been more just if Sismondi had said he replaced them very often, for Bonstetten did not forget: he only attached less importance to the persons than to the place which they filled, and when dead or absent he filled up their place without the difficulty which a deeper nature must have found.

Madame de Bonstetten was dead, and it became necessary to replace her, an intention which rather complicated her widower's relations with Sismondi, since Bonstetten had projected a marriage with his mother. It was not unnatural that Sismondi should discourage such an alliance: though less unnatural that Bonstetten should aspire to it. The elder Madame de Sismondi was a woman of rare qualities, gifted, loving, and courageous. In her and in his sister, the historian had found the tenderest appreciation, but no flattery, great uprightness of feeling, and every incentive to self-denial and industry. Sismondi's wife, an English lady, whose memory is deservedly respected by those who knew her, the sister of Lady Mackintosh, was of the same stamp, while the women of the Bonstetten family had been of singular mediocrity; and to the elder Mdme. de Sismondi Charles-Victor, aged sixty-six, now offered his hand. By her

son the proposition was instantly vetoed, and the lady not having any object for opposing his wishes, or for gratifying those of M. de Bonstetten, allowed the matter to drop. Her suitor acquiesced, and never made a second attempt to replace the gentle wife whom he had married from the de Watteville house, and taken from the dullest circles of Berne to be the companion of his life's most eventful years; but in truth he appears to have lived with his wife, when he lived with her at all, on terms of indifference; and Frederica Brün always had a much larger share of his time and attentions. Time, which we see had no sobering effect on Bonstetten's spirits, left its traces on his society and his home. One son alone remained to him, and by the death of Müller he had lost his earliest and best-trusted ally. Matthison however remained, and he came to Geneva in 1820. There, with its former owner, he revisited Nyon, and the friends were able to recall old associations, and to compare old thoughts with new. The politics of this period (that of the Restoration) were not unpleasing, and the sight of a constitutional king on the French throne appeared to them to be a good augury for the future. As regarded Switzerland, Bonstetten could only say that everything promised well. 'A people's 'liberty,' he added, 'must be in proportion to its lights, and in 'all points Switzerland is improving. I see progress every-'where, and the soul of the movement in the mixture and 'better relations of the different classes, while the country 'gains in manners, in opulence, and in education.'

Bonstetten's own education seems to have been progressive to the very last. Every new invention interested him, and he added so incessantly to his stock of knowledge, that he was wont to say that no hour of the day was ever unoccupied or could hang heavy on his hands; and so far from regretting his youth, he declared that he preferred 'the brains of his old age to the 'empty and unfurnished head he had carried about with him in 'youth.' His correspondence, as might have been supposed, was very large, and his letters contain many curious episodes and allusions to the history of his times. Zschokke, as he gradually replaced Müller, received a great proportion of the later letters of his veteran compatriot, and endeavoured to repay them in kind. Among much interesting matter communicated by him is a striking notice of Queen Hortense and her son, during their stay at Schinznach. 'She is,' said Zschokke, 'a lively 'Frenchwoman, witty, and very pleasing. As for her son, I 'pity him. Had he filled a throne he might have been some-'body.' Bonstetten's answers speak of public events, of private interests, and of the strangers he received at Geneva. He writes

of Châteaubriand, of Casimir Delavigne, of Rossi, of a visit from the Duke of Orleans afterwards Louis-Philippe, of Victor Hugo's poems, of the romantic school in poetry, of the spread of Methodism in Switzerland, of the departure of Capo d'Istrias for Greece, of his own works, and of Zschokke's novels. 'I prefer his letters to his books,' said Zschokke to Mdme. de Circourt; 'for whereas others labour and polish what they have 'written, our friend is a poet and wise man, and the first ex-'pression of his thought is both natural and clear.' Of female correspondents, Bonstetten always had a great number. His letters to Frederica Brün and to Mdme. de Staël would make a biography in themselves; but he also wrote frequently to Mdme. Caffarelli, to Mdme. Necker de Saussure, to Mdme. Jerome Buonaparte, to the Duchess of Wurtemberg, and to the Countess of Albany. He had met the wife of Charles Edward in 1774, and fell in love, so tradition avers, with the singular woman who was known in later life as the queen of Florentine society and as the mistress of Alfieri. Bonstetten worshipped her afar off, and corresponded regularly. Eight of his letters are to be found in the volume which stands at the head of our pages; they are preserved along with many others addressed to the Countess of Albany, in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier. They are average specimens of his style—kind, frank, and polished, without vigour, and without critical acumen, but turned with the rather frivolous grace which distinguished his character and mind. The following is from Geneva, 1811:—

'Am I then to see you this summer, or this spring? I am enchanted; but pray tell me when it is to be, that I may await you either at Geneva or elsewhere. I believe you will find out our friend (Mdme. de Staël?) and go to her. I think her rather dull and low about her affairs. The harm done to her is really diabolical, and the arrow has sunk into her soul. . . I pity her. She has been acting a play and laughing!—to keep herself from weeping I suppose.

'I am much touched by the proofs of your friendship, and it will give me infinite pleasure to express all I feel to a person whom I have loved far more than I have known her. I shall propose to you to make a tour in Switzerland. My country is nearly as strange to me as it is to you; for since the Revolution everything is so changed that Switzerland is even more new to her citizens than to strangers who cannot compare its present state with anything they have known before. . . . I wish you knew Geneva, and I believe it would please you as much as it pleases me. There is no place in which mental culture is more advanced, and there are no people so well worth knowing as the Genevese when once one conquers their friendship. The best *talk* in Europe is to be found here, for friendship, simple tastes, and intellectual pleasures are all appreciated, and

these advantages are found in the most beautiful situation in the world. I am living in Sismondi's house, and his friendship forms a great part of my happiness. I believe he will establish himself here, and marry a charming person in whom every advantage is united. You see I am telling you everybody's secrets to-day. Adieu, Madame. Nothing is so cheering as the words of friendship, both those which one expresses, and those which one is allowed to hear. . .'

'1812.—I have only seen Mdme. de Staël twice. Her son tells me she embarked at Cronstadt on her way to Sweden, but that he has not heard of her arrival at Stockholm, whither she is bound. Her house and company are a great loss to me, and very witty people become rarer every day. Geneva, however, is tolerably brilliant. Talma has been here, and a great influx of strangers as in the good old time. Now we have the Empress Joséphine established at her *Campagne* close to the town, and that keeps up a good deal of stir. . . . Could you not commit some sin, and get banished to Geneva? Adieu, Madame. I think often of you, and nothing would be more pleasing than to find that you had not forgotten your very humble servant,

DE BONSTETTEN.'

The society of graceful and educated women was a necessity for Bonstetten. A vision after his own heart was Madame Emile de Girardin when she first came to Geneva:—

'Delphine Gay has been here,' (he wrote,) 'a girl of twenty, who is a true poet. She is a child born on Parnassus, a blonde, with magnificent hair and figure, and a most natural creature. I never can wonder enough at the difference between the new school and the old, and Delphine has a way of reading verses which is quite peculiar to herself. She does not declaim in the least, and has not a trace of coquettrie about her, she leaves that to her mother.'

Short passages like these make us regret that so few of Bonstetten's letters to and from the persons we have mentioned can now be recovered. The letters addressed to him by Madame de Staël would, for example, be a far more valuable collection than those sent to the Grand Duchess of Saxe Weimar, and lately published. But Bonstetten was incredibly generous in giving away what would have been doubly precious if it could have been kept together, and equally careless in the arrangement of his papers. It was not till a very late period of his life that he began to write his 'Recollections;' but at his advanced age, when memory had begun to wane, and method to collect his ideas was wanting, it was too late. He wrote a small portion of the book, and then laid it aside, or used the sheets to beguile the tedium of listless and invalid hours. His cheerfulness still remained, but names and dates slipped from his mind, and his eyesight at last failed. To within a few days of his death he had, however, sanguine hopes of recovery. At last a marked change passed over him, and hope had to be abandoned by others

and by himself. He died in February 1832, having survived Matthison and Frederica Brün by little more than a year. 'He is dead,' (wrote Zschokke,) 'and I do not believe that 'there is any country in Europe where he was not known, and 'where he has not left those who mourn for him as for a 'friend.' 'He is dead,' replied Anastasia de Circourt, 'and no 'one can give us back what we have lost in him. His memory 'ought to draw those together who were once beloved by him. 'Write me a few words of comfort. . . . Bonstetten must 'remain one of the best recollections of my young life. How 'I loved him! Every thought of him now turns to tears for 'his loss.' Charles de Bonstetten once said that love was as essential to his life as is the sunshine to an insect of a day. He lived and was loved, he died and was not unwept.

Thus peacefully closed a once restless and eventful life. Herr Morell says his youth and middle career were a drama, and that his old age was an idyll, gracious, calm, and sweet. If it was indeed an idyll, it was one distinguished by two curious features. Great and highminded men and women played the first parts, where its hero took but a secondary place; and the context of this playful poem was a stern and wonderful page in the history of the world.

ART. VI.—1. *British Columbia and Vancouver Island.* By D. G. F. MACDONALD. London: 1862.

2. *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island.* By Commander C. MAYNE, R.N. London: 1862.

3. *Vancouver Island and British Columbia; where they are, what they are, and what they may become.* By ALEXANDER RATTRAY, M.D., R.N. London: 1862.

4. *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of* 1857, *and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of* 1858. By HENRY YOULE HIND, M.A., F.R.G.S. 2 vols. London: 1860.

5. *Papers relative to the Exploration by the Expedition under Captain Palliser, of that Portion of British North America which lies between the Northern Branch of the Saskatchewan and the Frontier of the United States, and between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains, and thence to the Pacific Ocean.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, August, 1860.

THE unnatural contest raging between the United States has, not unreasonably, concentrated attention at the present time on that portion of American soil. For the moment, 'the

'Americans' mean for us Federals and Confederates. For the moment, the vast map of North America is the map of the United States, with a huge border of wilderness, 'Indian 'countries'—ancient civilisation reverting to still more pristine solitudes as in the forest-covered cities of Honduras and Yucatan, or solitudes but slowly emerging into civilisation, as throughout the Valley of the Ottawa and the 'Territories' of the Far West. The future fate of Washington's great Republic has become the American problem of the day; and, vast as are the regions outside its boundaries, it is scarcely surprising that they should be less regarded at present than the more exciting events happening within the Union. To some such cause we must attribute the slight attention which recent changes on its northern frontiers have received. There, we have founded two new Pacific colonies. There, the land of the beaver and the Blackfoot has become the land of gold and gold-miners. There, the transfer of the property and rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to a new and more numerous body of shareholders, has increased the public importance of their future operations. These are interesting events. Seen in the lurid glare from the vast conflagration now raging throughout the Union—like one of its own prairie-fires—we can at once perceive their importance and the great responsibilities which they entail upon us. Nor, indeed, is the one element of interest which is now uppermost in our minds altogether wanting. At the present moment, our troops, and those of the United States, stand face to face on the island of San Juan to support the claims of their respective Governments. These are, indeed, but miniature armies of occupation, yet who can say of what forces they might prove the pioneers, if the settlement of this dispute be indefinitely protracted? The British Government has forborne to urge a settlement of its claims on the Northern States during their hour of trial: and the Northern States are loud in their promises of a settlement hereafter. We shall see before we conclude that this is no idle controversy, and that it ought speedily to be brought to a definite issue.

Great Britain is still by far the largest of American landowners. In temperate regions alone—or, at least, in regions within the temperate zone—the British possessions considerably exceed the whole area of the United States. Events—in a great measure beyond control—have hastened the occupation of large portions of these districts. It might, indeed, have been possible to define more satisfactorily the precise powers and possessions which the progress of events was leaving to the Hudson's Bay Company.

But the discovery of gold within British territory, and the consequent peopling of our portion of the Pacific seaboard, are movements entirely beyond control. New communities—wildernesses to be subdued—neighbours whose ultimate destiny has roused the solicitude of the whole of the civilised world, now call on us to lay the foundations of a wise policy. Whether what we have already done has been well done, it is at least necessary that we should clearly understand the nature of our acts and the position in which they now place us on the American continent.

We propose therefore to pass under examination the whole of the inhabitable portion of country to the north of the United States' dividing line, known as British North America; and to inquire into the more pressing subjects with which it has of late become connected. A very rapid sketch, however, of the vast possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the events which have now brought a large portion of them under the more immediate control of the Crown, may prove no uninteresting introduction to our task. 'There is 'a colouring of romance,' observes Mr. Gladstone*, 'over the 'whole history of this territory; and, although romance and 'law are not usually associated, yet I will venture to say that, 'turning from the wild life of these regions, and the pursuits 'of the people connected with the objects of the Company, to 'the legal points concerning its condition and status, there 'never was presented for the exercise of human ingenuity and 'intelligence a more interesting or more curious set of questions 'than are involved in the consideration of this matter.'

Few indeed were the projects which the impetuous cousin of Charles II. brought to a successful issue. Yet among them is to be numbered the origin of the Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay. While their first governor was blowing those glass bubbles in Spring Gardens, which 'have long amused children and puzzled philosophers,' the servants of the new Company were laying the foundations of a policy which was wisely to exercise the most ample powers over the most enormous territories ever entrusted to an association of private individuals. 'Rupert's Land,' acccording to the charter of Charles II., was somewhat vaguely defined as 'all 'the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines 'of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds, in whatever 'latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits 'commonly called Hudson's Straits.' And to the new pro-

* Debate on Hudson's Bay Company, July 20, 1858.

prietors of Rupert's Land was given—even more vaguely—'the 'whole and entire trade and traffic to and from all havens, 'bays, creeks, rivers, lakes, and seas into which they shall find 'entrance or passage by water or land out of the territories, 'limits, and places aforesaid.' Though the Company permitted more than a century to elapse without making any considerable incursions into these vast territories, yet, as we shall presently find, it needed no very forced interpretation to extend the powers given to them to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.

From whatever cause, it was not until the close of the last century that the Hudson's Bay Company entered upon any practical assertion of their claim to the vast inland districts; when, indeed, a rival company of great energy had already invaded them. The North-West Company numbered amongst its shareholders some of the most influential and enterprising merchants of the Canadas. It possessed no charter, enjoyed no royal privileges; but it found huge territories unoccupied, and it occupied them with wonderful rapidity, and with that somewhat more than ordinary *esprit de corps* which soon came to distinguish these two great trading associations. At the opening of the present century, this new rival Company had established 'Forts' (or trading depôts with the Indian hunters) throughout all the more remote districts. It had crossed the Rocky Mountains, and continued its forts down the Columbia, the Fraser, the Caledonia,—and, more generally, throughout the whole district then called New Caledonia, but now known as the Colony of British Columbia.

The Hudson's Bay Company understood their Charter as applying to 'all lands watered by streams flowing into Hudson's 'Bay,' and it required no very great ingenuity to trace these streams far within the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains. Indeed, the whole of this huge country, from thence to the shores of the Atlantic, may be taken as one vast plain, uninterrupted by any considerable watershed. The great torrents which pour down the eastern flanks of the Rocky Mountains exhaust their early impetuosity ere they reach within 2,000 miles of the coast. Local depressions have led to that network of lakes, or, more properly, inland seas, which, in their vast size and frequency, render peculiar this portion of the surface of the globe. Evaporation, however, throughout these regions is but slight; and, immense as are these lakes, they are wholly unable to retain the great volumes of water which enter them. Hence they are found to be invariably furnished with outlets as large as the streams which supply them. These outlets either, in their turn, enter other lakes, or find their way as independent rivers to the

more distant sea-coast. In this manner, the whole country presents a complete network of water communication; and there is probably no portion of it to which the Hudson's Bay *voyageur* cannot paddle his light canoe, with an occasional unpacking at the various 'portages,' or falls in the course of the streams. Thus, to select one from many instances, the Peace River rises on the western side of the Rocky Mountains—at no very considerable distance, indeed, from the shores of the Pacific. Thence it threads its way through the valleys and passes of this great chain, and at length issues from its eastern flanks, a broad and deep stream, through portals some 3,000 or 4,000 feet in perpendicular height—apparently gliding from the heart of the mountain mass which towers overhead. From this point, pursuing its course with much tortuous winding, it joins Lake Athabasca. Lake Athabasca communicates with Lake Wollaston: Lake Wollaston with Deer Lake. From Deer Lake there is a complete network of water communication, by stream and lake, to the shores of Hudson's Bay. If the Charter placed its holders in possession of all lands watered by streams flowing into Hudson's Bay, it might be said to surrender to them the sources of the Peace River rising in New Caledonia—of the Saskatchewan, which might be traced from Oregon—of the River of the Mountains, which took its rise not far from the Russian possessions—of the Red River, which sprung from United States' confines—of the Churchill, which was fed by Polar snows—of a thousand streams and watercourses which permeated every portion of the 'Indian 'countries.'

But, on the other hand, still more peculiar features of the country supplied arguments to their already powerful rival. The whole of this great lake system is subject to considerable fluctuation. Controlled by no important or long-sustained fall of the huge expanse of wilderness stretching from the foot of the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic and Polar Oceans, its waters, in their restless uncertainty, more nearly resemble the heavings of the great Deep itself. At one time, a lake discharges its outpourings towards the east: at another time, its redundant waters are found flowing towards the west. Now, Lake Athabasca supplies the Great Slave Lake: anon, it is itself the recipient. In this manner, the great streams which connect these reservoirs not infrequently change the direction of their currents. Now, the canoe of the explorer drops gently into the Lake of the Great Bear: his successor, on the same route, finds himself obliged to pull, and even to push with strong poles, against a swift tide. Even the rivers independent of

the lake system are not without their bewildering changes. Through the more level districts, it is difficult to say which way their deep sluggish waters are flowing. At fords, and shallower portions of their watercourses, springs, rising in the beds of the streams, may be found contributing their currents both ways, at the same time. Immense reservoirs of water, too, stored beneath the surface, sometimes burst up through the channels of these streams, and quite alter their courses. But the greatest vicissitudes are due to the seasons. And these are sometimes grand and terrific in the extreme. Many of these great watercourses, in the more high latitudes, become frozen to the depth of several feet. With the opening spring, their many tributaries, swollen with melted snows, and plunging madly down the steeps of the Rocky Mountains, pour their foaming torrents into the main channel. For some time the struggle is immense. At length the solid ice is rent asunder with the bellowing of thunder; and, broken piecemeal, clashing, tumbling, jarring, in a boiling sea, it retires sullenly down stream until it accumulates in sufficient quantity to form an impregnable wall. Here mass is elevated on mass, until the solid barrier is raised to some fifty or sixty feet above the ordinary level of the stream. In the meantime, the waters spread rapidly over the surrounding country, converting it into a wide and deep sea, and seldom retiring until they have made considerable changes in the water communication of the district.

These peculiar features of the country were not lost upon so pushing and energetic a body as the North-West Company. If the Chartered Association could point to the great inland seas—the broad rivers, which communicated with their bay, the new Company was not slow to discover equally great inland seas—equally broad rivers, discharging their waters within the Arctic Circle. The possession of the vast North-Western districts was assumed to hang upon the results of geographical exploration, and its progress was watched by the shareholders and officers of these two great associations with the keenest scrutiny. What lakes really did communicate with each other—whence the main streams derived their sources,—and whether they ultimately found their way to the Atlantic seaboard, or discharged themselves into the Arctic Ocean, became invested with a curious importance. The possession of vast hunting fields was assumed to depend on the course of a stream, the outlet of a lake, even the breaking up of a hard frost. The whole of these immense regions, even far within the Arctic Circle, were explored with a persistence and devotion to the service of each Company, which their dreary landscape,

the fluctuating character of the drainage, and the embarrassing nature of the proofs presented, might hardly seem to warrant. Indeed, for several years, the course of geographical inquiry had no more ardent enthusiasts than the two great Firms whose chief business lay in peltries and blankets. Mr. Hearne, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, had, in 1771, followed down the Coppermine River to its mouth on the Arctic Ocean; and, indeed, was the first explorer to prove the existence of an ocean boundary to the north of the American continent. His papers and charts, however, were withheld for nearly twenty years from publication. During the interval, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, an officer of the great rival Company, selecting the largest outlet from Slave Lake, descended to the same shores by the river which now bears his name. Beyond the Rocky Mountains, too, rival explorers traced the eastern streams to their distant sources, or followed down the western streams to their mouths on the Pacific. Mr. Fraser, an officer of the North-west Company, followed down the stream which, in after years, the first discovery of gold in British Columbia brought into such notoriety; and the Simpson derives its name from a late governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. It would have been well had the rival zeal of these two great Companies always gone hand in hand with the cause of geographical discovery. But, unfortunately, the arguments of the compass and the chart were often abandoned for those of the rifle and the tomahawk. The Indian, too, was found to be a weapon even more murderous and unerring than either, and not infrequently his cupidity was aroused, and his brain set on fire, when exclusive possession of some trading district was to be gained, or some rival fort to be exterminated. These unhappy years of strife were at length brought to a close, in 1821, by the union of these two great Companies. And a rapid glance at the terms of this union may, perhaps, more fully prepare us for the main subject of our inquiry.

The North-West Company merged into the Hudson's Bay Company. The servants, property, and forts of the two associations became henceforth the servants, property, and forts of the older association, and the stockholders of the North-West Company became stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Charter of Charles II.—whatever be the powers and privileges which it conferred—was the only legal recognition which the Hudson's Bay Company had hitherto possessed. The North-West Company possessed no recognised territorial powers whatever. But the forts of the two united Companies now stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the disputed Oregon

to the extreme limits of Arctic exploration. The Hudson's Bay Company, under its new formation, now obtained its first Parliamentary recognition. There were many reasons why neither Parliament nor the Company should be anxious to inquire into the rights and privileges conferred by the original Charter. Successive law officers of the Crown have reported in its favour, and no steps have been taken to subject it to a severer trial. Doubts, indeed, have frequently been expressed: it was doubtful whether Charles had power to alienate territorial rights without the sanction of his Parliament: it was doubtful whether Charles or his Parliament had any territorial rights to alienate over the regions in question.* There were many other points which it was not difficult to raise. But against them all it might be urged that the Company had exercised those rights and privileges for nearly two centuries, and that their wise and most successful policy was interrupted only when they ceased to enjoy a monopoly. No interpretation, therefore, was attempted to be put upon the Charter, and it was tacitly left in the possession of the Company, for whatever it might be found worth. The Company of course limited their pretensions under it to all lands watered by Hudson's Bay streams; but, even on this interpretation, there were still the whole of the 'Indian Countries,' to the shores of the Pacific,—apportioned into Trading Districts, and now occupied by their forts. These districts were now secured to the Company from intrusion by an exclusive License to Trade for twenty-one years. In this manner, the Company came to rule supreme over the whole of the country from Hudson's Bay to the shores of the Pacific,—being made up of its chartered territory and Indian countries, without any declared line of demarcation. This License was renewed in 1838, for a like period.

Hitherto, efforts to colonise Vancouver Island had been ineffectual. Its distance by sea was immense; while none but the hardiest servants of the great Fur Companies—and these, not always with safety—had attempted the overland route across the

* 'Your petitioners further show that, up to the year 1763, when, by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Canada was ceded to the British Crown, the whole region of country extending westward to the Pacific Ocean, and northward to the shores of the Hudson's Bay, had continued in the undisputed possession of the Crown of France for a period of two centuries, and was known as La Nouvelle France.' (*Petition of Board of Trade of City of Toronto, April* 20, 1857.)

On the other hand, it is contended that the French right was ceded by the Treaty of Utrecht, and therefore did not belong to the Crown of France at the time of the conquest of Canada.

continent. Nor indeed did it hold out to the English emigrant any attraction to counterbalance that of the much nearer Atlantic settlements. It was reported to be not destitute of pastoral, and even agricultural lands; but it was overrun by furred animals, and the aboriginal tribes were not friendly. Without some preparation for their reception, there seemed little probability of settlers selecting its shores. Such a preparation the Hudson's Bay Company professed themselves willing to make, if placed in possession of the island; and, accordingly, in 1848 they received a parliamentary grant of it, — subject to the condition of successful colonisation.

Thus the Company came to hold their vast Possessions by three distinct tenures. These Possessions were, (1) their Chartered Territory, held by royal grant; (2) the Indian Countries, held by license for exclusive trade; (3) Vancouver Island, held by parliamentary grant. Vast, however, as were these territorial domains, the claims of the Company were by no means limited to them. To the north, they had rented that strip of Russian America which extends from Fort Simpson to Cross Sound. To the south, their forts were distributed over a very large portion of Oregon, and along the banks of the Columbia,— that stream, pending the International Boundary Settlement of 1846, being regarded as the dividing line between British and United States territories. The Company, too, maintained large herds of cattle in Oregon, and had brought a considerable portion of its soil under cultivation; and, encouraged by the markets opening throughout the South Sea Islands for their grain, cattle, and timber, had established a small offshoot there, known as the Puget Sound Company. Indeed, we may here mention that, from these operations within the Oregon territory, the Company have always considered themselves as entitled to large possessory rights within that neutral ground; on its annexation to the United States in 1846, they suffered no disturbance; and a Convention has been ratified within the last three months by the British and American Governments to determine what are the just claims of the Company in Oregon. Similarly on the Atlantic coast, the Company had established forts throughout a great portion of Labrador. And, on the Canadian frontier—never precisely defined—they claimed all lands watered by Hudson's Bay streams. Thus, at the close of the past half-century, the Company ruled supreme from the Pacific to the Atlantic,—from the United States to extreme Polar limits. Nor did sound policy appear to point to any near interruption to their reign. United States settlement

had room, for many years to come, to extend itself over the regions of the Far West; while, more northward, the inhospitable character of the sources of the Missouri had diverted its tide. The Canadian settler saw before him millions of unoccupied acres throughout the Valley of the Ottawa and the shores of the Great Lakes; nor did the slow, and, at times, deplorable course of Red River settlement hold out any inducement to him to attempt more inland and isolated occupation. Settlement along the shores of the Pacific was slow in the extreme; up to the great discoveries of gold there, a few monastic farmers and fur trappers were all that could be induced to visit its shores. What nobody seemed to want, the Company was turning to most profitable and benevolent uses. Thrice it had trebled its capital, and, for more than a century, had continued to pay over to its shareholders 'profits on the originally sub-'scribed capital stock, actually paid up, of between 60 and 70 per 'cent. per annum.'

Nor can it be fairly said that its management of the immense responsibilities entrusted to it contrast less favourably with its success as a commercial speculation. South of the International Boundary Line, the soil was deluged with streams of Indian blood; but north of that line the Company had succeeded in establishing the most peaceful and even friendly relations between themselves and the aborigines of the whole of their wide-spread territories. While to the Indian a 'Long-knife,' or United States citizen, continues to the present moment to be the most abhorred of all God's creatures, the hardy North Briton of the Company's service was certain of a welcome in every wigwam from Labrador to Vancouver Island, from the Sioux of the Border to the Esquimaux of the Coppermine. The peculiar traffic of the Company enabled it to offer to the savage the only employment which was consistent with his dignity; and although it undoubtedly drove a very hard bargain with him, yet the arrival of a 'brigade' of its traders in an Indian village was invariably the occasion of public rejoicing. The aborigines of half a continent came to look to the Company for clothing, the instruments of the chase, and, not infrequently, for food; and for these they gave in exchange (a fact we believe unprecedented in history) their voluntary and unintermittent service. If it was desirable that England should hold so large a portion of the American continent: if it was desirable that she should have some ostensible use to which she could turn it: if it was desirable that this unhoped-for progress of the savage in habits of continued industry should not be suffered to fall into disuse,—then, certainly,

there seemed no event, near at hand, sufficiently important to interrupt the Company's tenure.

Yet the ink was scarcely dry on the parliamentary grant which gave to the Company its latest addition of territory on the Pacific, when an event did happen which changed the whole aspect of that ocean and its vast shores. We allude, of course, to the great gold discoveries which began in 1849. Since that year, the Californian gold-miner has been gradually creeping up through the intervening Territories of Oregon and Washington. In 1857, the Governor of Vancouver Island reported the existence of gold in British soil on the opposite mainland; and, in the following year, the River Fraser was found to be richly auriferous throughout hundreds of miles of its course. The Company had been wholly unsuccessful in colonising the island; and, as their eleven years' tenure was now on the eve of expiring, the Crown resumed possession of it. In the same year, the twenty-one years' exclusive License to Trade over the Indian countries also expired. The License was not renewed; and that portion of the soil to the west of the Rocky Mountains was erected into the Colony of British Columbia. We thus see that there remained to the Company only their original Charter of Rupert's Land,—presumed to extend, as we have already stated, over 'all lands watered by Hudson's Bay streams.' The forts of the Company, however, were still left undisturbed throughout their late vast realms; and their business continued to be prosecuted with unabated vigour. In July of last year, occurred the latest act of this curious drama—wholly unexpected, we believe, beyond the council-chamber of the Company. The shareholders in the Hudson's Bay Company had hitherto been few in number—men of large substance—connected more or less, like Lord Selkirk and the late Mr. Ellice, with British North America. The profits of the Company were nominally about 50,000*l.* a year, raised, it is said, by bonuses to about 80,000*l.* An offer was made to the shareholders to dispose of their interest for 1,500,000*l.*—three times the nominal value of their stock—to one of the modern financial Companies. By this Company the shares were resold in the market, so that a new proprietary became identified with the right and interests of the Old Company. The first object of the new direction has been to prosecute the old staple trade in furs with unabated vigour. Besides this staple commodity, however,—the Company stands pledged to other and more public lines of policy. Telegraphic and postal communication between the Atlantic and Pacific settlements,—the opening of suitable districts to settlement throughout the Chartered Territory,—and a more general

development of the mineral and other resources of these hitherto unknown regions, are all put forward; and, indeed, the appearance of Sir Edmund Head as Chairman of the New Company affords no small guarantee that they are put forward with an honest intention of realising them. Whatever strictures may fairly have been addressed to the jealous and exclusive policy of the Company as it existed before the recent change, they are not, we trust, applicable to the new administration—who announce their intention of acting on a different system. Moreover it has very recently been stated by Mr. Fortescue in the House of Commons, that negotiations are opened for the transfer or surrender to the Crown of the territorial rights of the Company over the regions lying between Lake Superior and the Colony of British Columbia. It is probable that ere long the direct authority of the British Government will be exercised over districts to which the influx of gold-diggers and emigrants is now giving a new character and increased importance.

We shall now proceed briefly to survey these several districts of British North America, which are subjected in some measure to the changing and eventful influences of the times: and we begin with Vancouver Island. This 'England of the Pacific'—as this island, from its somewhat analogous position, has been called—presents an aspect by no means inviting (and certainly not maintaining the analogy), as it is approached from the sea. Instead of the white cliffs of Albion, dark, gloomy rocks rise perpendicularly out of the tide, and scowl over waters generally sparkling under a warm sun and blue skies. Behind this natural sea-wall, rise immediately a succession of round-topped hills, retiring inland, and clothed with the ever monotonous fir-tree of the coast, adhering to a poor and very scanty soil. The scene is backed by a still higher range of absolutely bare rocky mountain, running, like a backbone, through the entire centre of the island, and culminating in a jagged uneven *sierra* of pointed tops. Examined more minutely, however, Vancouver Island is not without its portions of more level, well-clothed, quiet English scenery, even occasionally opening into broad undulating downs. Much, indeed, of the bare, unfertile character of the central highlands (where the mountain loch, and the burn brawling by its fern-clad banks, not infrequently remind the traveller of scenery more near the Tweed) is often continued down to the coast, and we fear that a great part—perhaps even the greater part—of the island is wholly irreclaimable. But where alluvial deposits have accumulated—as on the banks of streams, valleys, and the more open tracts—pastoral and agricultural country, of

a rich, deep, vegetable mould, is found. On these portions, the various crops of southern England thrive luxuriantly. Wheat reaches as high as forty-four bushels to the acre, and potatoes, turnips, and all the productions of the English kitchen-garden, have taken favourably to the soil; but oats and more northern grain-crops have not hitherto been cultivated with a like success. It is thought, however, that an earlier planting may bring even these within the range of Vancouver Island productions. The climate is all that the English farmer can reasonably desire. So much mystery has hitherto shrouded the vast territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and over so great a portion a rigorous winter is known, with certainty, to maintain a sway interrupted but by a short and angry burst of sunshine, that few perhaps of our readers are prepared to hear of temperate seasons and long and genial summers in those regions. But, whatever may be the results of our inquiry on the mainland, Vancouver Island possesses a climate which will contrast favourably with that of England. This, indeed, to the native of Southern Europe may seem but a poor recommendation; yet it is to be borne in mind that the English emigrant—and more especially the English farmer—is best fitted for a latitude closely approaching his own. On Vancouver Island he finds his English climate repeated under 'a favourable season.' Nearly coinciding with the south of England—indeed possessing a degree or two more of southern latitude—much of the character of Devon and its neighbouring counties is found sustained throughout the entire island. A short Spring ushers in a long and very beautiful Summer, generally lasting uninterrupted to the end of September. During these delightful months, there is a bright sun and skies generally free from clouds; rain seldom falls, and the heat is maintained in moderation by gentle land and sea breezes. Indeed the farmer generally counts on sowing, tending, cutting, and housing his crops under unbroken fine weather. Autumn brings with it a season of cold, damp, northerly winds, often accompanied by a genuine English fog. But the Winter, though not without days of continued rain, has its periods of fine clear weather, and the thermometer is seldom seen below freezing point. Indeed farming stock of all descriptions is generally left unhoused during the entire season. Up to the present time, European life in the island has been found remarkably healthy, and persons debilitated by a residence on the Chinese station have experienced rapid improvement there—a consideration of some importance, and to which we shall presently recur; for, as the period of acclimatisation to Europeans on the Chinese coast and seaboard appears to be much more protracted, and

indeed uncertain, than in other semi-tropical climates, and as our affairs there and in Japan may render necessary the presence of considerable land and sea forces, the selection of a suitable Sanatorium in the North Pacific becomes of considerable moment. 'Actual observation thus goes far to show,' writes Dr. Rattray, to whose careful records of the climate on the island and its neighbouring mainland we are indebted, 'that the climate is 'superior to that of England both in physical character and 'salubrity, and experience proves that it is equally well adapted 'for agricultural and pastoral farming.'

Victoria, its chief, and indeed its only town, is picturesquely situated on some undulating ground to the south of the island. Its harbour, of the same name, though chosen by the late governor of the island and its neighbouring sister colony, a gentleman long and intimately acquainted with Hudson's Bay Company's territories, is stated not to have been a happy selection. Its entrance is narrow, 'shoaly,' and intricate; and its internal accommodation confined; nor can ships be safely trusted to drop anchor outside. There is a very much larger, and, it is agreed among all seafaring men, a much safer harbour, about three miles from it, called Esquimalt. Esquimalt Harbour could easily accommodate fifteen or twenty ships of the line, and almost any number of ocean-going steamers, and 'in point of 'shelter,' writes the surveyor-general of the colony, 'holding-'ground, facility of ingress and egress, dock sites and wharf-'ages, it is without a rival.' Most of the buildings, however, in Victoria are still of a temporary nature; and as the hopes of its colonists have now been realised in their island becoming the chief Naval Station and Sanatorium for the Pacific and Chinese fleets, it is to be hoped that the great advantages of Esquimalt Harbour will again be brought under consideration. A naval hospital was built there so early as 1853, to accommodate the Petropaulovski squadron during the Russian war, and was subsequently used—when the Anglo-American Boundary Commission and the later San Juan dispute brought our ships into those waters—with marked effect on the health of the crews. There is now a road from the head of this harbour to Victoria; and ships of any considerable burden prefer to unload there. 'I cannot imagine,' says Commander Mayne, 'any sensible 'master of an ocean ship endeavouring to wriggle his vessel into 'Victoria with the larger and safer harbour of Esquimalt handy.'

In natural harbours, inlets, and dock-sites the whole coast —and, indeed, much of the interior of the island—abounds. The strong currents which disport themselves throughout the Gulf of Georgia, and, more generally, around the island itself,

have eaten several gaps into the line of sea-cliffs of which we have already made mention. Indeed, there can scarcely be a doubt but that Vancouver Island itself is a huge fragment detached from the mainland. In numerous instances, these inlets—or 'canals,' as they have come to be called—penetrate almost to the centre of the island, and many of them, from opposite sides of the coast, approach to within a few miles of each other. Thus, Esquimalt Harbour itself is but seven miles distant from the Canal de Haro; and many similar instances occur. They are all deep and free from obstruction, and, in a more extended state of agriculture and commerce, their natural facilities would be highly important. These harbours and inlets —in common with the neighbouring seas and gulfs—absolutely swarm with herrings, salmon, mackerel, and cod. A fine description of sturgeon also is found. But the fish of these coasts are an element of so much importance that we must again recur to the subject when we reach the mainland.

The most important production, however, of Vancouver Island at the present time is coal. A fair average coal has been discovered at Nanaimo Harbour, opposite to the mainland, and on two adjacent small islets, known as Newcastle Island and Douglas Island. Here two seams, of from six to eight feet in thickness, have been worked at an average depth of fifty feet from the surface. Vessels drawing sixteen feet of water can approach within a few yards of the pit's mouth; while the harbour itself is excellently sheltered, and can safely be entered by ships of considerable burden. The coal is little if at all inferior to the coarser descriptions of North of England coal, and has already entered into extensive use by the river and coasting steamers of the mainland, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the British and United States men-of-war from time to time visiting the coast. The want of a suitable coaling station on the northern portion of the Pacific has for some time been severely felt. Indeed, throughout the whole of that vast ocean—both on its waters and along its new and rapidly increasing settlements—a great and still growing demand for coal has arisen. River steamers now ply on all the great streams from the Colorado to the Fraser; while the various cities and towns springing into existence along their banks are becoming large consumers. The recent introduction, too, of steam-machinery into gold-mining has much increased the demand. The single port of San Francisco alone receives as much as 14,000 tons per month, and British Columbia gives promise of becoming an equally large consumer. Nor has the demand on the high seas received a less proportionate increase. It is but a very few years since an ocean-

going steamer on the waters of the Pacific was a most rare sight. A few sailing craft lazily prosecuted the Polynesian trade, and occasionally a Chinese or Australasian clipper ran home by 'the 'Horn,' in preference to the Cape of Good Hope route. In all other respects the waters of the Pacific were as silent as the shores they washed. Various circumstances—as, the increased Chinese trade, the opening of Japan, but far more than all, the great Gold Discoveries—have produced a rapid and important change. Now, lines of ocean-steamers, of a very large and superior description, ply between Panama and California, between Panama and Vancouver and British Columbia. The great Australasian and New Zealand merchant fleets invariably select the Pacific for their homeward passage; steam communication between these flourishing settlements and Panama, to meet the West Indian mail boats, will probably not be much longer delayed; and the large number of nations now trading throughout Pacific waters require the constant attendance and protection of their respective navies. To all these, coal is a matter of absolute necessity, and it has hitherto been supplied from England and the Atlantic States of the American Union by the tedious Cape Horn route, at 3*l.*, 4*l.*, and even 5*l.* per ton. Nanaimo coal can be raised to the pit's mouth at 10*s.* per ton, and it has already extended its sale as far south as San Francisco. Indeed, the present prices along the mainland would seem to warrant the hope of very fair profits in working those coalfields; while their existence at Vancouver Island adds considerably to the importance of that colony.

For the high price of 1*l.* per acre, affixed to the lands of the island, it would be unreasonable to lay the blame on the Hudson's Bay Company; it was a condition of the agreement imposed upon them, we believe, by Lord Grey. One pound per acre was the ruling price throughout the various Australian and New Zealand colonies, then coming into notoriety, — the 'sufficient price' of the Wakefield Theory—a price that has still been curiously, and perhaps injuriously, maintained throughout almost the whole of those settlements. It was only when, as in the case of Vancouver Island, it was brought into competition with the prices ruling on the American continent, that the contrast became too marked to escape the notice of the English emigrant. On the resumption of the island by the Crown, the price of land was at once reduced, and the terms of payment made singularly 'easy.' The present fixed price is one dollar per acre,—or less by a quarter of a dollar than that in the neighbouring territory of Oregon; and the payments are one-fourth, or one and a penny, at the end of the first year of

occupancy, one-fourth at the end of the second year, and the remainder at the end of three years. These terms apply only to surveyed lands. Throughout all districts as yet unsurveyed, the settler may occupy his farm (on lodging a sufficient description of its boundaries at the Government Survey Office) without payment until it has been brought within the Government map—his occupancy constituting in the meantime an inchoate title.

While, then, the agricultural and pastoral resources of Vancouver Island, though far from contemptible, would scarcely seem to place it on a level with other Pacific settlements—as California, Queensland, New Zealand—it is not unlikely that its English climate, its various unoccupied openings for trade in its coal, fisheries, and timber, and the high-priced goldmining markets on the adjacent mainland, may bring to it a slow, but steady, accession of immigrants, more accustomed to watch and profit by such openings than to follow in the better-worn tracks. To the Crown, however, its possession has now become of greatly increasing importance. Its situation at the head of the Pacific, its coal-fields, and its harbour of Esquimalt—the finest and most commodious, with the single exception of San Francisco, along the whole Pacific coast of America, are not without their obvious advantages; moreover, a glance at the map will show that without Vancouver all approach to the British portion of the American coast would be impossible, and that the power which holds British Columbia must regard possession of the island as a matter of absolute necessity. This, however, is a subject of so much moment that it may be well to refer somewhat more fully to it in examining the San Juan question.

As we approach the mainland, the coast scenery of the island is repeated on a scale, more gigantic indeed, but yet more sombre. More dark and lofty rocks now rise out of the flood. The sad-looking and ever-monotonous pines of the coast spring from every fissure and crevice—leaving bare only the smooth unbroken knobs of trap, where they can obtain no hold. The inlets, or 'canals,' so remarkable a feature of the island, now become much longer, and burrow like fiords into the mainland. As we advance more to the north along the coast, all these features rapidly rise in grandeur; and at Desolation Sound, the strait, dwindled to a mere narrow channel between Vancouver Island and British Columbia, lies, for some 200 miles, between scenery of a most wild and romantic character. Black rocks spring up into every variety of fantastic shape; the dark green pines rest on white and towering backgrounds of

eternal snow, and the thunder of a hundred torrents, leaping from cliff and summit, communicate an air of awful sublimity to the whole scene. Here the canals become much more frequent, and, though extremely narrow, encouraged Vancouver, the navigator whose name is still retained by the neighbouring island, with the hope—incredible as it may seem to us now—that they would be found to penetrate across the whole continent, to Hudson's Bay and the Atlantic Ocean. It is curious to follow the persistence with which he tried inlet after inlet, in the expectation of discovering the long-sought passage which was to unite the two great oceans,—pushing his ship between overhanging rocks, and often advancing fifty and even eighty miles into the country, not without considerable danger to himself and his vessel. These inlets are generally found to terminate in open and not unfertile valleys, through which one or more streams of inconsiderable magnitude find their way.

As the traveller, however, crosses from Victoria to the mouth of the Fraser, on which New Westminster, the capital of British Columbia, stands, these scenes of northern desolation are altogether absent; and, on a clear day, as he threads his way through the intervening Haro Archipelago of islets—now smiling platforms of green sward gay with wild flowers, now mere pine-covered specks on the gulf—the whole landscape, though not without the grandeur inseparable from such vast masses of wood, rock and snow-capped range as the peculiar configuration of the mainland brings into view, is lit up with a far warmer colouring. From such a point of observation, too, Victoria certainly wears its most pleasant aspect. The town itself is seen from the most favourable point, and the gardens and fields now brought into cultivation around it very considerably enhance its attractions. Before, however, we set foot on the mainland, it becomes our duty to direct attention to a subject of the most pressing and urgent importance.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that General Harney, on being appointed commander of the forces in the neighbouring United States Territory of Oregon, took forcible possession of the Island of San Juan, one of the largest of the Haro group we have just mentioned. Through extreme moderation on the part of England, hostilities with the United States were averted, and the whole matter in dispute was referred to the more amicable discussion of the two Governments. In the midst of negotiations somewhat protracted, the present Civil War broke out, and all correspondence on the subject was temporarily suspended. The United States troops still maintained possession of the island, and an equal number of British

troops were sent to take up a similar position on it. Thus matters remain to the present moment; and a few words will be sufficient to explain the very considerable issues which they involve.

We have already mentioned that the large and undefined country, which passed under the general name of 'Oregon,' had for many years been used as a neutral territory by the great fur companies and traders of both England and the United States. After much protracted discussion, and somewhat threatening complications, the negotiations of the two Governments at length resulted in the Oregon Treaty of 1846. By this treaty, a Boundary Line was to start from the western extremity of the Great International Lakes, and, following the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, was to be continued to the shore of the Pacific. All on the north of that line was henceforth to be the exclusive property of England: all on the south was to remain in the possession of the United States,—that portion of the continent known as Russian America being, of course, wholly unaffected by the terms of agreement. The British portion of the Pacific seaboard became, as we have already seen, the New Caledonia of the Fur Traders, and, eventually, the colony of British Columbia of the present day. The United States' portion was erected into the *two* 'Territories' of Washington and Oregon—that of Washington being next the boundary line. We mention this, as the term Oregon now disappears from our narrative, that Territory being excluded from all connexion with the present question by the intervening Territory of Washington. In fact, it will be sufficient to bear in mind that the Oregon of former days was an undefined region on the coast to the west of the Rocky Mountains: the Oregon of the present day is a United States' 'Territory,' some hundreds of miles to the south of the international boundary line. Having brought this international boundary line to the shore of the Pacific, the Treaty of 1846 proceeds to state that the line is to be further continued 'to the centre of the Gulf of Georgia, and thence 'southward, *through the channel which separates the continent 'from Vancouver Island,* to the Straits of Juan de Fuca.' We have put these words in italics as containing the whole gist of the matter. So little was known of the physical geography of those regions as late as in 1846 that it was assumed that there was an open roadstead, leading from the mainland to the ocean, between Washington Territory and Vancouver Island. We have already seen that there is a whole archipelago of islets; and further examination showed that there were *three*

channels through which ships of burden could make their way through them up to British Columbia. The Boundary Commissioners of 1858, sent out to determine by astronomical observation the line of the Oregon Treaty, lost no time in reporting these discoveries to their respective Governments. The most southern passage, known as the Rosario Channel, lies next the coast of Washington. Its adoption as the continuation of the boundary line would place the whole archipelago of islets in the possession of England. The Haro Channel, claimed by the United States, lies along the coast of Vancouver Island, and would bring the archipelago within United States' soil. These two channels are about twenty miles apart. That on the Washington side was the only one, up to a recent period, in use; and, indeed, had been used by all the English and American navigators: that on the Vancouver side, though marked on some of the Spanish charts, was quite unknown to more modern traders until the masters of Hudson's Bay company's vessels availed themselves of its shorter route to Victoria.

Of course, to two such vast landowners as Great Britain and the United States, the rocks and pine-clad acres which lie between these two channels are intrinsically valueless. It is, however, their peculiar position which constitutes their importance. Let us consider for a moment how the claim of the Unites States' Government would affect these British possessions on the Pacific. British Columbia can only be approached through the Straits of Juan de Fuca—the entrance to the Gulf of Georgia,—lying between the Territory of Washington and Vancouver Island. These straits are thirteen miles wide at their entrance on the Pacific, but soon diminish to eleven miles. When we come opposite the islet of San Juan, the passage dwindles to five miles. Small steamers, by hugging the coast of Vancouver Island, can place five miles between themselves and San Juan; but large ocean-going vessels must pass within two miles of that islet, as also of the islets of Henry and Stewart. They would thus be exposed to the full range of modern artillery. Nearly similar objections might be urged by the United States' Government against the adoption of the Rosario Channel, if that passage were a key to any of the possessions of the Union. But the Gulf of Georgia simply leads to British Columbia, and to no place else. Fortunately, however, we are not restricted to those two channels. The Boundary Commissioners of 1858 ascertained the existence of a third channel, navigable for steam vessels, to which the name of the Douglas Channel has been given. It lies midway between these two entrance passages, leaving the islet of San

Juan on its left. Thus, since it is no longer possible to carry out the precise instructions of the Oregon Treaty—seeing that there are three channels in place of *the* channel—the adoption of this middle channel, in place of the impossible 'middle of 'the channel' of the Treaty, would seem to place the least strain upon its interpretation, and may certainly be accomplished without the least injury to the rights of any nation in existence. By the adoption of this channel as a continuation of the international boundary line, it is not at all necessary that it should be used by the ships of either nation. Each nation would then possess a safe and commodious channel, lying beside its own territories. We must regret that negotiations were allowed to be brought to a close, however temporary, without so reasonable and obvious a compromise being insisted on. It must be conceded by all parties that the island of San Juan can be held by Great Britain only for *defensive* purposes. It must be conceded by all parties that it can be held by the United States only for *offensive* purposes. Indeed, it is simply a question whether England shall be allowed to visit her own possessions and export her own gold, without passing under the guns of a foreign Power.

From the international boundary line, British Columbia possesses a seaboard of some 500 miles—extending inward to the culminating ridge of the Rocky Mountains, about 400 miles from the coast. Its territories, therefore, extend from the sea-level to 15,000 or 16,000 feet above it—a circumstance to be borne in mind in considering the nature of its climate and the capabilities of its soil. This rise, however, from the sea-coast to the lichens and eternal snows of the great American Cordillera is not uninterruptedly maintained. A subordinate range, known as the Cascade Range, runs parallel with the Rocky Mountains, at a distance of about fifty miles from the sea-shore. To the foot of this range, the ascent is pretty evenly, though slowly, sustained, but after the traveller has passed through its defiles, he comes out on a table-land, elevated from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level, and stretching away thence to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Indeed, the Rocky Mountains themselves are not so much one continuous ridge as an aggregate of short parallel ridges standing on this plateau, and running from NNW. to SSE., with long deep valleys between—clustering more thickly, indeed, culminating, and then rapidly ceasing altogether some 500 miles from the sea-coast, but, also, found scattered in detached ranges throughout a large portion of the intervening space. While, therefore, there is every gradation of temperature from that of the coast-line to

the region of its Rocky Mountain passes, where the cold is something almost incredible; where we are told that trees freeze to the heart, that huge fragments of rock are shattered from the parent range as by a powerful 'blast,' that the hoofs of horses burst and the horses themselves are suffocated from ice forming in their nostrils, and that the traveller must envelope himself in as much fur as he has strength to carry,—yet the whole surface of the country is characterised by the same leading general features:—

'The impression left on the mind is one of grandeur, gloomy vastness, awful solitude, rendered more dismal by the howl of beasts of prey; streams white with foam, flowing amid cliffs and ravines, forming at places magnificent waterfalls, whose lonely thunder swells and dies away in the interminable solitude of unpeopled space; tremendous precipices, yawning gulfs, and towering rocks whose naked backs have withstood the storms of six thousand years,—are all there to astonish and rivet the attention. Forests of deepest green present to the wandering eye vast masses of foliage, fresh and glittering in the sunlight; whilst far above, overhanging cliffs and mountains, in the sky, glow piles and pyramids of snow and ice, and glacier gorges of remarkable splendour. It may with truth be said that in these wild regions you get such awful glimpses of sublime scenery that your very soul is hushed within you.' (*Macdonald.*)

The forests abound in most excellent timber, attaining to a size quite in proportion with the gigantic features of the country. Among them there are some very valuable descriptions of pine, many of them reaching to a height of 150 and 200 feet, with a circumference at base of 25 and 30 feet. The most valuable of these is the Douglas pine, which grows exceedingly straight, and attains to a height of 300 feet. It is thus most excellently suited for masts and spars of ships. In Kew Gardens may be seen a specimen of this pine 200 feet high. When growing, it is a very graceful and ornamental tree, and it appears to be admirably adapted to the climate both of England and Scotland. The cedars, too, attain to a very considerable size, many being found upwards of 200 feet high. There are also the oak, maple, birch, with several other kinds peculiar to the region; together with vast and almost impenetrable thickets of underwood abounding with wild fruits, wholesome and grateful to the palate.

About six miles to the north of the international boundary line is the mouth of the Fraser, and some fifteen miles from its entrance stands New Westminster, placed, with considerable success as to defence and picturesque effect, on its right bank. Though the entrance to the Fraser is not free from shifting banks and shoals, ships of considerable burden can go up to

the capital, and even to Fort Langley, seventeen miles beyond it. The scenery of the river is wild and romantic; but without an extensive system of drainage its banks do not hold out much hope of successful agricultural operations. Indeed, more generally, throughout the whole extent of region west of the Rocky Mountains, the river banks, having lost valuable portions of their soil from the violence of the summer floods, are not the most eligible sites for agriculture. The Fraser itself, when swollen by the melting of the Rocky Mountains' snow, rises in places forty and even fifty feet above its ordinary level, and sweeps through the country at the prodigious rate of twenty miles an hour, the rate of an ordinary railway train.

In common with the whole of the seas, gulfs, bays, rivers, and lakes of the entire district and coast, the Fraser swarms with prodigious quantities of fish. Indeed, in the harbours, herrings are literally raked into the canoes, by means of a flat piece of board, sixteen or eighteen feet long, and about two and a half inches broad, studded with a dozen tenpenny nails—and in this rude manner an Indian will fill his canoe in an hour or two; and the traveller along the banks of the shallower streams may catch the salmon in his hands, or 'gaff' them from the bank with his walking-stick. The herrings closely resemble the ordinary Scotch herring, though somewhat smaller in size; but of the salmon there are no less than four varieties — three differing from the English variety, but all, with the exception of the hump-backed salmon, of excellent quality and flavour. About the middle of July these salmon begin to ascend the streams from the sea in immense shoals. Whether it is that the temperature of the coast region is too mild for the proper development of the ova, or that, near the entrance of rivers, they would be more liable to be devoured by fish of prey, which prowl about the coast, attracted by the immense swarms of smaller fish, certain it is that Nature has implanted in these creatures an extraordinary desire to reach the head-sources of the various streams, which they resign only with their lives. Indeed, so invincible is this instinct in the salmon of British Columbia, that its origin must probably be traced to some cause still more peculiar,—which we may perhaps find in the rapid incline of its river-beds, and the high and impetuous floods from the melting of mountain snows, which would sweep the spawn back into the sea. During the months of July and August these salmon may be seen hurrying on to their fate,—passing up each stream in countless myriads, and succeeding each other in interminable shoals: —

'Onward they speed. The impetuous current is breasted, rapids

are passed, cascades leaped. Onward, onward! The shallow waters are reached; but still they press forward, wriggling through meandering streams too scant for swimming. Onward, onward! ever onward; while myriads are left upon the strand, and die still struggling onwards. The fish are, upon entering the mouth of a river, in tolerably good order, but after travelling up stream a few hundred miles they become poor,—poor indeed,—and much injured. The skin, broken and abrased, loses its brightness, often becomes a deep pink, and robbed of its silvery scales; the head disfigured from blows and falls upon the rocks; the fins torn and divided in their efforts to force through spots too shallow; the eyes, once so bright, are now sunken and lustreless. None of these poor salmon ever descend the river again, but perish.' (*Macdonald.*)

The bodies of these fish, exposed to a short and scorching northern summer, taint the air for miles around; until, with the autumnal melting of the snow, they are again set afloat, and swept back into the ocean. The fry, however, remain in the mountains until the following spring, when they descend more leisurely to the sea, where they are said to remain for four years. In all probability, it is their immunity from danger, amid these mountain fastnesses, which thus recruits so prodigious a waste by not less prodigious supplies. Nevertheless, from some unassigned cause, there is a dearth of salmon every fourth year throughout the rivers; and, as it furnishes the staple food of the whole native population, they would all miserably perish but for another curious phenomenon. Every fourth year, when the salmon fail, we are told that the country swarms with rabbits, which are used as a substitute. Besides herrings and salmon, there are immense quantities of cod, bass, mackerel, flounder, skate, sole, hallibut, sardines. Sturgeon, sometimes exceeding 500 lbs. in weight, are found at the entrance of the various rivers, and in the larger inland lakes. The harbours and coast abound with oysters, a very large and excellent description of cray-fish, crabs, mussels, and other shell-fish—excepting, however, lobsters; while the thousand lakes with which the interior is studded possess trout, pike, perch, carp, eels, and a 'white-fish,' from 2 lbs. to 6 lbs. apiece, found also in the great lakes on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, and said to be the only description of fish of which the palate does not grow weary. On the whole, the fisheries of British Columbia offer wide and remunerative fields for the introduction of capital. The Indians, up to a very recent period, bartered their finest salmon for a tobacco leaf apiece—that is forty salmon for a pound of tobacco; though the late accession of population has caused them to look for a higher price. And at Fort Rupert, Commander Mayne informs us, immense quantities are annually used for manuring

the Company's garden. A judicious introduction of our Scotch practice of 'kippering' the fish, might lead to a valuable trade and a useful addition to the food of man.

As the Fraser rises in the extreme culminating ridge of the Rocky Mountains, on the northern confines of the colony, it may be said to traverse its whole area from corner to corner, and, indeed, is the main artery of the entire district, receiving in its headlong course almost every stream of importance. It presents a broad navigable channel up to Fort Hope, eighty miles from its mouth. Up to this point, it is known as the Lower Fraser; and, during this portion of its course, its banks, though low, are in a great measure secured from the impetuous floods, which devastate the higher portions, by the more level character of the country, and the consequent diminution of velocity in the current. Governor Douglas gives us the following favourable picture of the Lower Fraser:—

'The banks of this river are almost everywhere covered with woods. Varieties of pine, and firs of prodigious size, predominate. The vine and soft maple, the wild apple tree, the white and black thorn, and deciduous bushes in great variety, form the massive undergrowth. The vegetation is luxuriant almost beyond conception, and at this season of the year presents a peculiarly beautiful appearance. The eye never tires of ranging over the varied shades of the fresh green foliage, mingling with the clustering white flowers of the wild apple tree, now in full bloom, and filling the air with delicious fragrance. As our boat, gliding swiftly over the surface of the smooth waters, occasionally swept beneath the overhanging boughs that form a canopy of leaves impenetrable to the sun's scorching rays, the effect was enchanting.'

The removal of a few rocks in the course of the stream at Hope would extend steam navigation to Yule, sixteen miles higher up. Above Yule, however, Nature has placed insuperable barriers to any further advance, and even the light canoe must be abandoned. From Yule to Lytton, sixty miles higher up, the Fraser cuts its way through the Cascade Ranges, and scenes of wild and terrific grandeur are presented to the eye of the traveller. A succession of granitic ranges, some sixty miles in extent, have, in the course of ages, been cut through by the river, to the depth of 2,000 or 3,000 feet; and through this chasm, one of the giant streams of the American continent pours its waters, already impelled by a highly inclined descent of some 400 or 500 miles from their source in the Rocky Mountains. Indeed, throughout the whole of these regions, these violent bursts of great bodies of water are of constant occurrence, and the reader of the earlier explorations of the great Fur Companies' officers will frequently

meet with such names as 'Mad River,' 'the Cauldron Linn,' 'the Devil's Cauldron,' and others of like significance. They are more generally known as 'cañons;' and the present cañon, marking the commencement of the Upper Fraser, possesses the usual characteristics of this curious feature of the great Rocky Mountain plateau. One or more paths, or 'trails,' midway between the torrent and the surface of the range, generally skirts the wall of these chasms; and along this path is the only method of proceeding. As the traveller enters on one of these trails, a scene of awful grandeur lies before him. Some 1,500 feet overhead, the rocks nearly touch, and a thin jagged thread of light alone marks the surface of the mountain tract he is traversing. At a like distance below his feet, the whole body of the stream, white and tumultuous within its narrow bounds, whirls past him at railroad speed; while a thousand wild reverberations, arising from the convulsed waters, and multiplied from every crag and projecting rock, assail his ears. But it is as he lifts his eyes to his onward course that the full grandeur of the scene opens upon him. Before him stretches a long vista of on-coming waters, lit by the thread of light we have already mentioned, and rolling down a swift incline of cascades, rapids, projecting pinnacles, and vast rocks in the bed of the torrent. When the melting of the snows increases the mountain streams to their full extent, they may be seen madly plunging down miles of these cañons, at the prodigious rate of twenty-five, and even thirty miles an hour. With so much to assail both eye and ear, it might be thought that the progress of the traveller, thus suspended between heaven and earth, would be sufficiently perilous. But, as he proceeds, he finds his dangers rapidly to increase. Ever and anon, along the narrow trail, a crag projects from the perpendicular wall of rock, and completely cuts off the path, overhanging, by several feet, the torrent boiling some half-mile below. The Indian method of crossing these impediments is characteristic, and at first sight appalling. Three poles are suspended, by means of deer-hide ropes, from the top of the cliff. The two inner ends of the first and third are made to rest on the interrupted pathway, on each side of the projecting crag; the third pole crosses them on the outside; and on this narrow ledge, literally overhanging the chasm, the traveller is obliged to round the impediment. There is absolutely nothing to take hold of, and each passenger accomplishes the task by keeping his face as close to the rock as possible.

Above these barriers, the course of the Fraser changes considerably. The traveller emerges on a more level plateau, raised some 3,000 feet above the sea, and much better

suited to agricultural operations than the lower tract to the west of the Cascade Range. Singular, too, as it may appear, all testimony concurs in affixing to this more elevated region a milder and more equable climate than that found along the coast district. The dense pine forests at length disappear: undergrowth is extremely rare; and the land becomes more open. We may search in vain throughout British Columbia for those apparently boundless oceans of waving green sward and motley-painted wild flowers, through which a hundred crystal rivulets meander, under the soft and rosy haze of a summer's sun—known as the American Prairie. Yet this portion of the Upper Fraser presents the nearest approach to it, and is similar to that description of soil more frequently found on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, and to which the Californians have given the name of 'rolling country,'—wide and open valleys, alternating with low and not unfertile ranges running parallel with them. Indeed, a little above this point, the junction of the river Thompson with the Fraser leads out into a very extensive tract of country which was described in the House of Commons by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton as 'one of the 'finest countries in the British dominions.'* We are scarcely prepared to go to such an extreme length in speaking of any district of British Columbia, yet it is but fair to give the words of the Governor of the Colony, when describing that portion of the territory under his command:—

'The district comprised within these limits (rivers Thompson, Bonaparte, and Chapeau) is exceedingly beautiful and picturesque, being composed of a succession of hills and valleys, lakes and rivers, exhibiting to the traveller accustomed to the endless forests of the coast districts, the unusual and grateful spectacle of miles of green hills, crowning slopes, and level meadows, almost without a bush or tree to obstruct the view, and, even to the very hill-tops, producing an abundant growth of grass. It is of great value as a grazing district; a circumstance which appears to be thoroughly understood and appreciated by the country packers, who are in the habit of leaving their mules and horses here when the regular work of "packing" goods for the mines is suspended for the winter. The animals, even at that season, are said to improve in condition, though left to seek their own food, and to roam at large over the country; a fact which speaks volumes in favour of the climate, and of the natural pastures. It has certainly never been my good fortune to visit a country more pleasing to the eye, or promising a more healthy and agreeable climate, or a greater extent of fine pasture land; and there is no doubt that, with a smaller amount of labour and outlay than in almost any other country, the energetic settler may soon surround himself with all the elements of affluence and comfort.'

Departing still farther from the Fraser, and leaving the

Thompson district on the left, the traveller comes to another large district, watered by the river Semilkameen and its tributaries, and equally favourably spoken of for agricultural operations. Lieutenant Palmer, sent to explore this district, reports to the Colonial Government that the soil, though light and sandy, is free from stone, and that the wild vegetation is exceedingly luxuriant. The banks of the streams, too, are well secured from freshets, and are fertile to the water's edge. Throughout all these districts gold has been discovered in very considerable quantities; but the enormous yields of Cariboo have more recently drawn almost all the miners to itself and its neighbourhood.

Returning to the junction of the Thompson and the Fraser, and following the upward course of the latter, the traveller passes through a more level district, but finds little to notice save an occasional fort of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the addition of some very considerable tributaries—as the Loon, the Chilcotin, the Quesnelle, &c.—to the main stream. At Fort Alexandria he finds himself some 400 miles from the mouth of the Fraser, and as high as lat. 53°—a somewhat high latitude for a large mass of continent. Yet, even here, we are told—'The surrounding country is beautifully diversified by 'hill and dale, grove and plain. The soil is rich, yielding an 'abundant succession of crops of grain and vegetables, un-'manured.' Occasionally, however, the agricultural operations of the Company's servants (for as yet we have no other experience to guide us) have been much impeded by severe spring and autumnal frosts. Here, too, the Fraser is found navigable for light steamers, and preparations are being made to connect Alexandria by steam with Fort St. George, 150 miles higher up the stream. Beyond Fort St. George, the river, which has hitherto been pursuing a main NNW. course, now bends completely round to the opposite direction, and ascends to its source for some 200 miles through one of the immense valleys of the Rocky Mountains. And within this bend lie the now famous gold-fields of Cariboo. The whole of this bend is plentifully intersected by a tissue of streams, rivulets, and creeks,—arising in the numerous flanks of the ranges, and ultimately forming themselves into considerable tributaries to the Fraser. Cottonwood Creek, Antler Creek, Lightning Creek, and many others, are already familiar to the reader; and it is probable that to their action and that of numerous older water-channels now obliterated, we must attribute the disintegration of the quartz-reefs from the parent ranges, and the consequent alluvial deposition of the gold which they contained on the bed-rock through-

out this extensive district. These alluvial deposits, offering a readier access to the miner, have hitherto been the chief objects of attraction; but the experience of California and Australia would lead us to infer, with almost absolute certainty, that the remaining portions of these quartz-reefs still retain enormous quantities of gold, which will shortly engage the quartz-miner. All these creeks and water-channels join the Fraser on its right or concave bank. Crossing over, however, to its convex bank, we again enter upon a new, or, more probably, a continuation of the same, auriferous region of immense extent. Indeed, it has been too much the habit to associate auriferous regions in general with streams and water-channels, of ancient or modern date. More full experience leaves it beyond doubt that the origin of goldbearing quartz-reefs has had no connexion whatever with the water-system of such regions; though, of course, alluvial deposits of gold — the 'placer' of California, the 'river-bar' of British Columbia, the 'diggings' of Australia—are entirely to be attributed to its action on the reefs. To say that the Fraser and its thousand tributaries are auriferous, is but to assert that they have rolled for ages over an extensive system of gold-bearing quartz-reefs, and by slow degrees washed the golden particles out of their matrix—without, however, carrying them to any appreciable distance. We mention this lest our frequent allusion to creeks and water-channels should lead to the supposition that auriferous districts followed the course of such streams; the fact being that such streams have happened to take their course over auriferous districts. Crossing over the Fraser, and advancing still further to the north, the gold-miner is now at work on the various tributaries of the Peace River—one of those immense streams which, rising and ending inland, have hitherto been known only to the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. Advancing still farther north, the gold-miner is found on the River Stickeen and its tributaries, on the borders of Russian America. Awarding their full merit to the richness of Ballarat, Bendigo, and the Californian mines, the well-sustained accounts from the Cariboo goldfield would lead us to infer that its auriferous treasures are the greatest hitherto discovered. Judging too, from analogy, we are of opinion that they will be found to extend, without any marked diminution of richness, through an immense extent of territory.

As, in the first instance, the bed-rock, or 'bottom' on which the alluvial gold rests, was found to be but a few feet from the surface, and as an ordinary claim could be thus completely exhausted in four or five days, we might infer, without the

experience of Australia and California, that these goldfields, and the population they are attracting, would be of a temporary character. We must, however, bear in mind that the shallower gold deposits of Australia and California have invariably led to 'deep leads,' in their immediate neighbourhoods, where each claim affords steady and highly remunerative employment for four, five, and even six years. Such, indeed, would already appear to be the case throughout this northern extension of the Californian mines. Each river and watercourse is furnished with a gradually ascending series of 'benches,' where the bed-rock dips rapidly from the surface, and is also found to be highly auriferous. Nay, where the shallower deposits of Australia and California have been worked out, and the soil resting on their bed-rock has been completely carried away, the far more permanent and steady business of quartz-mining has followed on the same site, engaging large joint-stock companies, and employing powerful and costly machinery. Such, we may fairly infer, will be the case over the whole region of which Cariboo forms but the outskirt. Indeed, such an air of permanence have these goldfields to the local authorities that they have recommended a further extension of the northern bounds of the colony; and, accordingly, towards the close of last session, a bill was passed by the imperial Parliament for that purpose, extending the northern frontier from lat. 56° to lat. 60°.

This brings us to a very important subject of inquiry. It will be borne in mind that New Westminster, the capital of the colony, has been placed in its extreme south-west corner, while the whole bulk of the population is now moving to its north-west corner, and even beyond it. Cariboo itself is some 600 miles from New Westminster; while between them lie streams which can never be made navigable, and roads which are only available to the 'packer.' The actual distance of Cariboo from the coast-line is much less; and, in all probability, some of the inlets which we have already mentioned will be found to still further diminish the intervening land communication. Several of these inlets are now being examined for that purpose. Jervis Inlet has been very favourably spoken of; and, still further north, the Head of Bute Inlet would afford a port within 200 miles of this great auriferous region. Further north still, there is the Burke Channel running inland fifty miles, after which it divides into Dean's Canal, and the North and South Bentinck Arms, all navigable, and running inland about twenty-five miles more. Into the North Arm flows the river Bell-Houla, which might further facilitate communication. From a navigable point on

this river, Alexandria has been reached in eleven days with pack-horses. In any case, however, it is doubtful whether Fraser River will continue to be the port of entrance for the large mining population which may be expected to settle on this auriferous region, and New Westminster is already falling into the background. Indeed, in auriferous countries in general, the connexion between goldfields and capitals rapidly diminishes. The earlier periods, when Australian and Californian gold-miners emptied their pockets and ruined their healths in Melbourne and San Francisco, soon disappeared altogether. Even in such distant and lately-peopled inland wildernesses, it is curious to mark with what celerity Supply waits upon Demand. All the goldfields of these countries now possess wealthy and permanent cities of their own, and are surrounded by large agricultural districts, in full producing activity. From what we have already described, it will be seen that the inducements to such a movement in British Columbia are peculiarly pressing. A large mining population cannot long continue to be fed with food carried many hundreds of miles on mules and even men's backs. It may, therefore, be fairly inferred that the whole of this auriferous region around the head-waters of the Fraser and Peace Rivers will seek to render itself self-supporting; and it is worth while to inquire with what prospects of success.

Unfortunately, all the works which we have placed at the head of this article fail us as we approach this the latest extension of the colony. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, possessed, and still continue to possess, several forts throughout this district, and from the agricultural and horticultural experience of their resident officers — else restricted to fish, of which the palate soon grows weary—we may be able to glean some useful information. Forts Alexandria and St. George we have already mentioned. Their soil is excellent, and the produce of the kitchen-garden and dairy good. The more ordinary domestic animals require little acclimatisation, while in spring the country swarms with all descriptions of game. Autumnal frosts, however, especially around the more northern St. George, are greatly to be feared. More to the north still, we meet Fort St. James, standing on Stuart's Lake—a fine body of water, about fifty miles long, plentifully stocked with salmon and sturgeon. And here, the climate becomes variable in the extreme—'frost in the morning; scorching heat at noon; 'then rain, hail, and snow.' This fort is situated almost under the shadow of the Rocky Mountains, and, even at midsummer, when the wind blows from their glaciers, ice is found on the shallower pools. Nevertheless, the Company's officers have

continued to grow potatoes, turnips, and other productions of the kitchen-garden. Fish, however, formed their principal fare. On the same latitude, however, but lower down towards the coast, at Fraser Fort on Lake Fraser, there is a fine champaign country, and a much milder climate. The lake is open up to December, and remains closed only until May. All the productions of the kitchen-garden have been grown here with success—with barley, and even wheat. Throughout all these forts, there has been found no lack of good soil—though it is certainly patchy—and probably a more careful attention to the seasons might render farming operations securer. The scenery is really splendid, and 'towering mountains, hill and dale, forest 'and lake, and verdant plains, blended together in the happiest 'manner, are taken in by the eye at a glance.'* Further north still, we meet Fort M'Leod, on M'Leod's Lake, whence the Peace River receives some of its earliest waters, as fixed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Some, however, trace the Peace River to a still more northern branch, known as the Finlay Branch of the Peace River; and this branch marked the northern limit of the colony up to the time of the late extension we have just mentioned. M'Leod's Lake lies involved in labyrinths of dreary dark valleys, surrounded by towering mountains which almost exclude the light of day. Snow-storms are frequent and violent, frequently overwhelming the establishments of the Company; and all the symptoms of a rapid approach to high latitudes become apparent. Salmon, *usque ad nauseam*, has been almost the sole food of the Company's servants, and they represent the whole locality as most cheerless, 'the same miser-'able solitude being everywhere.' Yet much of this we must attribute to the high altitude, and the chilling effects of the Rocky Mountain glaciers; for, in reality, Fort M'Leod is in the exact latitude of Newcastle, and, as we shall presently find, the lowlands of the interior, on the same parallel, possess a much more favourable climate. However, disease, except goitre, is almost wholly absent, and the Company's servants are distinguished for the hale old age to which they attain.

Without productive gold-mines, it will be readily inferred that the whole of this more northern extension of the colony would present little hope of early settlement, in the face of much more inviting lands now open to the English emigrant in many portions of our Colonial Empire. Yet, as the soil

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* M'Lean's 'Notes of a Twenty-five Years' Service in the Hudson's 'Bay Territory.'

undoubtedly contains large and permanent deposits of the precious metal — perhaps exceeding those of California and Australia—and as settlement has now taken that direction, we have no hesitation in stating, on a careful examination of all the materials within our reach, that the district possesses sufficient resources within itself to be entirely self-supporting—ordinary manufactured imports being of course excepted. The farmer will, probably, be obliged to pay more strict attention to the seasons,—grain-crops and domestic animals may have to undergo some acclimatising process,—inland communication will have to be opened, and, possibly, a nearer point on the coast brought into connexion,—and dwellings, of a more substantial character than the gold-miner is ordinarily accustomed to in his first operations, erected. When these things are brought about—and, in a golden land, they are accomplished with wonderful rapidity—this whole auriferous district may be expected to be entirely self-supporting, and the present enormous prices of commodities will quickly disappear. No injurious effects on health need be anticipated, either from soil or climate, for those who are fitted for the work. But, indeed, this northern auriferous district is not strictly limited to itself for a supply of its markets. A little above lat. 56°, occurs one of those passes in the Rocky Mountains, through which an Overland Route from the eastern settlements, and, possibly, an Inter-Oceanic Railroad, loom in that future which all new colonies love to contemplate. At present, however, we will only consider this pass with reference to the district immediately at the foot of it on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains. It is through this pass that the Peace River, swelled by many a tributary and reservoir on the western flanks, bursts through the Rocky Mountain chain, and descends to the great Chartered Territory of the Company, below. The pass itself is thirteen miles long, and its 'portage' is one of the most difficult to which the Hudson's Bay voyageur is exposed. Yet, should the district of the Lower Peace River prove favourable for agricultural operations, and should permanent markets offer themselves throughout its upper portions, we may feel pretty confident that the Peace River Pass would present no insuperable obstacles to profitable settlement on the lower portion of this stream. The course of our examination, however, has now led us down to the last portion of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, and it may be profitable to consider it on general and more independent grounds.

East of the Rocky Mountains, we stand on land watered by Hudson's Bay streams, or, at least, by streams whose communi-

cation, by lake or cross-channel, with Hudson's Bay we can find no difficulty in tracing. It therefore forms part of the original Chartered Territory of the Company. The exploring expeditions under the command of Captain Palliser, and the simultaneous expeditions of the Canadian Government, have collected most valuable information as to the soil, climate, and general capabilities of these regions. And, with their help, we now proceed to lay before our readers the principal facts bearing on the future of those immense inland districts.

Let us for a moment suppose that it were possible to crowd the whole of this inland region within the four walls of a picture. On our right we should then have Lake Superior, the Canadian frontiers, and the shores of Hudson's Bay: on our left, the grand chain of the Rocky Mountains. In the foreground would be seen the United States' international boundary line; while, stretching away, and dissolving into illimitable space, would appear that mixture of land, sea, and ice-bound morass into which this wilderness degenerates towards its northern confines. Before, however, we inspect the foreground of our picture, it becomes necessary to say a few words as to our standing-point on United States' territory. Frequent mention has been made of the vast resources of the 'Far West' for the purpose of settlement, and, within limits, we have already alluded to its large capabilities. It becomes necessary now, however, to more exactly define those limits.

Perhaps we shall somewhat surprise our readers if we inform them that one-third of the United States is wholly unfitted for occupation by man. This, indeed, is not the popular language of American citizens, nor will an inspection of their ordinary maps disclose to us the important fact; yet it certainly is the language of their scientific men, who have practically examined into the subject, and who have not refrained from raising their voice in the cause of truth. 'Hypothetical 'geography,' writes one of these more plain speakers*, 'has 'proceeded far enough in the United States. In no country 'has it been carried to such an extent, or been attended with 'more disastrous consequences. . . . On the same kind of 'unsubstantial foundation, maps of the whole continent have 'been produced and engraved in the highest style of art, and 'sent forth to receive the patronage of Congress and the ap-

* Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, made under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, p. 45.

'plause of geographical societies at home and abroad; while the 'substantial contributors to accurate geography have seen their 'works pilfered and distorted, and themselves overlooked and 'forgotten.' And these remarks are now fully borne out by the late and most laborious surveys of United States' territory, for the purpose of connecting the Atlantic states with the Pacific by means of railway communication.

Let us now briefly examine into the limits of this large unavailable portion of soil. The United States' portion of the continent is divided into three nearly equal parts by two marked and parallel lines. One of these is the culminating line of the Rocky Mountains; and the other is the main course of the Mississippi, having its springs on the confines of British territory. The Atlantic portion of these three divisions consists of a most excellent soil up to the east bank of the Mississippi. The Pacific portion is no very dissimilar continuation of British Columbia, along the more immediate seaboard. The Rocky Mountain chain, however, here retires much further inland, and the territory so gained is one of absolute barrenness. Of the third, and intermediate division, the portion from the Mississippi line to the 98th meridian is not unfertile—'but the whole space 'to the west, between the 98th meridian and the Rocky 'Mountains, denominated the Great American Plains, is a 'barren waste, over which the eye may roam, to the extent of 'the visible horizon, with scarcely an object to break the view.'* And the whole result is thus concisely summed up by Professor Hind, who accompanied the Canadian expedition we have referred to as Geologist:—

'It is impossible to examine a correct map of the North American continent without being impressed with the remarkable influence which the Great American Desert must exercise upon the future of the United States and British North America. The general character of this desert south of the 49th parallel (the international boundary line) is described elsewhere, and the important fact has been noticed that any railroad constructed within the limits of the United States must pass, for a distance of 1,200 miles west of the Mississippi, through uncultivable land, or, in other words, a comparative desert. Along the 32nd parallel the breadth of this desert is least, and the detached areas of fertile soil greatest in quantity, but the aggregate number of square miles amounts only to 2,300 in a distance of 1,210 miles.'

Leaving, however, for a moment, the political connexion of

* Meteorology in its connection with Agriculture. By Professor Henry.

this fact with the British portion of American territory, let us follow out its physical connexion.

It will be borne in mind that the international boundary line (corresponding with parallel 49) starts from the western shore of the Lake of the Woods—that last link in the chain of great international lakes which commences with Lake Ontario—at its intersection with the 96th meridian, and strikes the Rocky Mountains in the 115th meridian. The midland tract of arid country we have just been describing crosses this line, as it extends into British North America in its progress northward, between the limits of the 98th and the 114th meridians. Thus its western shores sweep along the flanks of the Rocky Mountain chain, while its eastern boundary is confined by another very curious tract of country, to which we shall presently draw attention. Between these two limits, it advances as high as lat. 52° 30′; when—owing to causes not yet sufficiently investigated, but among the chief of which there can be little hesitation in placing that gradual depression in the Rocky Mountain ranges to which we have already alluded (thus allowing the fertilising showers of the Pacific to clear their tops and fall inland), this arid tract comes to a termination. This extension, then, of the Great Midland American Desert may be rudely described as a section of a circle, resting on the portion of international boundary line we have already mentioned, and reaching its highest point in lat. 52° 30′, or some 250 miles from the borders of the United States. This fact, now established beyond doubt, clears away much fine writing and speaking to which the colonising resources of the great 'Chartered Territory' have given rise. With its recognition, must disappear 'the fertile valley of the great Saskatchewan, 'containing an unlimited extent of arable land'* Nor is it true that 'with this one exception (Grand Rapids) you could 'take a vessel of considerable size up to the foot of the Rocky 'Mountains.' The Saskatchewan is impeded by several obstructions, and communicates no fertility whatever to the country through which it flows. It derives all its waters from Rocky Mountain sources, and has merely cut a channel—some 200 feet below the surface—through the district in question, without draining it—for there is nothing to drain; or without bringing any fertility with its tide.

Omitting now, for a moment, all consideration of the tract of country forming the boundary of the Great Midland

* Debate on Hudson's Bay Company, House of Commons, July 20, 1858.

American Desert, let us inspect some other portions of our picture. On the right, we have Lake Superior—the western frontiers of Canada,—and the shores of Hudson's Bay. Along the western sides of these limits, extends a country of very marked geological formation, to which has been given the name of the Laurentides, as commencing with the banks of the St. Lawrence; and the name Laurentian Series, applying to rocks of similar formation, has now established itself in the language of geology. The Laurentides are about 200 miles in breadth. Issuing from Upper Canada, and sweeping along the northern shores of the great international lakes, they take a NNW. direction, and traverse the whole of British North America, striking the Arctic Ocean between the limits of the mouths of the Coppermine and Fish Rivers. Throughout the whole of this course, they present a rocky undulating surface, covered, in more than two-thirds of its area, by countless smaller lakes, ponds, and marshes. Even in the lowest latitudes of the Laurentides, the cold of winter solidifies the whole of this water-system, and converts it into a widely diffused series of refrigerators. In spring, too, the thawing of so large a network of ice absorbs and checks the warmth necessary for the growth of vegetation. Thus, these Laurentides are of little avail for the purposes of agriculture, and oppose a very considerable barrier to the extension of settlement from Canada into the Chartered Territory. They abound, however, in the baser minerals, and the northern shores of the great lakes are now the scene of very considerable mining activity. But their higher portions promise to be of little use for the purposes of habitation. About the top of Lake Winnipeg, in lat. 52° 30′, their course is crossed by the line of 'strong woods,' which descend from circumpolar regions to this extreme southern limit. Following now, this line to the west, we find it rising a little, till it reaches its extreme northern height about the region of the Peace River; when it again descends, and, sweeping along the flanks of the Rocky Mountains, approaches, and finally unites with, the western shore of the arid district we have already described. All on the north of this line, or bow, we may fairly assume as unsuited for settlement. This, indeed, may seem a sweeping assertion when applied to the latitude of Edinburgh; but we are to bear in mind the great climatic influences of the heart of a vast continent, thickly interspersed with frozen lakes, and, by means of its 'strong woods,' intercepted from the fostering heat of the sun. All on the south of this line we have purposely left untouched, and we now proceed to examine it.

It will be now seen that there are two boundary lines, or bows (exceedingly rude ones, it is true, for it is difficult to determine where one description of soil begins and another terminates; and, indeed, in general they interlace each other to a considerable extent), both uniting on the 49th parallel as it strikes the Rocky Mountain range, but each, in its sweep round to the east, again crossing this parallel in a different point,—the one at the 96th meridian, or shore of the Lake of the Woods, and the other at the 98th meridian. One of these lines is made up of the western boundary of the Laurentides, and the southern limit of the 'strong woods;' and the other constitutes the northern boundary of the great midland arid district of the United States, as it flows out into British territory. Between these two lines appears to be the only portion of soil suited to settlement throughout the whole of the vast expanse from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic colonies. Doubtless, at first sight this result may seem somewhat disappointing, but the long and laborious examinations of the two perfectly independent expeditions we have already referred to preclude all supposition that this analysis of the great Chartered Territory is a fanciful one. The Reports of these expeditions describe this curious Fertile Belt as a partially wooded country, abounding in lakes and rich pastures, 'in some parts rivalling the finest park 'scenery in our country.' Though extending through three or four degrees of latitude, the climate appears to be pretty nearly the same over its whole area, from which it is inferred that it coincides closely with the curves of the isothermal lines. The soil is a rich deep vegetable mould, occasionally spreading out into most lovely prairie country. For more than half the year, however, winter holds stern and uninterrupted sway; the rivers and lakes are set fast; the whole surface of the country acquires its permanent covering of snow, and the mercury may frequently be seen as low as 45° below freezing point. Spring, indeed, at once changes this aspect of things, and affords a very delightful season. It is, however, exceedingly short, and is succeeded by a burning summer, which forces melons and cucumbers to ripen in the open air. Such are the usual characteristics of the climate of the Red River Settlement, that singular little colony in the heart of a mighty wilderness; and though the site of this settlement would certainly appear to be the best throughout this Fertile Belt, yet its progress hitherto scarcely leads us to expect any large accession of population. It was established so early as 1811 by the Earl of Selkirk, who purchased a portion of territory from the Hudson's Bay Company, and peopled it with the hardy Scot of the Orkney

and Shetland Isles; yet, since its early occupation, all additions by independent immigration have been very inconsiderable; while it has lost most of its original occupiers and their families, much of its present population (some 6,000 souls) being composed of Indian 'half breeds.' We say 'independent immi-'gration,' for many servants of the Great Fur Companies, habituated to a life in the wilderness, and inured to Arctic rigours, have selected it for their residence when retiring from the service.

It would be an intolerable evil if so small and comparatively insignificant a portion of British soil as this 'fertile belt' were to involve us in complications with our neighbours. With our examination of the whole midland region, much of this danger, it will be granted, disappears; for no one is likely to invade 'strong woods' or a desert; while the existence of a large disaffected population, or, in fact, of any large population at all, becomes highly improbable. It must, however, be borne in mind, that a class of desperadoes has been for many years hanging on the skirts of the great Union. Indeed, curiously enough, in writing of these very scenes in 'Astoria' Washington Irving foresaw their approach: — 'Here may spring up new and 'mongrel races—like new formations in geology—the amalga-'mation of the "debris" and abrasions from former races, 'civilised and savage; the remains of broken and almost ex-'tinguished tribes; the descendants of wandering hunters and 'trappers; of fugitives from the Spanish and American 'frontiers; of adventurers and desperadoes of every class and 'country, yearly ejected from the bosom of society into the 'wilderness.' The earlier days of California gold-mining afford us a fair specimen of the chaos in which these men can involve a country; and now, for the first time, the discovery of gold on British soil has invited them across the international boundary line. For these, however, the more industrious and progressive settlements possess little congeniality; and to such a position the districts on the west of the Rocky Mountains seem fast attaining. We cannot yet say what prospects there are of large gold discoveries on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. Gold has been discovered in the Saskatchewan, but hitherto in very inconsiderable quantities. But, in any case, it is desirable that all persons entering the district should have full facilities for settling on the soil and developing its resources. The industrious farmer and prosperous trader are far more likely to strengthen our hands than to involve us in difficulties. In this manner, we have come to enjoy such perfect security in Canada; and we have no stronger guarantee

for the integrity of that portion of our colonial empire than the loyalty of the colonists themselves. There is very little prospect of rapid settlement in the region between Canada and British Columbia. The Peace River may possibly be occupied by farmers growing for the markets of the Cariboo goldfields; settlement may even flow in slowly from the Canadian frontiers, or it may be that the more advanced settlers of the United States may cross the boundary line. However it enters, the population is not likely to be large, and our whole security consists in making it a contented one. Liberal in its commercial dealings, and not unkind to the savage, the old Hudson's Bay Company placed many obstacles in the way of private enterprise, which would now be intolerably irksome. These are the traditions which the present administration of the Company will do well to sink into oblivion. The existence of a great chain of colonies between Canada and the Pacific, we now see to be a matter of physical impossibility; but in such a population as the district may attract, it is desirable to infuse the spirit and the loyalty of the British race.

ART. VII.—1. *Reports from the Select Committee on Ordnance, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index for* 1862 *and* 1863. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. July 1863.

2. *The Story of the Guns.* By Sir EMERSON TENNENT. London: 1864.

3. *Aide-Mémoire to the Military Sciences.* Edited by a Committee of the Corps of Royal Engineers in 1853. 2nd edition, 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1853—1862.

THESE Parliamentary Reports and the meritorious publication of Sir Emerson Tennent, suffice to give the reader a very exact notion of what has been spent, produced, and invented by England in order to solve the great problem which perplexes the military Powers of the world.* About twenty

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* We have also placed the 'Aide-Mémoire to the Military Sciences' at the head of this paper, because it is a compendious encyclopædia of military knowledge, to which we are greatly indebted But the publication of the second edition, commenced in 1853, was only terminated in 1862, and in that interval of time the changes introduced into the *matériel* of European armies are incalculable. Hence on the subject of Rifled Ordnance and other topics connected with it, the work is defective. We would suggest to the publishers that a sup-

years ago, the manifest improvements effected in the structure and manufacture of small arms appeared to threaten with a total overthrow the ancient superiority of field guns and heavy ordnance. The Minié rifle, as it was called in the first instance, from the name of the ingenious inventor of the new form of projectile which it carried, seemed to have reduced to a far narrower scope the part heretofore borne by field artillery in war; and in an article of the 'Moniteur' attributed to the Emperor Napoleon himself, the term 'hand artillery' was not unadvisedly applied to those new and powerful weapons, which appeared likely to supersede guns of heavier metal. With a rifled musket a skilled marksman can send a ball with precision to a distance of 1,200 or 1,300 yards—a distance equal to the first graze of a cannon-ball from the smooth-bore field-gun formerly in use, and double the range of the same gun firing canister or case-shot. But in addition to this advantage of the rifleman over the artilleryman, the fire of the rifle is beyond comparison more accurate than the fire of the smooth-bore cannon. It was therefore obvious that a field battery, which required for the full complement of its half-dozen guns and their carriages and ammunition no less than 200 horses and 200 men, must in most cases produce on the field of battle much less positive effect than a single company of 100 skilled riflemen. As skirmishers, or under cover of the nearest hedge, or wood, or wall, the hundred rifles could with ease pick off their 200 antagonists. The battery could only return their fire by six comparatively ill-directed shots against an unseen enemy; whilst its own position, the horses, the caissons, and all the picturesque splendour of a well-appointed field-gun, exposed it to the unerring fire of these scattered assailants. Like the lion in the fable, the king of the forest might exhaust his strength in vain efforts to shake off or escape these gad-flies of battle, stinging him to death.

It is true that the fire of artillery is still formidable to masses; but the first result of these changes has been to modify the tactics of Europe, and to cause the deep formation previously used by continental armies to be abandoned: moreover, the effect of the fire of modern rifles is to compel guns to pass out of range of the denser bodies of troops. Case-shot or canister at short distances are still no doubt to the advantage of artillery, but the range of hollow shot

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plementary volume containing articles on those subjects which have undergone this recent transformation, would be of great value to the military profession and of considerable interest to the public.

from the old field-guns was extremely limited and its direction uncertain. To this it must be added that artillery is of all arms the most costly, the most cumbrous, and the most difficult to handle on broken ground or under adverse circumstances. To maintain the ascendancy of guns, it became indispensable to construct cannon which should be to the old field-pieces what the Enfield rifle is to Brown Bess. To those who are at all conversant with the subject it is superfluous to remark that in order to give rotation to elongated projectiles in their flight by means of grooves cut spirally down the length of the bore, either the projectile itself must have projections on its surface to fit into these grooves—and this is the French system, as well as that of Cavalli in Italy and of Wahrendorf in Germany; or else a portion of the projectile must be of soft material, so that like the Armstrong shell, coated with lead, the missile is forced by the explosion into the grooves of the gun. All the systems of rifled ordnance may be reduced to one or the other of these two principles; and the selection of the arm best adapted for the service is the great problem which every military Government has had to deal with as best it could: we believe that it has been satisfactorily dealt with by England and France, but by these Powers for field-guns only. But we shall not attempt in the following remarks to enter upon the subject of German ordnance, now for the first time on its trial in Sleswig, where the Danish smooth-bore cannons are unequally opposed to the Prussian rifled guns. The Russian Government has made prodigious exertions to remodel its whole artillery, but we believe in the main they have adopted the French system. As for heavy ordnance, in all its varieties,—battering guns and guns of position, coast defences and naval guns—it is still, to say the truth, in a state of probation and experiment: but we shall endeavour to show the point which these inventions have really reached, in both the great States of Western Europe.

The heavy guns used by the Americans at the siege of Charleston, in their batteries and in their iron-clad ships, must still be classed in this experimental category. The hooped and rifled guns with which several of the vessels now in commission in the French navy are at this time armed, can only be considered as an expedient, which has enabled the French Government to make use of an enormous store of iron guns at very little expense: if the French had set to work to construct an entire system of artillery new in all its parts, as has been done in this country, and in no other, they would probably have produced a more perfect arm. But even in our own service, the 70 and 100 Armstrong pounders

which have been distributed among our ships, are admitted by everybody not to be the final and satisfactory result of our experiments in naval armaments. It may therefore be said, that the modern rifled artillery has only been entirely adopted and introduced into the field service of the French and English armies. The structure and form of heavy guns and their projectiles is still under discussion: France has rifled her old brass guns and hooped her old cast-iron guns with steel with considerable success: England has pursued a most costly series of experiments with the heavy guns of Sir W. Armstrong and others, but meanwhile she still regards the old smooth-bore 68-pounder as the most effective ship gun. The results of these experiments, which have been purely empirical, and directed by no certain principles of science, are negative rather than positive. They have taught us that certain things are to be avoided. They have not yet demonstrated what it is safe to adopt. These general observations should be borne in mind by the reader of the following pages.

Sir Emerson Tennent's interesting volume puts the public in possession of all that has been done in this country for the improvement of British ordnance. Having served in early life in the artillery of a foreign army, the author has the advantage, not always shared in by those who have written on this subject, of knowing what he is talking about—enough at least to escape palpable errors, and to prevent the most important parts of the question from being overlooked or undervalued. Not unversed in authorship, Sir Emerson has presented us with a plain and lucid narrative, which serves to guide the reader, however little versed in these controversies, from the first effort of Sir W. Armstrong to the point we have reached in 1864. The whole book is clear, interesting, and intelligible, even down to the *desiderata* to be supplied hereafter. But it is fair to add that the strong bias of the writer in favour of Mr. Whitworth is obvious and unconcealed from the first page to the last. We say this without intending to convey any censure on Sir Emerson. As the secretary of an important department of Government he has, we suppose, no personal interest in the matter; and there is enough in the treatment which Mr. Whitworth has received from the military authorities to enlist on his side the love of fair play and the love of ingenuity. Indeed we are inclined to believe that the contrivances of the great Manchester mechanist in the department of arms (with which he was at the outset of these trials wholly unacquainted) indicate a greater breadth of resource than those of the distinguished engineer of Newcastle, and the direction

taken by Mr. Whitworth in his inventions leads perhaps nearer to the mark than that of his more fortunate competitor. But if Sir Emerson Tennent has not overrated Mr. Whitworth, we think he has underrated the services and the merit of Sir W. Armstrong: and we are the more anxious that strict justice should be done between these two eminent persons, inasmuch as Sir W. Armstrong can in no sense be held responsible for the grievances complained of by the friends of Mr. Whitworth. The Ordnance Committee of the War Department is alone to blame for them, if blame be due; and the evidence given by Sir W. Armstrong himself before the Parliamentary Committees of 1862 and 1863 does him the highest credit, not only as an able and conscientious public servant, but as a man of great modesty and truth.

In the Evidence taken before those Committees and published with the Reports now before us, the whole subject, including the rival claims of these two distinguished inventors, is to be found. The real 'story of the guns' is there. Each of the two competitors stated his own case in his own way to the Committee; but from the gravity and importance of the inquiry, it was never allowed to degenerate into the vulgar proportions of a newspaper altercation. This is no personal dispute. The only question really is, what can most effectually secure to England a system of artillery inferior to that of no other nation, and capable of providing for all the wants of the service? Whoever will give us that is the master-gunner of Great Britain. We have perused these Reports, and the Evidence on which they rest, with the greatest care, and we think that some definite conclusions may be extracted from them.

It was established before the Ordnance Committee of 1863 that the sum expended between 1858 and the month of July in last year, for the construction of the modern artillery, both in the workshops of the Elswick Company and in the Royal Gun Factory at Woolwich, amounts to 2,539,547*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* A large sum no doubt, and we do not venture to assert that the whole of it has been wisely expended, according to the lights we now possess. But no one doubts that it has been honestly spent in a laudable endeavour to obtain, in the shortest possible time, the best guns and projectiles that could be made for the country. There [illegible] been moments in the last five years when this questi[illegible] an intense and urgent importance—when the main[illegible] our authority and even the defence [illegible] coasts [illegible] upon it. When it is considered how [illegible] depend [illegible] ments we place in the hands of our

seamen and our soldiers, it is not too much to say that the Government would not be justified in neglecting any means of procuring the best that can be devised. The question of expense is therefore one of secondary importance, provided the money has been judiciously applied.

Nor, indeed, can it be said that this expenditure of upwards of two millions and a half in five years on this branch of the national defence is excessive, when it is remembered that the whole of the old material has been thrown aside, that an entirely new system has been created, with an immense amount of experiments and imperfect attempts, that new workshops had to be erected with tools of the most costly and original character, and that a large body of highly intelligent artisans had to be educated to this service. The result is that in February 1863, 2,370 guns of the new pattern had been distributed to the army and navy*, 799 of which are 100-pounders, with their carriages, appurtenances, and ammunition complete, and a large store of the peculiar projectiles adapted for these guns has been accumulated in the arsenals. Attacks have recently been made on the Government for not continuing to produce these guns and projectiles at the same rate: but such attacks are most inconsiderate. It is of importance to have a sufficient supply of the best material of war at any given moment; but it is not less important not to encumber ourselves with enormous stocks of these articles, which may be superseded by better inventions before the time arrives for using them. We remember to have heard the late Sir George Lewis, when he was Secretary for War, express precisely this opinion, and strongly deprecate the excessive increase of stores, which might after all tend only to obstruct the introduction of further improvements. The price of the manufacture of the articles produced by the Elswick Company decreased 50 per cent. between 1858 and the month of March 1863, by reason of the greater familiarity of the workmen with their trade; and it is creditable to the Company that it continued to reduce its prices as fast as it had the means of doing so. The evidence of Mr. T. G. Baring (*Q.* 5229—5402) is conclusive on this point, and we entirely agree with the answer made by that gentleman to a question tending to prove that if the guns made at Elswick had been made at Woolwich, a saving of 242,000*l.* might have been effected. Mr. Baring replied: 'The 'Committee must not accept the return to which the Honour-'able Member is referring, as a return of any value for the

* Report of 1863, Appendix, p. 530.

'purpose of such a comparison as he is instituting.' (*Q.* 5266.) The competition between the Elswick Factory and the Royal Gun Factory at Woolwich certainly contributed to this diminution of price, and had some other beneficial results; and we regret that this competition should have ceased. It must never be forgotten that the principal resource of this country in a great emergency—a resource no other country possesses to the same extent—lies in the enormous magnitude of its private yards and workshops. The Power which can produce an immense quantity of the newest and best material of war in the shortest time, will be the Power most successful in the contest. War, like other things in these days, is made by machinery; and establishments like those of Sir W. Armstrong at Elswick are not inconsiderable elements of our national force. It is, however, satisfactory to think that from the enormous demand for arms for foreign countries, these English establishments can be kept in full activity without any government patronage.

These details, however, with reference to the mode of manufacturing arms and the cost of them, are of secondary interest: the question which most deeply concerns the public is, what is the real military value of the arms themselves? The short answer to this question is that we have got less than we expected in 1860, when the results of Sir W. Armstrong's field artillery were first known, but more than is commonly supposed now, in 1864, when it is pretty well ascertained, by numerous experiments and failures, that the methods first adopted in the construction of modern guns of small dimensions cannot be satisfactorily applied to the construction of heavy ordnance. Sir W. Armstrong was first extolled to the skies, and is now sometimes handled with unjust severity: but it should never be forgotten that all he ever undertook to do, has been fully accomplished; and that in the undertakings in which he has been less successful, he was urged on by others, often against his own convictions, to attempt more than he could at that time promise to complete.

When Sir W. Armstrong entered into his agreement with the Government * in January 1859, he only proposed and contracted to supply in the first instance field artillery. In the evidence given by Sir William, both in 1862 and in 1863, he insists more than once on this fact; and it is confirmed by the testimony of General Peel, who as Secretary for War was the other party to this contract, but who appears to disclaim the

* The text of the agreement is given in the Ordnance Report of 1863, Appendix, p. 486.

responsibility attaching to the subsequent proceedings with reference to the heavy ordnance.* Whatever imperfections of detail subsequent experience may have disclosed in Sir W. Armstrong's field-pieces, it is impossible to deny that he has been as good as his word. Their range, their accuracy of fire, are indisputable, and enormously in advance of the old smooth-bore field-guns. They served in the last campaign in China, without giving rise to any serious objections on the part of the officers commanding the Armstrong batteries, but the contrary.† About 60,000 rounds have been fired from these guns in face of the enemy or in the ball exercise of the troops, and in the whole number but one serious accident seems to have taken place. The risk of accident is therefore considerably less than with the old guns. Sir W. Armstrong's ingenious projectiles have greatly increased the destructive power of his guns, and he has unquestionably made the British artillery more efficient than it ever was before.‡

Yet the drawbacks to his system are, we believe, numerous and important. They all proceed from the fundamental mistake —as we conceive it to be—of Sir W. Armstrong, in adopting a projectile which can only be forced into or through the cylinder of the piece by loading at the breech. This very point was at first regarded as Sir William's greatest achievement, but upon a dispassionate comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of the breech-loading system, we are now led to form a different opinion. Sir W. Armstrong himself has now adopted the *shunt* principle for his heavy guns, which are loaded at the muzzle with ribbed projectiles, or projectiles resting on points or buttons; and we anticipate a return to the same system in our field artillery, in which very little, if anything, is gained by loading at the breech, if the projectiles are so formed that they can easily be introduced into the gun at the muzzle. The form of projectile originally adopted by Sir W. Armstrong is the real cause of that 'want of simplicity' which has been urged against it by almost all the officers, whether of the army or the navy, who have given evidence before the Committees. Not

* Evidence, 1863: 5047, 5161, 4060.

† The Reports of Captain Milward, Captain Barry, and Captain Hay, are printed in the Ordnance Report of 1862, Appendix, p. 213.

‡ One very important part of Sir William Armstrong's inventions, which has been borrowed or imitated by most of his rivals in this country, relates to the method of constructing or building up guns on the coil principle; but the remarks we are making apply simply to the military value of the gun when made, not to the process of manufacture, which will be noticed hereafter.

being able to force his projectile by the twist of the grooves only, as is the case in most other systems, he was unavoidably led to the expedient of placing the projectile at the breech in a chamber slightly larger than the cylinder of the piece, so that in order to pass through the cylinder or bore of the gun under the pressure of the gas generated by the explosion, the soft metal with which the projectile is coated must be compressed or torn off. This method has a variety of inconvenient results. In the first place it destroys the *windage*. The absence of windage had long been supposed to be a desideratum in artillery, and it is laid down by Sir Howard Douglas, on the faith of the French experiments made at Gâvre and at Lorient twenty-five years ago, that the windage of a gun is in direct proportion to the space between the cylinder of the piece and the projectile, and that the greater the windage the less the accuracy and range of the gun, because a portion of the gas discharged is liable to escape, or to apply an irregular pressure to the ball. Recent experience, as we shall presently show, has very much modified this doctrine. Provided the space between the projectile and the gun be a perfect *annulus*, or in other words provided the axis of the shot be parallel with the axis of the gun and of the breech-chamber, the bad effects formerly attributed to windage do not result from it, and the absence of windage may be purchased too dear, as will be seen by the following considerations:

In the first place it becomes almost impossible for the inflamed powder to set fire to the fuze of the projectile: hence Sir William Armstrong has been led to invent a system of double fuzes—time and concussion fuzes they are called—which is extremely ingenious, but complicated and somewhat uncertain. This matter of fuzes is one of the most delicate things in the whole science of gunnery, and that in which there is probably the greatest room for improvement. The field-fuze, which requires to be adapted to different distances; the fuze of heavy guns used in sieges or on ships, which require to be adapted to the resistance the projectile may have to encounter when it strikes, and to the various conditions under which hollow shot are now used, give rise to innumerable practical difficulties which have not yet been completely or satisfactorily overcome by military engineers. Multitudes of ingenious devices have been proposed and tried, amongst which Sir W. Armstrong's own inventions deserve particular mention; but they are all ingenious and complicated to excess; they do not provide against all the varied emergencies of war, and such instruments are too delicate for the rough hands of seamen and soldiers.

But, secondly, the result of the more recent experience of the French artillerists proves that the suppression of windage diminishes the accuracy of fire.* This assertion may startle some of our readers, but we hope they will have the patience to hear us out. When the projectile is driven forwards to the muzzle of the piece, by the expansion of gas generated by the explosion, the point of time at which it leaves the gun decides its direction, and the slightest variation of pressure from within or without, at that instant, causes deviation in its subsequent flight. The absence of windage is now thought by the French to increase the probability of some such accidental variation of pressure: but when a portion of the gas generated by the explosion is allowed to escape by windage, as this gas travels four or five times faster than the projectile itself, it serves as it were to prepare the atmosphere for the ball, and to launch it on the straight line of its trajectory. The whole of the modern artillery of France is constructed, with what would formerly have been termed a considerable windage, on this principle; yet in point of accuracy and regularity of fire, we believe that it is not surpassed by any artillery in the world. It is an error to suppose (as is commonly the case in our treatises on the science of guns), that the suppression of windage is really a great economy of force: what may be gained in force by the close compression of the gases is lost in friction. A curious experiment recently made in France removes all doubt on this point.† A

* Mr. Whitworth stated the same fact at the Institution of Civil Engineers, in December 1860. 'It was a mistake,' he said, 'to suppose 'that any serious loss arose from a small amount of windage:' and he quoted an experiment between a leaden shot with no windage and an iron shot with windage, showing that the latter had the advantage.

† For this statement and for the numerous particulars relating to French rifled artillery, which will be found in this article, we are unable to quote the authority of names or of any publications. A good deal of mystery has been thrown over the whole subject abroad, and many of the facts we are about to produce are now made known for the first time. We must therefore beg the reader to take these statements from us upon trust, with the assurance that they have come to us on unimpeachable authority, and that we have taken every precaution in our power to ensure strict accuracy and to avoid the slightest exaggeration. The French weights and measures are generally given: in giving the corresponding English weights and measures we have not aimed at scientific precision. The superior convenience of the decimal system is never more apparent than in dealing with quantities and proportions of this kind.

heavy gun of 30 French measure (corresponding to our 70-pounder), which had already fired 280 shots at iron plates 4½ inches thick, and pierced them at a distance of 1,093 yards, was treated in the following manner: — The gun was bored like a flute with thirty-six holes, each of six centimetres diameter. In this state it was again fired, and it turned out that the initial velocity of the projectile was only diminished by $\frac{1}{45}$th or scarcely 2 per cent. But, on the other hand, the accuracy of fire of the piece was greatly augmented, and the recoil, which had averaged about seven metres before the operation, was reduced to 1 metre 40′. It is therefore now asserted by some of the highest French authorities that windage, without really diminishing the power of guns, improves their accuracy, and greatly reduces the stress of the explosion on the piece. The experiment we have just related was described at the time in the French and German newspapers, and it was conducted under the direction of Colonel Treuille de Beaulieu, who had as early as 1842 submitted to the French Artillery Committee a theory of artillery founded on this principle, in direct opposition to the views then universally entertained. At that time Colonel Treuille's paper was thrown aside; but he has lived to see his system adopted as the basis of the rifled ordnance of the French empire under his own direction.

Upon this important question of windage it will be seen that the Armstrong system and the French system are diametrically opposed, and so are, we may add, the opinions of the authorities on these matters in the two countries. It was a perfectly received and established doctrine both in France and England, under the old system, that the windage of a gun should be reduced as much as possible to ensure force and accuracy. Accordingly, the windage of our smooth-bore guns was reduced from $\frac{1}{27}$th of the diameter of the bore to $\frac{1}{45}$th, and was in no case to exceed ·2 inch even for the largest guns.* 'In 'practice,' say Sir E. Tennent, 'the effect of windage in smooth-'bore pieces is to force the ball against one side of the barrel, 'whence it rebounds against the other, making a zigzag motion 'in its exit, which is fatal to its steady flight.' The Armstrong system of course reduces windage to a minimum, as the projectile is forced through the cylinder of the gun from the breech. But when the missile rests firmly in the barrel on projections fitting into the grooves, this zigzag motion is impossible. In all muzzle-loading guns some windage is absolutely necessary to allow the air to escape and to pass over the deposits

* Aide-Mémoire, p. 637.

that accumulate in the barrel, and Mr. Whitworth introduced a contrivance for that purpose.* *Provided the projectile leaves the gun with its axis in line with that of the piece, the inaccuracy caused by windage ceases*, and this is precisely what is obtained both in the French and in the Whitworth guns. The space existing between the projectile and the barrel then becomes of no importance. We believe this to be the true state of the case; but we are perfectly aware that the discovery of this truth is one not yet familiar to military men in this country, and we invite them to consider it, for upon this point the whole controversy really turns between the Armstrong breech-loading rifled gun and its muzzle-loading competitors.

Again, as the suppression of windage in the Armstrong gun causes the resistance and friction of the projectile against the cylinder of the gun to increase very rapidly, the piece fouls to a far greater extent — a circumstance at all times inconvenient and which may, under some circumstances, render a gun useless. In any case, the accuracy of the piece is impaired by fouling, even where the lubricator wad is used, unless it be sponged out and washed frequently. The Report of the Ordnance Committee of 1862 is explicit on this point:—

'The employment of water in sponging must be mentioned as an objection, which Mr. Armstrong's guns share with those rifled on other systems, but the Committee are of opinion that this objection can be met with little difficulty. Experience with the 12-pounder shows that when no water is employed ten or twelve rounds can be fired without a material decrease in accuracy from the fouling of the gun. It also appears that this decrease in accuracy is prevented by sponging with a damp sponge after every round.' (*Report*, 1862, *Appendix*, p. 167.)

The Committee takes a favourable view of the matter, but to wash out a gun after every ten or twelve rounds is a condition not always of easy execution in war. So likewise, 'to sponge 'after every round' may be an excellent precaution, but it is not consistent with that rapidity of fire which is sometimes the first object. At the battle of Solferino, when the corps of General Benedek, having driven in the Piedmontese army for a distance of two or three miles, threatened to turn the left of the French position, it was fortunate for the French army that they had guns not requiring to be sponged out after every round; for it was the extraordinary rapidity of the fire of the rifled batteries of the French Guards which arrested the Austrian

* Tennent, p. 188.

advance at a range which then appeared incredibly great, and enabled the Piedmontese to recover their ground. At the same battle the French artillery was in want of water, on some points, not for the purpose of washing the guns, but of *cooling* them, several of these guns having fired more than 300 rounds in the day; and if it had not been for the prodigious heat generated by so rapid a fire, many of them would have consumed even more ammunition, though without the aid of water or damp sponges. On a recent occasion at Rennes the experiment has been tried on the new French artillery in a still more striking manner. A gun, taken at random from one of the batteries of the troops quartered in that town, was fired consecutively one thousand times, without being washed or sponged out, and without even once washing, clearing, or scraping the touch-hole. After this extraordinary trial, we learn from the report of the officers in command that the gun had only lost $\frac{1}{10}$th of the degree of precision required by the regulations of the French service. It is proper to add that this experiment was made with compressed gunpowder: but the result is mainly due to the windage of the piece, which is now freely admitted by the French artillerists to be not only no evil, but an essential condition of accurate and rapid firing.

Further objections might be urged arising from the form of the projectile adopted by Sir W. Armstrong, and especially from the thin leaden coating in which he encloses it, in order to force it through the grooves of the cannon. If the shot is to be perfectly accurate, this coating must be torn away or compressed in exact symmetrical proportions by each of the grooves: if, by reason of any defect in the manufacture, or of any blow, or by the fouling of the gun, the slightest irregularity occurs in the surface of the projectile it will no longer travel accurately along the bore, and as the expansion of the gas within tells naturally with the greatest force on the weakest point, a deviation will take place in the flight of the shot. It may also happen — indeed it has sometimes happened — that the leaden jacket, peeling away too soon, flies off at the mouth of the gun to the serious injury of the troops near it. In answer to this objection, Sir W. Armstrong appealed to Captain Milward (now Major Milward, employed in the Royal Gun Factory at Woolwich), whose battery fired in China a considerable number of shots over the heads of the 60th Rifles, without any mischievous consequences. But we are not aware that Sir William has replied to a letter published in the 'Mechanic's Magazine,' and republished in 'The Times,' in which it was stated that some of the men of the 44th Regiment were wounded

under similar circumstances, and that the fact could be proved by the positive testimony of the hospital entries.

Without dwelling further on these details, we proceed to consider that which is the special characteristic of the field artillery of Sir W. Armstrong. The principle from which he started was that of constructing a projectile, to be to all intents and purposes, on a larger scale, precisely what the bullet is to the English rifle or to the rifle of a Swiss chamois-hunter. The necessary consequence of this postulate was that the gun should load at the breech. A leaden bullet may be rammed down an Enfield musket or a Swiss rifle by a few sharp taps of the ramrod, or it may be expanded on the Minié principle by the explosion: but as no such effects can be produced upon a mass of metal as large as an iron cannon-ball, it was necessary, in order to force the passage of the projectile, that it should be inserted at the breech, assuming that it was to be somewhat larger than the cylinder of the gun. Once tied to these conditions, Sir W. Armstrong showed great skill and ingenuity in dealing with them. Of all his inventions, none has been more criticised than the *vent-piece*, and none is more open to criticism: yet there is something extremely ingenious in throwing the main stress of his gun upon a part of it which may be easily removed and easily renewed even in action. Nor do we think Sir William wrong in placing the touch-hole of his gun in the vent-piece, although that part of the gun is still more weakened by this circumstance; but it enables him to replace the touch-hole altogether, just as a sportsman changes the nipple of a percussion fowling-piece. Yet in spite of these considerations, we hold that it would have been far wiser to dispense with the breech-loading system, instead of expending infinite skill and money in attempting to obviate its inherent defects. Nothing can be more ingenious than this mechanism, but the results obtained by it are not commensurate to the evil and the danger of entrusting ingenious mechanism to rude and incompetent hands. It is essential to preserve the confidence of soldiers in their arms, and, say what you will, a gun consisting of one piece of solid metal inspires troops with greater confidence than a gun consisting of several distinct portions, each of which is indispensable to the efficiency of the arm, and each of which must be brought to bear on every other part with mathematical precision. It is certain that the operations of loading, firing, and cleaning require greater nicety with the Armstrong gun, and are in themselves more complicated, than they were with the smooth bore. Does the Armstrong gun in reality give the men that degree of moral and physical certainty, which its advocates

have claimed for it? Who shall prevent the artilleryman from speculating on the probable duration of the vent-piece—an element, at present, of some uncertainty, as has been demonstrated by the experiments made at Shorncliffe, on the 'Trusty,' and elsewhere? But even if the manufacture of vent-pieces were so far improved as to remove all doubt on that score, the safety and duration of this important part of the gun depends on the rigorous precision with which it is inserted in the proper place, and the screw driven home. We have heard Sir W. Armstrong remark that all the accidents which have occurred with his guns have arisen from the clumsiness or stupidity of the men who handled them. No doubt this is true; but can the degree of care and nicety which such tools require be expected from soldiers and seamen in the heat of action? In loading an Enfield rifle or a muzzle-loading gun, one smart blow with the ramrod tells the loader that the ball is in its place; but the pressure of a screw is far less definite, and although the indicator ought always to be brought home, it is not safe to rely on this precaution, in the hurry of intense excitement.

The Ordnance Select Committee, after having investigated all the cases of accident which had occurred with Armstrong guns on board the 'Zebra,' 'Marlborough,' and other ships, reported that they had no occurrence of the kind which was not clearly traceable to the vent-piece not being screwed tight. It has now been admitted in the House of Commons that similar incidents occurred in the recent attack on the forts of Kagosima, which is the first naval engagement with forts that has taken place since the introduction of the gun: one of the guns 'jammed' for half an hour; several vent-pieces gave way; and the sea being rough at the time, one of the ships complains of great want of precision in firing. But all this only proves how difficult it is to obtain the requisite accuracy from seamen under fire. Colonel St. George observes, in his Minute of December 10, 1862:—

'The Committee receives with increasing anxiety the reports of such occurrences. There have been few of these since the introduction of wrought iron; but it is not to be disguised that the continuance of this system of breech-loading will be endangered, if, notwithstanding every exertion to find the best material nature affords, and all proper care and skill in the use of it, such accidents prove to be of frequent occurrence.' (*Appendix to Report of* 1863, p. 355.)

The Military Committee which met at Woolwich on January 8, 1863, reported in precisely the same sense we have indicated that 'the superior refinement of rifled arms will always

'cause them to contrast unfavourably in handiness and ability to 'bear rough usage with the old smooth-bore guns, and that the 'adoption of the breech-loading system causes much complication 'and necessitates a large amount of care and intelligence in its 'use.'*

These are the leading criticisms which have been made on Sir W. Armstrong's field-guns, by men of great experience and knowledge. But whatever force or truth they contain, it is not the less certain that Sir W. Armstrong has redeemed his pledge with the Government, and that he has produced a field-gun which combines the range and accuracy of rifled ordnance throwing elongated projectiles, with a certain fitness for war. We by no means apply to his inventions the extravagant language of panegyric in which they were at first recommended to the public: but we highly appreciate the qualities undoubtedly possessed by these guns, and we have read with extreme satisfaction, in these Parliamentary Reports, the temperate, dignified, and sensible language in which Sir W. Armstrong stated his case to the House of Commons Select Committee. On one point only, we think, to borrow a metaphor from his own inventions, that he overshot the mark.

At the conclusion of one of the long statements in which Sir William answered some of the objections made to his guns, he exclaimed, 'I think the country has gained a system of guns 'and ammunition, which taken in combination is at present 'unrivalled. If a rival there be, I at least do not know where 'it is to be found.'† These expressions are very emphatic, but we must add questionable. It is by no means admitted that the Armstrong gun is 'unrivalled' even in the field of British experience and invention: and this speech implies a singular ignorance on the part of Sir William Armstrong of what has really been done by other countries. To speak, for example, of the guns which have now been introduced for five years into the French service — a Power inferior certainly to none in all that relates to the art of war: those guns were used in the Italian campaign of 1859, in the Chinese campaign of 1860, more recently they have been used in Cochin China‡ and in

* Report, Appendix, p. 336.

† Report of 1863, *Q.* 3265.

‡ M. Pallu, in his 'Narrative of the Expedition to Cochin China 'in 1861' (p. 72.), gives an interesting account of the artillery brought up against the works of the Annamites on the 24th of February of that year. The guns consisted of 6 mountain guns, 3 rifled *fours*, 4 rifled *twelves*, whilst 5 of the naval rifled *thirties* (equal to our 70 pounder), were brought to bear on the enemy. Apart from the

Mexico—they have been opposed to the celebrated artillery of Austria, which they instantly silenced, on the bloody field of Solferino; they have spread terror among the barbarous tribes of Northern Africa and Eastern Asia; they have crossed the Mexican cordillera in a country without roads; they have discharged no less than half a million of shots in almost every latitude of the globe — trials far exceeding those to which the Armstrong field-guns have yet been exposed. Sir William himself states that in China about 4,000 rounds were fired, and to this something must now be added for the recent operations in New Zealand. These are the only opportunities we have had of trying the English gun in actual warfare. The French system of rifled ordnance has been adopted without modification by the armies of Spain and of Italy: it has been more or less closely imitated by Austria, by Russia, by Holland, and we believe by Sweden and Denmark. It has, therefore, obtained the confidence and approval of the military authorities in all these countries. Prussia and England have each distinct systems of their own. We shall learn from the result of the operations in Sleswig what is the power and durability of the Prussian gun; but, although we flatter ourselves that the Armstrong gun will hold its position, it is absurd to claim for it an undisputed pre-eminence over the guns and projectiles of a multitude of other states, with which the Ordnance Committees and the inventors of this country are most imperfectly acquainted, as is evident from their remarks on the subject.* We are the only people on the face of the globe who publish our experiments in gunnery in the newspapers. The real efficiency of the guns of other Powers will only be known when they are engaged in war; but although it is very

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military interest of this operation, we are utterly unable to discover from M. Pallu's book the object of all this destruction and carnage.

* Captain Blakely appears to know more about the French gun than any other witness examined before the Committee, and his evidence (1863, *Q.* 4860–66) is instructive. Being asked whether he thought the Armstrong gun would have the same effect on the armament of 'La Gloire' as a French gun would have, he answers, 'I 'think not.—*Q.* You think then the French gun is superior to the 'Armstrong gun? *A. I am sure of it.*' It will be seen further on, however, that the 'Gloire' is not yet armed with the gun he was describing, but with hooped 30 kilo. guns. Captain Blakely, however, fell into an error in stating that this gun is *not* a steel gun, but that 'two-thirds of the weight of it is cast iron, to which steel rings are 'applied.' The truth is that the whole gun in question was of cast steel, afterwards hammered, with steel hoops added to it.

interesting to us to know what are the guns we have to use, it is of still greater importance to ascertain the strength of the guns which may be used against us. It is of course difficult to penetrate the mystery in which the French Government has shrouded its proceedings in artillery, but we are in possession of some evidence on the subject. Moreover, complete drawings of the French field-guns have been communicated to the Spanish and Italian Governments; the guns themselves were seen in action by our officers in China; and one of them was captured by the Austrians at Magenta. The system is, therefore, pretty well known, and we are the more astonished that so little authentic information on the subject appears to have come to the knowledge of Sir W. Armstrong and the Ordnance Committees.*

The French gun is constructed upon principles widely different from those which have been adopted in the rifled ordnance of this country, and the invention has been arrived at in a very different manner. It is a remarkable fact, that with the exception of Captain Blakely, late of the Royal Artillery, of Captain Scott, R.N., and Colonel Eardley Wilmot, all the persons who have been most actively engaged in the production of British rifled artillery are civilians, as Sir W. Armstrong, Mr. Whitworth, Mr. Lynal Thomas, &c. In France, the problem has been exclusively treated by military men—Colonels Treuille de Beaulieu, Tamisier, Chonal, Pelissier, Minié, Burnier, Didion, Dumaretz, Frébault, Lafaye, Hudelist, Dart, Lafon, Lepage, Gras, Goberd, Touche, &c.,—and the Emperor Napoleon himself, who studied the arm under a very competent master, the Swiss General Dufour. The French Comité d'Artillerie is a body of general officers, who have more or less served in the wars of the last half century: it is especially charged

* It is, however, proper to state that in 1863 Sir W. Armstrong gave the Ordnance Committee of the House of Commons his own account of the French guns (*Q.* 3228) in a very depreciatory tone, and, as we believe, in inaccurate terms. For example, in speaking of the French hooped guns he omitted to specify that they were cast-iron guns *hooped with steel.* We are informed on good authority that none of the French iron guns hooped with steel have burst, except when intentionally charged to excess, whereas none of the iron guns hooped at Woolwich have succeeded. Perhaps it is not unnatural that the inventor and maker of an entirely new *matériel* of war should entertain a less favourable opinion of a system by which the whole of the old *matériel* of the French army and navy has been rifled and rendered available for efficient service.

with the study of these questions: all inventions in gunnery are brought before it, and the object of its inquiries is to select what is best in each, and to arrive at the most useful practical result, with a view to the various and complex duties to be performed by artillery in war. In this country, the Select Ordnance Committee of the War Department is far from having the authority which attaches to the Comité d'Artillerie in France; although, as the head of the War Department in England is himself generally a civilian, it would seem especially necessary that he should be supported by a powerful body of professional advisers. We must say, from the evidence and minutes before us, that the professional Ordnance Committee appears to have contributed nothing whatever to the progress of the science, and to have confined its operations to giving a ready assent to the propositions of Sir W. Armstrong (who indeed was at one time a member of the Board), and a very scant hearing to everybody else.

The fundamental principle on which, according to Sir William Armstrong's own statement, his system of artillery rests, is precisely that which was most likely to occur to the mind of a distinguished worker in metals. It struck him that with the admirable tools we now possess, and the aid of the steam hammer, it would not be a difficult task to forge a rifle of such dimensions that the gun would be a cannon. Or as he himself expresses it,

'In the month of December last (1854) my friend Mr. Rendel, the well-known engineer, submitted to Sir James Graham a communication he had received from me, suggesting the expediency of enlarging the ordinary rifle to the standard of a field-gun, and using elongated projectiles of lead instead of balls of cast iron.' (*Report of* 1862, *Appendix*, p. 158.)

These expressions give us the true term of comparison between the two systems. Sir W. Armstrong was solely bent on applying his great mechanical ingenuity to the construction of an enlarged rifle; he arrived at no more. The rifled artillery of the French army is, on the contrary, the result of the systematic labours of a body of officers, profoundly versed in those branches of exact science which concern their profession, familiar with the traditions of the service, well acquainted with the resources of the forge in the arsenal and in the field, and able to judge of what may be expected on a field of battle from the horses and the men by whom these guns are to be worked. This mode of proceeding had very nearly the effect of absorbing and extinguishing the merited celebrity of the real author of these inven-

tions *—we may almost call them discoveries—in the general reputation of the corps to which he belongs; but, on the other hand, the French have produced a more methodical system, and one better adapted to all the exigencies of the service, than could have been obtained from any single individual, especially if that individual was not a military man, but an accomplished engineer putting forward no claims to scientific military education or experience in the field.

The most salient characteristics of the course taken by this Board of French officers is their adherence to simplicity, their horror of complexity, and their preference for what is most practical and economical. In war, as in other things, economy is power; though that is a proposition seldom borne in mind in framing the naval and military estimates of this country. Whether the French gun be as good as the English gun, or not, the French army has unquestionably been provided with highly efficient rifled artillery at a price not to be compared with what has been paid for ours. Let us now follow the proceedings of the French Board. It was first established by long discussion

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* The Emperor Napoleon, who has paid great attention to artillery, and has himself invented a gun to which his followers would readily have ascribed all the honours of the new system, had the good taste to disclaim these compliments and to ascribe the merit where it was justly due. The day after the battle of Solferino, when the army was still amazed by the performance of the artillery in that action, the Emperor, instead of accepting the phrase 'canon de l'Em-'pereur' which was beginning to circulate, sent the following note to the 'Moniteur,' written, it is said, by his own hand. It was published in the official part of the paper on the 5th of August 1859. We quote the original. 'L'Empereur, qui ne laisse jamais sans ré-'compense un service rendu, vient de nommer colonel d'artillerie, M. 'le Lieutenant-colonel Treuille de Beaulieu, directeur de l'atelier de 'précision, pour la part capitale qu'il a prise à la création du nouveau 'système de canons rayés, qui, dès l'année 1842, avait été déja de sa 'part l'objet d'études sérieuses et d'ingénieuses théories que l'expé-'rience a pleinement confirmées.' The other person to whom France is most indebted in this matter is General Ducos, Count de la Hitte, late President of the Comité d'Artillerie. Colonel Treuille de Beaulieu himself spoke of this distinguished officer, in his section of the Report of the London International Exhibition of 1862, in the following terms: 'It would be unjust to omit on this occasion the name of General La Hitte, who at once took upon himself the responsibility 'of the new principles, and has continued with the utmost ability to 'carry them into execution. It is mainly to his firm adherence to 'these principles, and to the general uniformity of system he esta-'blished, that the success of the new arm is to be attributed.'

and experiment that the peculiar advantages of rifled ordnance, namely *range* and *precision*, could be obtained without impairing the strength of the gun or the facility of working it. Starting, therefore, from these two points, they decided that as to *precision*, it was more important to obtain longitudinal precision and uniformity of fire, than to prevent lateral deviations, because in modern warfare the object fired at is almost always broad, but seldom deep: as to *range*, they saw no advantage in endeavouring to carry it to the maximum of distance, but they systematically and deliberately reduced it to the limits likely to be of use in action, and to the power of the visual organs of man under the most favourable atmospheric conditions. So likewise, in considering what is actually required of field artillery, these officers did not lay great stress on what may be termed the absolute force of the gun, represented by a high initial velocity and great power of penetration. What they were in search of was a gun well adapted to the exigencies of the service; and they held that any ulterior qualities which might be obtained, beyond what was really needed, would be obtained at a waste of labour and money, and might involve the loss of other advantages. A field-gun can never be too simple, or too light, or too easily handled; and as it is only intended to act against men or horses, or at most light field-works, it would seem that provided it carries a projectile of a destructive character with accuracy to the required distance, it has force enough to accomplish its purpose. In other words, it is not worth while to increase the weight or complexity of the gun, with a view to give it other qualities, not often, if ever, required for field purposes.

At the time when these subjects were discussed in France, the whole field artillery of the army consisted of smooth-bore guns of the same calibre, namely *twelves*—a description of cannon invented by the Emperor Napoleon, for the purpose of firing indifferently round shot, shells, and canister.* But when it was decided to introduce a system of rifled artillery, based essentially on the principle of lightness and simplicity of construction, the first step was to reduce the calibre of the field-

* This gun, which performed the whole service of the Crimean war, was known in the French army as the 'canon de l'Empereur,' which it really was. When Marshal St. Arnaud addressed to the Emperor his first report after the battle of the Alma, he began with the emphatic words 'Le canon de votre Majesté a parlé'—a phrase intended no doubt to convey a compliment to the Imperial inventor, as well as a political signification.

guns of the whole army to *fours*, which was held to be sufficient.* Indeed, a still smaller calibre would perhaps have been adopted if the guns had been intended to fire solid shot: but as it had been determined to use nothing but hollow shot and canister, a greater diameter was requisite to allow room for the bursting charge of each projectile. The old *twelves* are still retained in French field service and have been rifled, but they are attached to each corps in very small numbers, being regarded as guns in reserve for certain unforeseen contingencies. The true French field-gun is now what we have designated as *fours*, because the internal diameter of the gun is that of the old 4-pounder. It throws a bolt of 4 kilogrammes or 8·823 lbs. The diameter of this gun is in French measurement 86·5 millimetres, or rather more than the diameter of Sir W. Armstrong's 12-pounder of 3-inch bore, since 3 English inches are equal to 76 millimetres. The gun alone weighs 333 kilos. or about 6 cwt. and three-quarters. The whole piece on its carriage and wheels, with fourgon and 34 rounds of ammunition, weighs only 1,200 kilos. or 24 cwt. The charge of powder invariably used is one of 550 grammes (1 pound 3 ounces). This charge will throw a projectile at the greatest elevation of the gun 4,600 metres or 5,000 yards, but this range is considered excessive, for in their extreme desire to simplify their implements of war, the French have only sighted their field-guns for a range of 3,200 metres or 3,500 yards, which they appear to regard as the utmost range of practical firing. The projectile usually employed is a shell which, when loaded, weighs 4 kilos.: this shell is barely twice the length of its diameter, but the diameter of the French gun is larger than that of the English gun in relation to the charge of powder and weight of the projectile. This difference has important consequences, as we shall presently show.

In France, as well as in England, it may now be said that rifled field-guns fire nothing but hollow projectiles—shells, shrap-

* The old mode of describing guns by the weight in pounds of the round solid shot they would throw is, of course, fallacious since the adoption of elongated projectiles. What was formerly meant by *fours* was that the gun would throw a spherical solid shot weighing *four pounds;* but as the solid conical French shot weighs about twice as much as a round shot, the actual weight discharged would be in modern French weights *four kilogrammes*, or 8·823 pounds. Throughout this article, whenever a French gun is designated by a number, that number means *the weight in kilogrammes* of the projectile: if expressed in English pounds the number must be rather more than doubled, one kilogramme being equal to 2·206 lbs.

nell shells, or the canister shot which has superseded grape. The French 4-gun throws a common shell charged with 200 grammes (7 ounces) of powder, which suffices to burst the projectile into 20 or 25 *dangerous* fragments, for the French do not reckon the total number of fragments thrown off, but only those of a certain weight, and which are found to have a destructive force of penetration in the receptacle where they are tried. It also throws a shrapnell shell (*obus à balle*) loaded with 60 grammes of powder (2¼ ounces), which likewise bursts into 20 or 25 pieces, and carries 85 leaden bullets, impelled with destructive force by the velocity of the shot to about 300 yards beyond the point where the shell bursts. The 9-pounder diaphragm shell in our service, with a diameter of 4 inches and a charge not exceeding one ounce, carried only 52 bullets, and was required to burst about 50 yards short of the object to be hit.* By these charges the effect of the French shell is prodigiously augmented, and it covers a wider extent of ground than the segment shell of Sir W. Armstrong. Nothing can be more ingenious than the structure of that formidable missile, but its destructive effects are confined to the detached segments of the shell itself, and the charge of the 12 lb. segment shell is one ounce of powder only. Lastly, the French field-gun throws a canister shot which is a mere case of zinc, bursting at the muzzle of the gun, and throwing 41 iron balls contained in it to a distance of about 700 yards.

This is the cannon, these are the missiles, which decided the sanguinary campaign of Italy in 1859. Their tremendous power was demonstrated at the first outset on the fields of Magenta and Solferino, where the Austrians lost 40,000 men; and it is well known that the Emperor of Austria, deeply afflicted as he was by a reverse he had not anticipated, attributed his defeat chiefly to the incontestable superiority of the French artillery. The splendid batteries of the Austrian army were mowed down before they could even get within range of the enemy, and a few minutes sufficed to annihilate the horses and render the guns useless. Yet, strange to say, in the month of April 1859, when the campaign opened, neither Europe, nor France, nor even the French artillery, knew that there was such a thing as rifled ordnance ready to take the field. Very few of the officers or men had even heard anything of the guns they were about to use. They started with empty carriages—no guns at all upon them; and the cannons were sent after them from Paris (where they had been rifled) in oblong cases marked

* Aide-Mémoire, vol. iii. p. 395.

'*fragile.*' On the arrival of these cases at Genoa, the guns were mounted. This anecdote was related at the time by the correspondent of an English newspaper; we have since heard it confirmed by French officers of authority. This was certainly one of the boldest experiments ever tried in war, but it was entirely successful from the extreme simplicity of the French gun and the facility with which it is handled.

The next appearance of the French guns was in China, where, owing chiefly to the superior lightness of their carriages, they were worked with facility with the wretched ponies procured in the country, when, as appears from Captain Hay's report, our Armstrong waggons were sunk in a marsh, and ultimately sent back to Peh-tang, though the guns were got through the marsh and carried along, with 30 rounds on the limbers. It is, however, fair to observe that the Armstrong gun chiefly used by the British artillery is a 12-pound gun, whilst the French gun more nearly corresponds in weight to our 9-pounder gun used by the Royal Horse Artillery.

Those of our military readers who have had the good fortune to witness the great manœuvres of the French army at the camp of Châlons cannot fail to have observed the effect which the extreme lightness and handiness of the new guns have had on the tactics and formation of the troops. Acting with cavalry, these guns have all the rapidity of movement of our horse artillery. Cavalry movements are still, however, but little modified to suit the changes in modern warfare. But in the infantry movements of the French army, the guns now take a most active part, and the union of the two arms is complete. Not only between the lines of divisions and brigades, but between the files of companies, and amongst the skirmishing parties in front, the new artillery wheels and fires with an ease and effect which must be seen to be believed: and we doubt not that these novel dispositions of guns will, in the first great war, modify the whole order of battle. At the affair of Montebello, the very first engagement of the Italian campaign of 1859, the action began in the lower gorges of the hills, enclosed spaces where the artillery could scarcely be brought into play. A lieutenant commanding a section of a battery (two guns) perceived a knoll which overlooked the Austrian position, but this hillock was planted with vines from top to bottom, and therefore inaccessible to horses and wheels. Tempted by the nature of the site, this lieutenant resolved to dismount his gun and carry it bodily up the hill: the thing was done in twenty minutes, and contributed not a little to decide the engagement. Probably this officer and his men had never fired a rifled gun before in their

lives—and the circumstance not only reflects credit on them, but proves how admirably the gun is adapted to the various exigencies of war. On another occasion in the same campaign, a field-gun was dismounted by order of General Trochu and carried through a dwelling-house on to the flat roof, where it opened fire with great effect.

Some of the witnesses before the Ordnance Committees have expressed doubts as to the durability and safety of these French guns. We believe that they are misinformed. More than half a million of rounds have been fired from these guns without an accident arising from any defect in the gun. Indeed, as these field-guns are all of brass, not of iron, there is reason to believe that if they had not been rifled, they would not have lasted so long. The identical guns which served in Italy in 1859 are still in use, and would be again employed in active service with the regiments to which they belong. None of them have been returned to the arsenal for repairs, as whatever was needed could be done, and has been done, by the field-armourer. It has been said by a person of great authority on these subjects that, in truth, a gun was of little value in war which could not always be repaired at a field-forge, under the first hedge: and no doubt he is the best workman who can mend his own tools. It is supposed that the French gun will lose something of its precision after having fired 1,200 or 1,500 rounds; but when this occurs, all that is needed is to recast the gun—an operation of no great difficulty or expense with brass guns. Iron guns once worn out are of course useless. Thus, instead of the enormous and costly establishments required in this country for the manufacture of rifled ordnance, the French have obtained all the results just described, without the slightest addition to their arsenals, except the introduction of a simple machine for rifling: but such is the accuracy and certainty of their operations, that it is now considered superfluous to prove the guns they make, after it has been ascertained by trial that the gun metal has the requisite degree of tenacity. We are assured that for centuries, no such thing has been heard of as the bursting of a French brass gun. The modern manufacture of iron guns at Woolwich presents, it must be acknowledged, in these Reports, a very different picture. Mr. Anderson furnished the Committees of 1863 with a return showing the number of Armstrong guns passed by Colonel Tulloh while he was inspector of artillery, and likewise of the guns rejected by him, and of those rejected but afterwards passed. The whole number is 169 guns, but of these it appears that no less than 40 were rejected

after first proof, though afterwards repaired and passed for service.

Almost all we have said of the French light field-gun is equally applicable to the gun of *reserve*, which is simply the emperor's 12-gun rifled, and in other respects unchanged. Such was the economy of this process that the expense of the rifling was paid for by the value of the brass shavings extracted from the grooves. The bore of this gun is 121·3 millimetres, a little larger than the bore of Sir W. Armstrong's 40-pounder, which is 4¾ in., or 121 millimetres only. Faithful to their economical doctrines, the French artillerists have not attempted to give this gun a greater range than that of the *fours*. The range is precisely the same for the two guns. This cannon weighs 610 kilos., or rather more than 12 cwt., which is about the weight of Sir W. Armstrong's 20-pounder sea-service gun. In the Crimea, before these guns were rifled, as smooth-bore guns firing spherical shot, the regular charge of powder for solid shot was 1 kilo. 400 grammes, or about 3 lbs. of powder: but since the rifling the charge has been reduced to 1 kilo., a force found to be sufficient for all that is required. The weight of the projectile has on the contrary been doubled. The common shell, loaded with 600 grammes of powder (or 21 ounces English), weighs 11 kilogrammes and a half, or rather more than Sir W. Armstrong's 25-pound shot. The *obus à balle* contains 200 bullets: the canister, 41 iron balls, but larger than those used for the smaller gun, and ranging further. The entire gun mounted, with its regular ammunition, weighs 1,800 kilos. or 36 cwt.: it is drawn by six horses and served by nine men as before.

Some batteries of the emperor's 12-guns *rifled* were attached to the army of Italy in 1859, but without firing a single round. The declaration of war took place before the preparations of the French were complete, and there was a deficiency of projectiles*, especially for the rifled twelves. Hence it was necessary to economise ammunition, and the stores of the artillery of

* Although the effect of the French rifled ordnance at Magenta and Solferino was considerable, it would be much more effectual now. At that time the want of the new projectiles was such, that the troops were obliged to use whatever missiles could be got, many of imperfect construction. The fuze adopted at that time proved unsatisfactory, and has since been improved. The batteries of the artillery of the Guard were alone supplied with their full complement of the new ammunition in 1859. All the defective stores have now been used up in garrison practice, and the arsenals are well supplied with projectiles of the best workmanship.

reserve were economised altogether. It is not impossible that this scarcity of effective ammunition may have contributed to the early termination of the war: however, the rifled 12-gun has since been actively employed in Mexico, especially at the siege of Puebla; where it rendered most important services against the massive blocks of houses of that town. This gun proved highly effectual as a battering-gun on that occasion, and its utility was greatly increased by its lightness and economy. If it had been necessary to bring up a battering train of the old 24-pounder siege guns from Vera Cruz, across the *terra caliente* to the table-land of Mexico, the thing would either not have been done at all, or done at an immense cost of labour, life, and money; for, even as it was, the operations were at one time suspended for want of powder. Fortunately for the French they had a siege gun which combined great efficiency, with facility of transport and low charges.

To conclude what we have to say on the subject of light or field artillery, we should like to be able to compare our own diagrams of gun practice with what the French term their 'rectangles des tirs:' but the materials for such a comparison are not before us, and the elements from which the calculations are made in the two countries are so dissimilar that it would not be fair to found any relative conclusions upon them. Abundant information as to the British experiments is indeed to be found in the Appendix to the Ordnance Reports, stated with the precision of scientific analysis. The French endeavour, on the contrary, to assimilate their experimental operations as much as possible to the operations of a battle. Take for instance the following theorem, which we borrow from the instructions lithographed for the use of the French military schools.*

Let a structure in deal boards be so arranged as to represent a battalion formed in close column, or in column at half-distance. Two batteries of the French *twelves* (25-pounders), complete, are started against this imaginary battalion from a distance of two or three miles, across a country of which the artillery has no previous knowledge. The order given to the commanding officer is to advance constantly on the battalion at a trot, as if he were about to charge it, and only to stop upon a signal made to him at various distances not preconcerted. The guns are then to open a rapid fire, which lasts until the general

* We understand that a similar experiment has been tried at Aldershott, but there is great difficulty in finding, in the neighbourhood of London or Woolwich, a spot where such an exercise can be conducted with safety.

directing the movement signals a further advance. Suppose that these batteries have started at 4,000 metres (more than two miles and a half) from the battalion, the following table gives the result obtained. Of course the projectiles used are not loaded shells.

Distances	Rounds fired	Shots that struck the battalion
2,700	48	22
2,000	120	80
1,950	84	42
1,900	42	28
1,550	120	81
1,250	54	35
	358	288

or about 80 per cent. effective shots in this exercise intended, as far as possible, to imitate actual warfare. The French artillery are justly proud of this result, and we are assured that the figures we have given represent the average practice of the 12-gun batteries of the French army. We have no analogous statement of practice in our own army, but we are inclined to believe from the particulars which have reached us that in point of lateral deviation the two systems are nearly alike, but with some advantage to the English gun: in point of longitudinal accuracy and uniformity of range it may be with the French. This accuracy was at once apparent in the campaign of Italy, in so much that the infantry almost immediately learnt to take its distances from the artillery—given the angle of elevation and the point of incidence, the guns became a perfect stadiometer for all practical purposes. To show the extraordinary precision of the instrument, we may add a circumstance that has recently come to our knowledge. The French gunners in Mexico found to their great surprise that their guns were not sighted correctly, and that the practice was different from what it had been in France. The difference arose from the diminished pressure of the pure and rarefied atmosphere of the Mexican *plateau* as compared with that of the polygon at Vincennes. So that the gun became, in some degree, a barometer for measuring altitudes.

Before passing to the subject of heavy artillery, it may not be amiss to put the reader on his guard against the erroneous impression sometimes produced by stating an enormous weight of projectile, as if it were the true expression of the power of a gun. When all guns threw spherical cast-iron shot, the weight of the ball served to denote the calibre of the

piece — that is to say, the diameter of the internal cylinder, which, in the then state of the science, determined almost all the conditions of the gun—for the calibre being known, the charge of powder, the initial velocity, the penetration, &c. followed as a matter of course, by certain rules all fixed by the weight of the ball. But with rifled artillery and ogivo-cylindrical projectiles, the case is altered: for these projectiles may be extended in length to almost any amount, and the consequence is that the weight of the projectile is no longer any test of the power of the gun, nor does it even express approximatively the dimension of the bore. The French, as we have previously remarked, have retained the designation formerly applied by them to cannons throwing spherical shot (reckoning kilogrammes for pounds), and they avoid giving to their projectiles more than twice the length of their diameter; the length of the Armstrong shell is 2·25 diameters. In every instance the French gun with an equal bore throws a lighter shot, because the English projectiles are generally longer than the French. This distinction is more strongly marked in Mr. Whitworth's guns, because he fires projectiles still more elongated: and still more apparent in the American guns, which surpass all others—at least in the length of their shot. The nominal weight of the projectile is therefore no longer a correct indication of the size of the gun.

In order to illustrate these differences, we have endeavoured to bring within the limits of the following Table a comparison of the Rifled guns now existing in the services of the two countries, as far as it can be made.

Armstrong guns in the English service				Rifled guns in the French service				
Gun	Weight	Charge	Diameter of bore in E. inches and millimetres	Gun	Weight	Charge	Weight of projectile in English pounds	Diameter of bore in millimetres and E. inches
pounder	cwt.	lbs. oz.	in. millim.	kilogram.	kilogram.	grammes	lbs.	millim. in.
6	3	0 12	2·5 = 64	4 mountn.	100 (brass)	550 (19 oz.)	8·82	86·5=3·41
9	6	0 18	3 = 76	4 field	333 (brass)	550 (19 oz.)	8·82	86·5=3·41
12	8	0 24	3 = 76					
20	16 long / 12 short	2 8	3·75= 95	12 reserve	610 (brass)	1,000 (2 lb. 3 oz.)	25·35	121·3=4·20
40	35	5 0	4·75= 121	24	2,000 (2 tons)	2,500 (5 lb. 2 oz.)	52·8	152·5=6
70	61	10 0	6·4 = 162					
110 light	77	10 0	7 = 178	30		3,500 up to 7,500	68 hollow 99 solid	164·7=6·51
110 heavy	81	12 0	7 = 178	50	2,000 (2 tons)	2,500	113 (charged with 7·72 lbs. of powder)	194 =7·81

Thus, setting apart on each side the light mountain-gun, the British army has two classes of field artillery — ten batteries of 9-pounders (R. H. A.) and twenty-four batteries of 12-pounders. The French rely on the 4-kilo. field-gun as their principal weapon. As compared with our 9-pounder, it weighs 70 lbs. more; the charge is rather larger in the French gun; the weight of the projectile rather less; but the bore is no less than ten millimetres larger in the French gun than in the Armstrong. If the French 4-gun be compared with our 12-pounder, it is nearly 200 lbs. lighter, the English charge is one-fifth larger, the English projectile is one-fourth heavier, but the French bore is still ten millimetres larger than the weightier British gun. So again in the Armstrong 20-pounder and the Armstrong 40-pounder, which come nearest to the French 12-kilo. and 24-kilo. guns respectively, the French charges are lower, but the relative bore of the French gun is considerably greater. This is a point to which the French artillerists attach the greatest importance, and to which they attribute much of their success, because it enables them to augment the bursting charges of the projectile, and the strength of the hollow projectile itself. These results are considered in France of even higher moment than the velocity of the shot discharged.

This is one of the points on which there is a radical difference between the opinions prevalent in the two services. In England we avoid loading shells heavily to prevent the too great dispersion of the fragments. The French hold, on the contrary, that it is desirable to give the maximum of explosive force to the projectile itself, and this not only by increasing the charge of powder, but by increasing the thickness and power of resistance of the shell. The destructive effect of the projectile is said to be represented by the relation between its weight and the weight of the powder contained in it. Sir William Armstrong clearly discerned the advantage of large diameters and heavy bursting charges when he said at the Institution of Civil Engineers: 'With the exception of iron-'plated ships and granite batteries, there is nothing which 'cannot be more effectually attacked by shell, than by shot. 'But the power of a shell depends upon the magnitude of its 'bursting charge, and a large bursting charge involves a large 'diameter.' On this principle the French have constructed their whole rifled artillery, and to a much greater extent than Sir William Armstrong. We have seen that the French use in their smallest field-guns a common shell, charged with seven ounces of powder, or else a shrapnell shell charged with 2½ ounces: these indeed are their chief projectiles. The Armstrong

field-gun fires either solid shot, or the segment shell with a low charge of powder; but no common shell with a high bursting-charge is used by any Armstrong gun below a 20-pounder. Hence it appears that our field artillery is entirely deficient in that class of shells, with high bursting-charges, on which the French place the greatest reliance. It is for this purpose that they give so large a bore even to their smallest guns: the inferior diameter of the Armstrong gun renders it impossible to use the same bursting-charges as the French, and consequently to give equal power to our common shells.

We now proceed to consider rifled guns of a heavier description. What, in the first place, is heavy ordnance? A negative definition might be given by saying that heavy ordnance comprises those guns which, on account of their weight, cannot be manœuvred in action; but it is more correct to state that we understand by heavy ordnance guns which are only used in besieging or defending fortified works, for coast defence, or on board ship. In these terms the problem becomes more clear; but when the various purposes of heavy ordnance are defined, they at once imply that the guns used for these purposes respectively ought to have very different qualifications. Thus a siege gun does not require that extreme range, nor that extraordinary power of penetration which is frequently regarded as the great test of artillery practice. It is never the interest of the besieger to break ground at a great distance from the place besieged, but on the contrary to get as near to it as possible, since he has to make good the whole of the intervening ground by covered approaches. Again, as the obstacle to be breached by the fire of his guns generally consists of stone, brickwork, or earth, a very high initial velocity is not the first object to be attained by his projectiles. The destructive effect of these projectiles, all of which we assume to be hollow shot, will be determined by the amount of the bursting charge of powder with which they are loaded, and which they introduce within the walls where they are to explode with the force of a mine. This consideration is of far higher importance in siege guns than their mere power of penetration. It is also of extreme importance that a siege train should be capable of transport without much difficulty over a difficult country. It was easy enough to send our heavy breaching guns to Balaclava: the difficulty lay between Balaclava and Sebastopol, and at length a railroad was constructed to bring up the *matériel* of the siege. Guns, on the contrary, intended for the defence of works, are stationary, and may therefore be of any weight, and they ought to be of the largest

calibre to destroy the works of the enemy, to silence his batteries by heavier fire, and to throw masses of canister and grape in the event of an assault or surprise. Guns intended for coast defences require the greatest possible range, for the best service they can render is to keep off the enemy as far as possible from the shore. It should be borne in mind that in most cases, guns mounted for coast defence will be outnumbered by a powerful enemy, who can concentrate his marine artillery on any given point. The heavy land gun has more room, more facility of manœuvre, more steadiness of platform, more certainty of aim, and except when opposed to iron-clad ships, more safety from attack, than can be obtained at sea; but on the other hand, the ships have the advantage of numbers, and seen at a distance, they are small objects, moving at a rate of eight or ten yards a second, and therefore very difficult to hit. This was shown at Odessa and still more at Sweaborg, where the English and French gunboats burnt the arsenals, but being themselves kept all the time in gentle motion they suffered no damage, though they were mere wooden vessels. A coast gun ought therefore to carry as far as possible, in order to extend the zone of protection from the shore, and to have the greatest precision of fire to counterbalance the superior advantage ships have in firing at a stationary object.

In marine artillery, if it had not been for the invention of iron-plating, we should probably ere long have witnessed a diminution in the heavy armament of line-of-battle ships and frigates; and for this reason: guns of a lighter description, rifled, and throwing hollow projectiles loaded with large bursting charges, would be found to be far more destructive to wooden ships, than the old 32-pounders and 68-pounders with their solid shot. The broadside of a man of war would no longer be reckoned by the weight of metal to be thrown from its guns, but by the number of these destructive and incendiary shells, almost without reference to their size and weight. In engagements with land forts guns of heavy metal would, of course, retain their advantage: but at sea, ships fighting ships, it is probable that 5 or 6-inch shells would pierce or destroy wooden vessels with as much activity as the heaviest shot that could be fired. Hence the number of guns might be augmented, and they would be handled with greater ease and rapidity; or the number of men serving the guns might be diminished, which is an advantage in another form. These considerations may still be of some value if applied to vessels serving in the remoter parts of the globe, unvisited by iron-clad ships of war: but very different qualifications are needed in the artillery of vessels

navigating the seas of Europe, and exposed to encounter the most formidable squadrons ever borne by the waves. Iron plates of adequate thickness and good quality are the most effectual defence invented by man, for no sooner were they introduced, than they paralysed the whole artillery of the world, and defied all the projectiles, shot or shell, then in use among the most warlike nations. Four or five years ago, iron plates of 4½ inches' thickness were still impenetrable to attack. This is no longer the case. A fierce contest has sprung up between the art of attack and the art of defence, with alternate and almost equal advantage to the one and to the other. The result is still unattained; though we have very little doubt that whatever may be the strength of those iron castles, our modern men of war, somebody will at last invent a gun capable of destroying them. The 4½-inch plates have already been pierced — whereupon Mr. Reed promises us 6-inch plates for his 'Pallas' and his 'Bellerophon:' and we have even heard of proposals seriously entertained for carrying the plates to a greater thickness. But the truth is that although the plates of 4½-in. on the targets have been pierced both in England and in France, it has been by guns of an exceptional character, resembling scientific engines more than military weapons, incapable of rapid firing and unfitted to the general exigencies of naval warfare. The effect of the introduction of such guns into the navy is, of course, enormously to reduce the number of them. Thus the 'Royal Sovereign,' a 121-gun ship, will only carry six 300-pounders, and even then will hardly be a sea-going vessel. At this moment, the possibility of penetrating iron plates appears to us to have attracted a greater degree of attention than it really deserves, as a test of the general efficiency of guns, if other considerations are sacrificed to this object. For practical purposes in war, and especially naval warfare, we believe the enormous weights which are now under trial at Shoeburyness and elsewhere to be of very little value. They take us back four centuries to the first discharge of Mons Meg, loaded 'with 'a peck of powder and a granite ball as heavy as a Galloway 'cow.'

The experiments in artillery tried by the Americans in the course of the present war, and especially at the siege of Charleston, may serve—if they have no other result—to show how fallacious are their theories, based on huge projectiles thrown at low velocities. The Americans appear to have a natural predilection for whatever is big, and they have applied themselves to the production of huge guns, made on every variety of pattern, with very little scientific uniformity or direction. If

we are correctly informed, none of these guns have shown that durability which is essential to permanent service, nor have their effects corresponded to the cost and labour bestowed on them. For more than eight months the Federal forces have been besieging Fort Sumter, a mere battery rather than a fort, constructed more than sixty years ago to cover the harbour of Charleston, at a time when not only rifled guns, but steam vessels were unknown. The work is, however, on an islet, and is now supported by other works on neighbouring islets or on the mainland. To attack this fort, whose very name awakens the fiercest passions of the Unionists, considerable bodies of troops have been engaged under General Gilmore, supported by a whole squadron of iron-clads. Yet after 260 days or more of almost incessant fire or attack, Fort Sumter is still held by its valiant garrison, whose chief duty is to raise again the Confederate standard, which is continually shot down. The only effect of the huge projectiles or bolts hurled at the place is said to be to have improved its defences by throwing up a mountain of earth and iron about it. The following paragraph in the 'Richmond Enquirer' of November 11, 1863, gives a picture of these operations:—

'Since the bombardment commenced on the 17th of August up to Thursday last, 15,583 shots had been fired at it, of which 12,302 struck; 27 of the garrison have been killed and 69 wounded; the flag has been shot away 34 times, the average weight of shot being 200 lbs., the weight of iron 3,116,000 lbs., or 115,439 lbs. to each man killed, and 30,307 lbs. for each casualty. If the charges of powder averaged 15 lbs., we have 8,699 lbs. to each man killed, and 2,434 lbs. to each casualty. Sumter in ruins laughs at her enemy, who still fears to pass her battered walls. Charleston has a valuable iron mine in the fort.'

If the same consumption has gone on from November to the present time, we had rather not calculate what it amounts to. But these facts appear to us to demonstrate that these cannons, which are called 220 and 440-pounders, are much better adapted to impose on unprofessional men and newspaper correspondents than to take Fort Sumter. Indeed, it is wonderful that these guns can have been brought to bear at all, if it be true, as has been stated by a New York paper, that, according to General Gilmore's own report, 2,000 men working for several nights were needed to arm this monster battery. Yet after all this cost and labour, these enormous guns have the capital defect of giving way after 40 or 50 rounds. It was stated at Boston the other day, as an extraordinary thing, that one of them only burst at the 78th round. But allowing as much as 100

rounds per gun, it would seem that in 80 days the bombardment of Fort Sumter must have used up more than 150 monster guns. So long as the American artillerists are carrying on their experiments on this colossal scale, without any adequate result, we may safely conclude that they are not yet on the right track.

This country has happily not been called upon by the sudden emergencies of a terrific war to make its experiments in the presence of an enemy, and our trials have been confined to the pacific ranges of Plumstead marshes and Shoeburyness. But putting out of account, for the present, the purely experimental guns which have been constructed for the purpose of smashing or piercing iron targets, and are not yet accepted by the service, we proceed to inquire whether England is really possessed at this moment of heavy rifled ordnance completely adapted to all the purposes of war. We also put aside the various heavy guns of private makers, whose merits are still *sub judice*, and will probably shortly be brought to the test of further experiment. Speaking only of guns made and adopted by the Government, we are told to put our faith in the 100 or 110-pounder of Sir William Armstrong, as the chief arm to supersede the 32-pounder and the 68-pounder which had been, and, indeed, still are, the principal defence of our ports and the principal weapon of our ships. Sir William Armstrong concealed and exaggerated nothing in his statement to the Committee of 1863 :—

'All Europe was, at that time (1859), adopting rifled ordnance, and the greatest anxiety and uneasiness prevailed at the War Office on account of the want of similar arms in our own service. The threatening aspects of the continent required that large rifled guns should be procured for naval and siege purposes. I was therefore called upon to produce 40-pounders and 100-pounders *without having had an opportunity of testing the patterns by previous trials*, though I had stated in my original report that I apprehended that the application of breech-loading to large guns would involve an application of parts which would be inconveniently heavy to handle.' (*Q.* 3163.)

And in another place :—

'3549. Can you state upon what series of experiments that gun (the 110-pounder) was approved?—*None at all;* there was such an extensive pressure for rifled guns at that time, there was no time for experiments; and it was one of the great difficulties which I had to contend with, that I was obliged to produce the guns under those conditions.

'3550. Were 675 110-pounder guns, costing between 400,000*l.* and 500,000*l.* to the country, adopted without any series of experi-

ments being made?—No, certainly not; but it was some time before the first gun was ready, and probably about 100 guns were in course of construction before we could test one.'

And again (*Q.* 3263.):—

'I was at first in hopes that the same material which had been used and found to be sufficient for the 40-pounder, would be found equally suitable for the 100-pounder; but that turns out not to be the case. The vent-piece for the 100-pounder continues still to be a difficulty. I trust that it will be overcome, but up to the present time we have not obtained a vent-piece that can be relied upon for the 100-pounder gun.'

When the Duke of Somerset was asked his opinion of the Armstrong 100-pounder as a naval gun, he replied that he did not think it entirely satisfactory; that when the Admiralty tried it themselves it did not come up to its reputation; that for naval purposes, at 200 yards, it certainly had not the greatest power; and that our old 68-pounder is a more powerful gun than the 100-pound Armstrong (*Q.* 5102). And the Committee itself in its Report, stated, upon a review of all the evidence, that 'the old 68-pounder is therefore the 'most effective gun in the service against iron plates.' This is of course equivalent to an avowal that for the chief purposes of naval warfare the British rifled ordnance, now in the service, has added nothing to what our artillery was before. The evidence of the naval officers is, we fear it must be said, conclusive on the subject. Captain Scott, Captain Wainwright, Captain Jerningham, Captain Ewart, all give very ample reasons for not desiring the introduction of these guns in ships—they complain of the danger of the vent-piece, even with charges of 12 pounds of slow powder, of inaccuracy of aim, of excessive smoke, of fouling; and, in short, all the inconveniences which exist to a certain extent in the principle of the Armstrong gun, become infinitely more prominent in heavy ordnance than in field-pieces. It is due to Sir W. Armstrong to add that he was himself so conscious of these defects, that as early as 1859 he applied himself to make a muzzle-loading rifle cannon on what he terms the '*shunt* principle,' and these experiments have been prosecuted with considerable success. In the 'shunt' gun, the projectile is introduced into the piece on ribs or buttons, like the projectiles of the French artillery; but with this peculiarity, that the projectile enters by one set of grooves and comes out by another set. The 'shunt' gun is in all respects the very opposite of Armstrong's breech-loader.

In all the guns manufactured by Sir W. Armstrong, he

adheres, however, to the coil system of construction; that is to say, the gun is built up of drums of hot metal superposed one over the other: the drums are formed by coiling bars of iron round a cylinder and welding them together by the steam-hammer. This, in point of manufacture, is Sir W. Armstrong's chief invention. But it has not escaped attack. For example, Captain Scott, R.N., stated in his evidence:—

'Q. 4392. I have been enabled to see a great many of these failures, and I know of a very large number besides.

'Q. 4393. Are they failures after the guns were finished for the service, or failures in the course of manufacture?—Both.

'Q. 4394. Do you attribute those failures to the inner tubes being made of coiled iron?—I attribute them to the construction of the gun, which I consider faulty.

'Q. 4395. And do you attribute them to the inner tubes being made of coils?—That would increase the liability of the gun to fail.

'Q. 4396. Has it been proved that the guns have failed in consequence of the inner tubes being made of coiled iron and so proving defective?—The practical test of that is, that they are now beginning to make the internal part of steel. If they had been satisfactory when made of coiled iron, they would not, of course, have begun to make them of steel.' (*Report of* 1863, p. 212.)

Whatever be the strength and precision of the welding of the coils under the steam hammer, the pressure applied to the internal surface of the gun at the moment of explosion is so intense, that it is to be feared it will gradually impair the coils whatever be their thickness.* Sir W. Armstrong is himself,

* We have heard that Sir W. Armstrong calculates the pressure applied to his 600-pounder by the discharge of 70 lbs. of powder, at 6,000 tons. The following passage from Sir E. Tennent's book is very interesting, and it deserves attention the more as the true force and application of the force of gunpowder are still very imperfectly known:—'Mr. Longridge, in a paper read before the Institution of 'Civil Engineers in 1860, quoted the authority of Robins, who cal-'culated the ultimate strength of gunpowder to be 7 tons on the 'square inch, equal to the pressure of *a thousand atmospheres;* and 'of Hutton, who believed it to be 17 tons, or 2,400 atmospheres. 'Colonel Boxer, in his "Treatise on Artillery," makes it 14·4 tons 'per square inch. Mr. Longridge himself estimated it at 20 tons; 'but other authorities, he adds, assumed that this might be doubled. 'A well-informed writer in the "London Observer," Nov. 15, 1863, 'says the strength of gunpowder in a state of explosion is so vast, 'and it is from its very nature so difficult to test, that it need not be 'a cause of surprise that those who have devoted the greatest amount 'of time and attention to the subject are still at a loss to estimate it 'with anything like certainty. The imprisoned forces which lie 'within the ingredients of this substance are such that, when set

we believe, favourable to the idea of a core or internal cylinder of mild steel; and we have recently seen at Woolwich guns manufactured on this principle, the internal steel cylinder being 3½ inches thick. The English constructors of guns hold, that as the tension on the gun, caused by the explosion, decreases in a rapid proportion from the interior to the exterior of the gun, if the greatest power of resistance be inside, it matters little what is the strength of the external coils, and they may therefore be made of the weaker metal. The English therefore contend, that the French practice of hooping iron guns with external steel bands does not augment their strength: to which the French reply, that having tried this plan to a great ex ent, they are very well satisfied with it. The consequence is that the French navy is now chiefly armed with rifled guns of this pattern, whilst our ships of war, and even our iron-clads, are still armed for the most part with the old smooth-bore 68-pounders. Captain Blakely in his evidence (which must, however, be received as that of a disappointed competitor) said:—

'The result of this strange hallucination seems to have been that we have spent millions on the construction of a navy which is fit only to compete with English ordnance, but which would be totally defenceless against the more powerful guns produced in foreign countries.

'4610. Do I understand you to say that there are other guns in use in foreign countries, which at 1,000 yards would pierce "the Warrior?"—In August 1861, at Gâvre in France, a 6⅝-inch gun, with 27 lbs. of powder, threw a 99 lb. bolt through a target representing "the Warrior" at 1,093 yards: that was a rifled gun.' (*Report of* 1863.)

This is, in truth, the most material part of the whole question; for although it is interesting to know what effect our guns might produce on the ships of another Power, it is still more interesting to know what effect the guns of another Power

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'free, they occupy a space 317 times greater than when in the grains 'of powder. One cubic inch of gunpowder will evolve on explosion '79·4 cubic feet of nitrogen, and 238 of carbonic acid. The whole 'of this increase of bulk takes place instantaneously; the gases are 'liberated by a spark, with a rapidity greater than the speed of 'lightning. But this calculation of the quantity of gases set free at 'the moment of explosion is given only according to the space which 'they would occupy *at the ordinary temperature of the atmosphere.* 'Within the barrel of a gun the *heat* at the moment of explosion has 'been calculated at 3,000 degrees, and this causes such an expansion 'of the gases, that they *would fill* 2,154 *times the space which the* '*powder originally occupied.*'

might produce on our ships. That French gun described by Captain Blakely was no doubt an experimental weapon, and cannot be said to belong to the service; it was not only a rifled gun, but a rifled *steel* gun; but, in truth, all these prodigious guns, both in France and England, are of an exceptional character, and we do not attach much weight to their performances, except in as far as they serve to aid the progress of scientific discovery. It must be acknowledged that we are all carrying on a tentative process, rather empirically than scientifically, and that the real principles on which heavy ordnance can be constructed, capable of being used with effect in naval warfare, especially against iron-clads, have yet to be worked out. The art is still in its infancy. The Duke of Somerset informed the Committee that he could not tell them what guns were really to be approved for the navy. We in this country have alone as yet succeeded in piercing 4½-inch and 5-inch iron plates with a steel-headed *shell*; and if we may hazard a conjecture on the subject, we would predict that as wooden ships were rendered destructible by the invention of General Paixhans, who fired hollow shot from ships' guns, so it will be by explosive rather than by solid projectiles that iron-clads will eventually be attacked. This experiment has already been tried with a certain amount of success, not by any service gun, but by the experimental gun and projectile of Mr. Whitworth. It is described with great spirit by Sir Emerson Tennent:—

'The scene of action was transferred to another target, in order to test the encounter between stronger armour and shell of larger size from a gun of greater calibre. A Whitworth 70-pounder (but weighing only four tons) was next tried against a box-target seven feet in length by four feet broad, made to represent a section of the side and interior of a ship. The front was of wrought iron *four* inches in thickness covering nine inches of oak, and three feet behind it the back consisted of four inches of solid timber faced with two inches of iron plate. The shell, which weighed upwards of 68 lbs., with a bursting charge of 2½ lbs. of powder, was fired as before at 200 yards. It passed unbroken through the armour and teak, exploded against the plate which formed the back of the target; and bursting into large pieces, it drove out the sides, shattering the timber and iron of the box-target to fragments.

'This startling result, it is to be observed, was obtained by a gun of no unusual dimensions, being lighter than an ordinary 68-pounder, and with a charge only one-sixth the weight of the projectile.

'But the question still remained whether *five* inches of iron would suffice when *four* inches had failed, and whether safety would be insured by increasing the distance beyond *two hundred* yards. This

momentous issue was tried a few days later with the same result, but with a still more powerful gun, the Whitworth with a seven-inch bore made at Woolwich being now ready for trial. It was about twelve feet long, and of the calibre of seven inches.

'The target on this occasion was a new one, the same against which the Horsfall gun had just before been fired, twenty-one feet in length and fifteen feet high, representing "the Warrior's" side. Behind 4½ inches of armour-plate, there were eighteen inches of teak lined with iron ⅝ths of an inch thick, the whole supported by upright angle-irons at intervals of a foot and a half. The gun was laid at the distance of 600 yards, and after a few shots, to get the range, the grand trial began, the particulars of which cannot be better described than in the words of an eye-witness in communication with "The Times:"—"The first experimental shot, a solid "hexagon weighing 129 lbs., was fired with a charge of 23 lbs. of "powder, the piece being laid at half a degree of elevation. It "struck the left centre *within an inch of the white spot at which it* "*was aimed*, and at the instant of the tremendous concussion of the "metals, a bright sheet of flame was emitted, almost as if a gun had "been fired from the target in reply. The shot passed completely "through the armour-plate, shattering the teak beyond into minute "splinters. It struck full upon one of the massive vertical angle-"irons, which it tore in half as if it had been paper, driving the "screw-bolts and rivets in all directions. The shot, however, did "not pass *through* the target, but remained buried in the teak with "its flat head resting against the broken angle-iron. But the frac-"ture it made was much worse than a mere penetration. It was a "*smash*, not a hole; and the inner skin of the ship was bulged and "torn widely in many places, so that in the case of an actual vessel, "such a shot striking on the water-line would have made a leak that "nothing could stop. As regards the effect of these flat-fronted shot "on iron ships, this experiment was conclusive. Such a missile "against a wooden ship would have gone through both sides, making "a clean hole and doing little damage; but the iron, without pro-"tecting, offered only sufficient resistance to make the fracture, if "below the water-line, an irremediable mischief. The next experi-"ment was with a *shell* loaded with 3 lbs. 8 oz. of powder. The "total weight of this projectile was 131 lbs., and it was fired with a "charge of 25 lbs. of powder at the same range and elevation as the "shot. The effect astounded everyone. The previous *solid shot* at "600 yards was, for Whitworth, nothing very extraordinary; but to "get a *shell* through the target at the same range was regarded as "almost an impossibility. Yet the shell went completely through "everything, bursting apparently when it encountered the last re-"sistance of the inner skin, which the explosion blew completely "away; setting on fire for a moment the timber at the back, and "sending the bits of shell onward and over what, had it been 'the "Warrior' herself, would have been her main-deck; and, therefore, "right into the midst of her crew."' (*Tennent*, pp. 289–92.)

We do not intend to enter in this place upon the details of

the controversy between the partisans of the Armstrong system and the friends of Mr. Whitworth. They must be brought to the test of experiment, and in the meantime a full account of their rival merits has been given us by Sir Emerson Tennent, which it would be idle to seek to condense. There is great wisdom in the dictum of our late revered friend Sir Howard Douglas, that 'the comparative value and importance of the 'Armstrong and Whitworth guns (so essentially different in 'construction, dimensions, faculties, and aptitude, that they 'cannot be *equally* adapted to all the requirements of general 'service) can only be correctly estimated, fairly judged so far 'as they satisfy the principles of gunnery, and their real service 'uses proved by actual experiment and protracted trials under 'circumstances resembling as nearly as possible the require-'ments and vicissitudes of war.'*

But there is one part of the question on which we feel bound to record our opinion. We think that the Report of the Committee on rifled cannon in 1858, by which the Armstrong system was adopted, and the other systems virtually set aside, was not based upon a perfectly just and careful inquiry, and that the decision of the Government to act on that report to the full extent was precipitate. We think it still more unfortunate that the Government, having adopted the Armstrong system, should have consented to make the inventor of that system a member of the Ordnance Committee by which other men's inventions were to be judged, Engineer to the War Department, and Superintendent of the Royal Gun Factory. It would have been more creditable to the service, and more just to inventors, to have placed these duties in the hands of the men by whom the guns are to be used; and although we cannot say that the past labours of the Ordnance Committee or their minutes have given us a high opinion of their capacity, we doubt not that officers may be found in the service perfectly fit for the purpose. At the same time, we are convinced that no charge of unfairness or of interested motives can be brought against Sir W. Armstrong, though he is naturally solicitous to defend the system he has given to the world. Mr. Whitworth, left by the Government to his own resources, has shown an amount of mechanical genius and perseverance by no means inferior to the qualities of his more fortunate rival; and we believe him to have conceived more perfectly than Sir W. Armstrong the theory of modern ordnance. But the results at which he has hitherto arrived are as yet less complete and less durable. He has endeavoured

* Sir H. Douglas's 'Naval Gunnery,' last edition, p. 221.

to accomplish too many distinct purposes with the same gun; and the consequence is, that, although several of his pieces have performed marvellous feats of range, accuracy, and penetration, none of them has as yet been permanently successful. They have not entirely passed out of the experimental stage, but they contain the germ and the promise of results greater than any other artillerist has obtained in this country.

Without dwelling on this part of the subject, which is familiar to the public in many shapes, we shall now revert to the French ordnance, and endeavour to show what our neighbours have accomplished. In the construction of their heavy guns, the French have followed the same cautious, practical, and economical method which they had before pursued in reference to their artillery. Their practice is to transform the old *matériel*, not only with a view to save expense, but also to remain always armed. To be content with present results, but without renouncing future improvements—sedulously to conform to the conditions of military service—specially to adapt different guns to different objects, in the belief that no single class of gun can meet all requirements—these are their principles. Much has been done to give effect to them, and we think that in many respects they may be favourably contrasted with those which have prevailed in Pall Mall and at Woolwich.

And first to speak of siege guns. The French arsenals were rich in brass siege guns of the old calibres, and these have been transformed. For all descriptions of moveable artillery, the French have a decided predilection for this metal, which they more correctly term 'bronze,' and which has served in all modern wars down to the present time. The transformation of these pieces has produced a whole family of guns, including the old 12-kilo. field-gun, now made a gun of reserve and position; the old long 12-kilo. gun, now a fortress gun; the short 24-kilo. gun, and the 50-kilo. gun, both new siege guns. All these guns are of course rifled, and they fire nothing but hollow projectiles: the three 12-guns all fire exactly the same projectiles, though the charge of powder differs in each of them. The short 24-gun weighs 2,000 kilos. or two tons, and the charge is varied, according to the range required, up to a maximum of 2½ kilos. (5½ lbs. English) to carry 5,000 metres, for which distance the gun is sighted. The shell weighs 24-kilos. or 52 lbs. 12 oz. English, and it carries a bursting charge of one kilogramme, or 2 lbs. 3 oz. English. The long 24-gun only differs from the gun just described by its length and weight, which is three-quarters of a ton (740 kilos.) more. But the short gun can, by the construction of its carriage, be fired as a mortar. It is designed

to breach at a long range any of the revetments of fortifications now existing in the world, including even granite.

The new 50-gun does not weigh more than the short 24, that is, about 2 tons, and it is fired with the same charge of powder; but the weight of the projectile it throws is 51 kilogrammes, or 113 English pounds, and the bursting charge is 3·5 kilos. of powder (7 lbs. 13 oz. English). In case of an attack on works which might defy the 24-gun, the 50 would be brought up. From the low charge of powder with which it is fired, its penetration is of course less, but, from the explosive power of the projectile thrown, the destructive effect is much greater. Both these guns have the same carriage, which is an important simplification; and with six horses they accompany the movements of an army with much greater facility than an old siege train.

Last autumn a trial was made with these siege guns upon one of the forts that cover the harbour of La Rochelle, known as the Fort Liedot. This fort is a work *à la Vauban*, built of massive limestone masonry: its form is quadrangular with a front of about 100 metres. The ditch is 7 metres deep by 18 in breadth, and in order to render the trial more complete the crest of the glacis had been raised to the height of the parapet, so that the fort itself was totally invisible to the gunners about to attack it. The experiments made on this occasion were varied in character; they were under the direction of a committee of twelve general officers of artillery and engineers, and we understand that not less than 6,000 rounds were fired during the trial, at all ranges, and under different circumstances. The results were considered satisfactory, but of these experiments we are only in a condition to describe one at the present time. The 24 siege gun, at a range of 670 metres (735 yards), with a charge of 800 grammes of powder (1¾ lb.), made a breach of 10 metres in length in the wall of masonry of the fort (which was not visible from the gun) in rather more than 300 rounds, and a detachment of infantry with its arms and accoutrements was enabled to scale the wall in double-quick time. The result might have been arrived at still more rapidly, if about 50 of the shells had not failed to burst, from that imperfection of the fuze which has caused both to French and English military engineers more trouble than any other detail of their art. It is evident that, as the fire in this instance was directed against an invisible object—that is, a work hidden by its glacis—the trajectory of the projectiles must have been extremely high; this circumstance, followed by so marked a result, tells in favour of the precision and regularity of the French gun. At a greater distance the

operation would have been, probably, more easy; and it may be questioned whether Fort Sumter would long resist a fire of this nature, due, not to the enormous weight of projectiles or to the force of penetration, but rather to their explosive power.

Following the same principles and the same course of proceeding, a cannon has been constructed by the French artillerists, expressly for the service of coast defence, which is not less worthy of remark. This gun is, in fact, one of the old iron Paixhans cannon-mortars of 22 centimetres bore, which had been totally thrown aside since the introduction of rifled ordnance. It has been rifled, hooped with steel, mounted on a new revolving platform, which moves with such ease that one man can turn the gun, and the gunner would be able to cover a ship in the offing as effectually as a sportsman covers a partridge. This old-fashioned Paixhans gun is now converted into a new mortar-cannon, capable of throwing hollow projectiles of 170 lbs. weight charged with 7 lbs. of powder, to a distance of 6,000 or 7,000 yards. The charge of the gun is regulated by the range required of it, but since it has been hooped with steel, the charge has been carried up to 5 kilos., about 11 pounds of gunpowder. The whole weight of the gun, including the turning table and all that belongs to it, is about 14 tons; but it is so ingeniously constructed and so extremely handy, that three men suffice to work the piece. This gun underwent a series of trials at the firing-ground of Satory, near Versailles, without exhibiting the slightest flaw; and so accurate was the firing that at a distance of 3,500 yards—the full extent of the range to be got in that place—all the shots fired struck within a space of 11 metres by 22, or 36 by 72 English feet. The object of the gun being to hit a ship at sea with tolerable certainty, this gun has sufficient precision for that purpose.

The system of hooping and rifling iron guns, which has not yet succeeded, and still remains to be thoroughly tried, in England, has succeeded in France. It has not indeed converted the old *thirties* of the French navy into perfect weapons of war, but it has enabled the French marine to convert to modern uses an immense quantity of *matériel* otherwise useless — to give to these guns many of the advantages of rifled guns—and to increase their power to a degree far exceeding that which they had as smooth-bore guns. When the Duke of Somerset speaks of the old 68-pounder as still our best naval gun, the question arises whether any improvement can be made in the smooth 68-pounder by altering its present conditions. The English Admiralty think not: the French marine answer the question very confidently in the affirmative, and have armed

their iron-clad ships with rifled guns in consequence. Nevertheless, Lord Clarence Paget still declares in the House of Commons that they are 'not liked by French officers,' and exclaims with touching simplicity, 'Give us, oh, give us a good, 'plain, wholesome smooth-bore.'

It is admitted that these guns (like all other guns now afloat) cannot be expected to produce much effect against iron-clad ships. But we are able to state that these hooped and rifled iron 'thirties' are capable of supporting a charge which enables them to throw a shot of solid steel through 4½-inch iron plates, at a distance of 100 metres; and likewise to lodge solid steel shot in the plates at distances from 250 to 300 metres. For all the other purposes of war these French rifled and hooped ship guns, with a charge of 7¾ lbs. (3½ kilos.) of powder, and at an elevation of 33 degrees, will throw to a range of 7,000 yards, and even greater distances, hollow projectiles of the weight of 30 kilos. (66 lbs.) carrying a bursting charge of 3 lbs. of powder. And in respect both of range and of accuracy, we have reason to believe that these guns will be found to surpass the smooth-bore 68-pounder, throwing solid shot. When the charge is raised to 7½ kilos. (16 lbs. 7 oz.), in order to fire solid steel bolts of 45 kilos. (99 lbs.), it has been found that these guns cannot fire more than 200 or 300 rounds without giving way; but that is about the limit assigned to our own 68-pounders before the Ordnance Committee. With lower charges and a projectile of inferior weight, this hooped and rifled 'thirty gun,' which had been originally intended to carry spherical shot of 32 lbs. weight with a charge of 11 lbs. of powder, is found in France to be a durable and valuable weapon. Some of them have been destroyed or burst by excessive firing in the trials to which they have been subjected; but we find on inquiry that only two accidents have occurred since these guns have been in use in the French navy, and both these accidents were caused by the explosion of the shell before it left the gun, owing to some derangement of the fuze; no mischief was done in either case. These iron guns braced together with steel hoops, whose elasticity yields with the expansion and contraction of the metal of the gun, are not found to burst, but when they are worn out they give way gradually, insomuch that we are assured by an eyewitness that in the French arsenals he has seen a hooped gun so warped by frequent discharges, that it resembled the staves of a cask flying off under the action of the sun, but still held together by the hoops round the barrel. The cannon which was used in 1858 by the French to determine the degree of

resistance that might be obtained from hooped guns, was subjected to the following trials. Before it was rifled at all, this gun fired 2,000 rounds with a charge of 11 lbs. of powder, without wads, the ball resting on the cartridge; it then fired 100 rounds with a charge of 16 lbs. of powder, double-shotted; after this preamble, as the gun was still sound, it was rifled, and then underwent a series of trials with excessive charges to prove the recoil of the piece; these it resisted for 60 or 70 rounds more before it was done for; and even then the hoops, being uninjured, were taken off and applied to another piece.

These trials present a most astonishing contrast to the results of the attempts made at Woolwich to strengthen iron guns. A return is given in the Ordnance Report of 1863 (Appendix 62) of the strengthened cast-iron guns tested in experiments since 1858. Twenty-two cases are given in this return, in every one of which the gun burst. But it seems that in all these cases the hoops were of cast-iron, of wrought iron, or of gun-metal: there is no evidence that steel hoops have ever been tried at all.* The French gunmakers failed in just the same manner as long as they attempted to strengthen cast iron with wrought iron: they have succeeded since they have used steel, taking care that it is coiled spirally round the gun, and not exposed to the direct action of the gas generated by the explosion. They have not indeed attained to the highest charges or the highest rates of initial velocity with these hooped guns, but they have accomplished what it was reasonable to expect; they have used the whole of the old *matériel* of both army and navy; and they have enormously increased the power which these same guns had before they were rifled. In the evidence before the Ordnance Committee the greatest stress is constantly laid upon very high charges and great initial velocity as indispensable conditions, and they are so for many purposes; but it is perfectly well known that effects may be obtained from a rifled gun with a lower charge superior to those of a smooth-bore gun throwing the same weight of metal with a higher charge. Moreover, in the French system the result depends quite as much on the bursting charge contained in the hollow

* Mr. Whitworth offered, in August 1859, to hoop guns for the War Department, probably with what he terms 'homogeneous metal,' a sort of steel; but the offer was not accepted. A further trial is urgently required on this subject. The discussion at the Institution of Civil Engineers in December 1860 throws considerable light upon it; and Mr. Bashley Britten in particular proved to what an extent cast-iron guns may be increased in range and accuracy by the simple process of rifling.

projectile, and also on the diameter of the bore, as on the force with which the shell itself is thrown.

But the improvements in French ordnance have not stopped here. The breech-loading system had been deliberately rejected by the French Board of Artillery as a needless complication for field-guns; but they readily acknowledged its manifest advantages if it could be applied to heavy ordnance. It protects the men working the guns from fire directed at embrasures or portholes; it economises space in the narrow compass of casemated batteries or ships' decks; it greatly increases the ease and rapidity with which a heavy gun can be worked and fired. These are advantages well worth a considerable exertion, and the French have endeavoured to accomplish the desired object after their own fashion. They began by sawing off the breech of an old cast-iron gun; in the aperture thus formed they cut a female screw to receive a cylindrical plug, mounted in front with a stopper of elastic steel, and revolving on portions of a screw which fit the female screw in the breech. At the rear of the gun a bracket supports the breech-piece, when it is moved backwards and forwards, to open or to close the gun. This movement is given by a lever acting between two pegs or stops, against which it abuts sharply, so as to indicate at once to the men working the gun the true position of the breech-piece.

More than 20,000 rounds have been fired with breech-loading heavy guns on this principle, and only one accident has yet occurred. It is true this accident was a most distressing one. It happened on board the gunnery ship, the 'Montebello:' one man was killed and seventeen wounded. But it was proved on careful investigation that the mischief was caused entirely by the carelessness of ignorant gunners in not closing the breech with the lever: the consequence was that the internal plug or stopper was blown out. This accident, therefore, proves nothing at all against the gun. It is stated, on the contrary, in the most positive manner, that in the whole course of ordinary service, and in the trials previously made to prove the strength of the breech apparatus, it has never given way. Yet these trials have been extraordinary. For example: a long 24 breech-loading gun was loaded with 6 kilos. (13¼ lbs.) of powder, then a solid bolt of 50 lbs., then six spherical solid shot, with wads, a circular iron wedge, and six more spherical solid shot separated in like manner: the gun was fired, it did not burst, and the breech remained as good as ever. The identical gun which occasioned the accident on board the 'Montebello' has been restored to the service and repeatedly fired, with devices of all kinds to discover whether the breech apparatus

was in fault, but in vain; the gun is still in perfect order. Guns have been burst by excessive charges, without shaking this breech mechanism, which has afterwards been transferred uninjured to other pieces. Such is the advantage of these cannons on board ship in point of facility of working, that the number of men attached to each of the big guns has now been reduced by the regulations of the French navy from 14 to 8; and as for rapidity of fire, in a trial made on board 'La Gloire,' 50 rounds per gun were fired with sufficient accuracy at an average of 26 seconds each round. Moreover, this gun has the considerable advantage that it loads equally well from the breech and from the muzzle.

We do not know whether these particulars are new to His Grace the Duke of Somerset, and the Board of Admiralty, but they certainly were not submitted to the House of Commons Committee by His Grace. On the contrary, he stated, 'All our 'reports are that the French gun *was a very bad gun, and that* '*it was almost valueless.*' The only reports which are of any value are authentic records of experiments. If the Admiralty have any such authentic reports of experiments with the French naval guns, we hope they will be produced. We have produced a series of facts of a contrary tendency, upon evidence which we have the strongest possible reasons to believe to be strictly accurate; and, as the Duke of Somerset himself falls back on the old 68-pounder smooth-bore, and admits that the Armstrong 100-pounder is unsatisfactory, the impression upon our minds is that the armament of our iron-clads and other ships of war is at this time inferior to that of the French—a question, it will be admitted, of the most vital consequence to this country; and we shall heartily rejoice if it can be shown that the relation of the two systems of naval artillery is not what we take it to be. At any rate, we know with certainty that no doubt whatever is entertained by the highest authorities in France as to the superiority of their own naval guns; and as everything on the subject is published and exhibited in this country, while nothing is published or seen in France, they have this advantage in forming their opinion, that they can know every detail of our system, and we have hitherto known very little of theirs.

It now only remains for us to dispose of what the French have done in artillery of the largest dimensions, in which their proceedings have been less complete. It was assumed in 1859, when these experiments were ordered, that 4½-inch iron plates were the maximum of weight which a sea-going ship could carry, and that they would suffice to protect the vessel. In 1861 the first actual experiments took place, and two guns were allowed to

compete. Both of them were of cast steel, hammered, hooped, and loading at the breech: the first, called 'La Nivernaise,' weighed 5,500 kilos. or five tons and a half, and was rifled in 3 grooves; the second, called 'La Marie Jeanne,' weighed 6 tons, and was rifled in 12 grooves. The first had one row of hoops on it, the second had two. These pieces were fired with charges of 12 kilos. (26 lbs. 7 oz.) of powder, throwing solid projectiles of 45 kilos. (99 lbs.), with which they pierced the 4½-inch plates at the distance of 1,093 yards—this range was the maximum fixed for the trial, and is held to be the maximum required of a marine gun. After about 80 rounds the 'Nivernaise' was done for; but having fired 280 rounds, the 'Marie Jeanne' was still uninjured, and it was then that this piece underwent the curious experiment of boring holes in it, to show the effect of allowing the gases to escape, which we described in a former part of this article. These trials were made in August 1861: they are the same referred to by Captain Blakely in his evidence, he being the only witness before the House of Commons Committee who seems to have heard of them. So far the French artillerists had proceeded at that time in their attempt to combine the maximum of power with the minimum of weight and size, these being the essential conditions of naval ordnance. Since then no further progress has been made, chiefly, as we are given to understand, by reason of the want of cordial co-operation between departments of Government. In France the Ministry of Marine has the exclusive control over the manufacture of iron guns and of guns designed for sea service. It is not as in this country, where the whole Ordnance forms in reality a distinct branch, now attached to the War Office and under the control of the Secretary of State for War. The naval authorities of France, therefore, saw with some jealousy innovations introduced into their service by military officers, and more especially by Colonel Treuille de Beaulieu, who is the chief inventor of all the cannons, both field-guns and heavy guns, that we have here described, and was sent on that account by the Emperor to the Great Exhibition in London in 1862, to report on arms and accoutrements of war.*

These differences led to the postponement of the experiments in hollow projectiles from heavy guns, which were contemplated three years ago, but it appears that they are now likely to be

* Colonel Treuille's Report is published in the second volume of the Reports of the French Commissioners, which have been admirably edited by M. Michel Chevalier.

resumed under the direction of General Lebœuf, an officer of the highest distinction and the new President of the Board of Artillery. General Lebœuf is an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, and he was the commander-in-chief of the artillery in the campaign of Italy in 1859. He is therefore a warm and able supporter of the new French system; but it is due to the Emperor himself to add that rifled ordnance would never have made the progress it has in France, if it had not been for the persevering, intelligent, and sagacious personal attention His Majesty has given to the subject. It is not an exaggeration to say that he has made it one of the chief occupations of his reign, and it is not unreasonable to believe that the results arrived at are commensurate with his exertions. We are aware that the French naval administration has also continued its experiments since 1861, but we are unacquainted with the results of these trials. There is, however, reason to believe that in France, as well as in America and in England, a certain number of monster guns, weighing 12, 15, and even 20 tons, have been constructed. Our readers will have already perceived that we do not attach to these enormous pieces of ordnance the importance which it is the fashion to give them. Their cost is enormous, their duration questionable, their application to the purposes of war limited. We hold it therefore to be no progress in the science of artillery, but rather the reverse, to supply quality by size, and to make guns enormous before it is certain that they are good. All civilised nations are now, we lament to say, turning their scientific skill and mechanical ingenuity to the improvement of the engines of war, and we have no doubt that the resources of this country will enable us to hold our own in this contest. But for want of a judicious and uniform direction by competent persons, acting on behalf of the Government, many costly mistakes have been made; let us hope that the most fatal of all errors will not be added to them—that, namely, of flattering ourselves that we have already attained to unrivalled superiority over the rest of the world.

ART. VIII.—*History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.* By JOHN FOSTER KIRK. Vols. I. and II. London: 1863.

THE episode of history which these volumes undertake to set forth is one of the most dramatic which any age or any country has produced. The conflict of the new and the old, the antagonism of rival systems of government, of incompatible interests and ambitions, was never exhibited to the world embodied in more characteristic actors or on a more imposing stage; and from act to act of the great drama the incidents increase in rapidity of succession and in grandeur, until the chief personage of the scene ends his impetuous and bloodstained career by a catastrophe as tragic and as terrible as poetical justice could have invented. Never, moreover, were two principles so fairly tested and arrayed against each other as feudalism and the spirit of modern government in the persons of Charles the Bold and Louis XI.; never the duality of contrast so strongly marked. Feudalism, like our daily luminary, appeared in grander state just before its setting—and, like some tropical plant, it seemed to have waited to produce its most luxuriant and gorgeous magnificence in the House of Burgundy, and to have perished in the production. The figure of Charles, as portrayed by the Burgundian chroniclers, with stern and warlike features, mailed in armour of steel, with jewelled helmet and lion crest, with mantle of velvet sprinkled with diamonds and rubies, seated on a steed of matchless beauty, whose very bridle and caparison blazed with gold and precious stones, imposes on the imagination. While nothing can be more mean than the appearance of his adversary, the representative of the new system which was to substitute policy for pageantry, and the influence of intelligence for the lawless anarchy of force. Louis made but a sorry figure in an age noted for its splendour, with his scanty fustian raiment, his shabby hat, and the wooden beads and leaden ornaments of a pilgrim. His countenance, in its lean and withered pallor, looked, we are told, like that of a leper. His entire absence of morality, and the grovelling superstition of his mind, enhanced the repulsiveness of his person; and it would appear as though nature had intended to show in the one case how vital and enduring was the principle represented, in spite of its unattractive exterior, and how utterly effete was the other as a social and national element of power, in spite of the gilded splendour with which it was clothed and surrounded.

Never was there a time when the ancient animating principles and forces of society had so utterly departed, leaving nothing

behind them but empty forms, displayed with unblushing effrontery in the service of hypocrisy and intrigue. Chivalry was but a name, although its parade was more extravagant than ever. Vows for undertaking a crusade against the Infidels still continued to be taken, but as a mere excuse for magnificent feastings, joustings, banquets, revelry and voluptuous enjoyments. Feudalism was everywhere in open revolt against its suzerain—that is, against itself. Morals and religion had been entirely divorced, and, as in the case of Louis XI., a degrading observance of superstitious rites was considered capable of expiating all violations of the most sacred, moral, and social duties. Fraud and perjury were rules of action; treachery, assassination, and fratricide were the common expedients of princes. That policy which now passes by the name of Machiavelli, was but the ordinary practice of rulers long before his time; neither was it peculiar to Italy. Alfonso of Castille, Ferdinand of Aragon, Louis XI., Warwick, *l'homme le plus subtil de son vivant*, were fully the rivals of the Sforzas and the Medici; and the moral obtuseness of Philip de Comines is not surpassed by that of the author of the 'Principe.' But in Italy, from the intricate diplomatic relations of the various states, as well as from the political genius of the people, the science of politics and diplomacy in the modern sense was in a greater degree of forwardness than elsewhere; and Louis XI., who had an almost prophetic instinct of the principles of modern government, looked with eagerness to the Sforzas and the members of the Venetian council for lessons in the new statecraft. To Francesco Sforza he applied for advice at many a difficult crisis in his career, and he placed himself under the tuition of three Venetians, for whom he sent in order to be instructed in their method of government. The character of the age thus reflected in its princes is still more apparent in the character of its literature, of which the 'Chronique of Jehan de 'Saintré,' the farce 'Patelin,' the 'Cent Nouvelles of Louis XI.,' were the most admired productions: cynicism, trickery, and licentiousness are always victorious, and they exhibit a dark contrast with the simple faith of the Trouvères and the romantic grandeur of the heroes of mediæval fiction. In the whole of the fifteenth century not a single character is found to interest the feelings or attract sympathy—not one figure is free from the dark obliquity of the epoch: the age opens, indeed, with the pure and poetic apparition of Joan of Arc; but her career and destiny proved how entirely incomprehensible to her countrymen was such an example of patriotism and devotion. Never hardly did the prospects of humanity seem more gloomy than

in the middle of the century, when the news of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks convulsed Europe. Tyranny, corruption, and fraud seemed enthroned immutably in Church and State, the moral sense extinguished, and the intellect hopelessly sterile and degraded; just as the press commenced its revivifying influence, the Reformation loosened the bands of superstition from the soul, and the new birth of arts and letters opened fresh regions to the mind, as Columbus did to the physical energies of man.

Between the old and the new epochs, however, there is a transition period of about thirty years, commencing with the taking of Constantinople, which marks the termination of mediæval history. This interregnum is occupied by the great contest of the House of Burgundy and France. At its commencement the Burgundian power was in the noonday of the prosperity which it had attained under the peaceful sway of Philip the Good. Inheriting the rich possessions of the ancient Counts of Flanders, the Dukes of Burgundy surpassed in pomp and splendour all that the gorgeous taste of the emblazoned times of chivalry had invented; their etiquette and state ceremonials were of surpassing majesty, and were afterwards adopted by Austria and Spain. The Duke was styled the Great Duke of the 'Occident,' and was the founder and chief of the splendid order of the Golden Fleece, which numbered kings among its members. The chapters were held in the splendid cathedral of St. Bavon, where the Duke sat beneath a canopy of gold in front of the high altar embellished by the genius of Van Eyck, like Arthur among his knights, or Charlemagne among his peers. The Pope appealed to him for aid as to the fountain-head of chivalry; and an entertainment called the *vœu du faisan,* and intended to inaugurate a new crusade, which was given by Philip in consequence of such an appeal immediately after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, obtained immense celebrity. The gorgeous Flemish festival was such as none but the glowing colours and rich imagination of a Rubens could duly represent. It was held in an immense hall, surrounded by five tiers of galleries for the spectators, who were required to be masked. Three tables of immense length were ranged in the hall; on one the central ornament was a fortress of enormous size, flanked by a tower, and attacked by a besieging army. On another, a church holding within it an organ and a choir of singers; and on the third a mammoth pasty, in which were concealed twenty-eight musicians. All the arrangements were in the same monstrous and gigantic proportions. In the intervals of the banquet, the courses of which, placed in chariots

of gold and azure, were rolled along by machinery, the company was diverted with music and the exhibition of flying griffins and dragons, and such monsters as we see in a Christmas pantomime. At last an elephant entered the hall, conducted by a Saracen giant. On the back of the beast was a tower, in which sat a lady weeping, in religious and mourning attire, representing the Holy Church, and imploring the knights, in poetic strain, to swear upon the pheasant to hasten to her succour. When the pheasant (the bird of chivalry) was brought, there were no limits to the enthusiasm with which the Duke and all his guests hypothetically devoted themselves to the crusade. At such festivals assembled from time to time all the chief princes and nobles of Europe, proud to share the boundless hospitality of the Duke of Burgundy, and never weary of admiring his gold and silver vessels, his rich tapestries, his paintings, his illuminated volumes, his accumulated treasures, his crucifixes, reliquaries, and chased works of gold, and his collection of jewels, which for size, brilliancy, and number was the most celebrated in the world. But shrewd observers, such as the Venetian or Milanese ambassadors, admired still more the wonderful country of the Netherlands, of whose prosperity this magnificence and wealth was but the symbol. The florid and exuberant Flemish nature is as visible in the extravagance of these festivals as it is in the pictures of the grandest of their artists.

For the towns of Flanders surpassed the rest of the towns of Europe in wealth and abundance as much as the dukes surpassed other princes. The Netherlands were then the mart and workshop of the whole earth. Their rich stuffs of satin and velvet, their cunning workmanship in wood, iron, copper and gold, found a way into all lands, and the brands of the manufactures of their chief towns were as well known in Cairo and Damascus as in London or Madrid. In the mart of Bruges were heaped the products of the whole earth; the spices of the East were exchanged for the amber and product of the fisheries of the Baltic. Nor was the wealth of these great towns their only characteristic; the artificers were as well acquainted with the use of pike and sword as with the instruments of labour. The lusty and turbulent spirit of freedom had secured for them privileges and charters which they well knew how to defend in the field; before Morgarten and before Cressy they had shown in the great rout of Courtrai what mere '*vilains*' could effect on foot against the proudest and most numerous of European aristocracies: the example of their struggles for independence had a contagious influence throughout the continent, and the *chaperon*

blanc of Ghent was adopted as the badge of freedom by the citizens of Paris.

Possessing these rich and populous regions of Flanders, the dukes could afford to leave almost untaxed their ancestral dominions of the two Burgundies, which supplied them only with troops. Nevertheless, amid all their riches and power, the anomaly of their position as vassals of the crown of France grew more and more apparent with the growth of the two countries. Even while the Duke sat as head of the chapter of the *Toison d'Or*, in more than the pomp and pride of a sovereign, he might receive a legal summons from a black-robed usher of the Parliament of Paris. The diversity of races under his rule, which made his dominions the Austria of the middle ages, increased the difficulties of his position. That such difficulties might have been overcome, and the power of the House of Burgundy placed on a firm and independent basis, is fully possible, especially at a time when the characteristics of nationality were less strongly marked than they are now; but in any case great political tact and prudence, or very great military genius, could alone have accomplished it. Charles the Bold attempted to solve the problem without either of these qualities, and the history of his disastrous career we have now to consider.

The calamitous conflicts of the royalty of France with the *sires des fleurs de lys*, as her great feudatories of royal blood were called, were prepared by the improvidence of the first Valois, who renewed the system of granting large provinces in *apanage* to the younger sons of the royal family, a practice of which the wisest of the Capetian monarchs had seen the pernicious consequences, and which they had endeavoured to abolish. The most fatal of such errors, however, was that by which the House of Burgundy was created, or rather re-created, by John, the second Prince of the Valois race. The Duchy of Burgundy, established by the Capetian dynasty, had become extinct in the person of Philip de Rouvres, a descendant of a younger branch of the former royal line, on whom the duchy was first conferred. Had John followed the example of Louis le Gros, Philip Augustus, or Louis IX., he would have regarded this as a happy accident, and united the duchy for ever to the crown of France. But in a blind fit of affection for his youngest son Philip, who had fought by his side at Poictiers, he created afresh for him the feudal sovereignty of Burgundy, subject to the usual conditions of homage and reversion to the crown. Philip le Hardi, thus first duke of the new line, sought and obtained in marriage Margaret, the widow of Philip de Rouvres, the last holder of the duchy—a marriage of policy which raised his power at

once to the level of any European sovereignty, since Margaret was not only the daughter and heiress of Louis van Male, Count of Flanders and Artois, but as widow of Philip de Rouvres, added to this magnificent dowry the sovereignty of Franche Comté, a fief of the Empire.

During the reign of Charles V., whose surname of the Wise or the Learned rightly characterises his superiority of intelligence among the unlettered chieftains of a feudal age, while the spirit of the weakly monarch reigned supreme in the cabinet, and the arm of Bertrand du Guesclin conquered in the field and liberated the soil of France from the feet of English invasion and the brigandage of the Great Company, Philip the Bold played no more than a subordinate part together with the other Princes of the Blood. But when Charles VI. succeeded to the throne, on the premature death of his father in 1380, a period arrived in which the crown remained without defence against the encroaching ambition of its vassals. During his long and disastrous reign of forty-two years, he was king only in name; for the first eight years after his accession he was in minority, and during the last thirty years of his life, he was in a state of hopeless lunacy, with brief intervals of reason. The royal power and the welfare of France were at the mercy of the intrigues of the uncles of the king, among whom Philip assumed and kept the pre-eminence; great, however, as had been the evil which Philip the Bold had wrought upon France, it was insignificant compared with that entailed by his son John the Fearless.

The unhappy king living in confinement, unwashed, unshorn, flying into fury upon his attendants, and throwing himself upon his food like a wolf, seemed but a type of the general disorder of the public mind. John the Fearless succeeded to his father's place in the royal council, but his sombre, taciturn, and morose nature was exasperated by the rival influence of the Duke of Orleans, brother of the king—a prince endowed with all the graces of person and manners calculated to win the smiles of ladies and the favour of the court. John the Fearless, on the other hand, following in the later steps of his father, sought to ingratiate himself with the citizens of Paris, who were during this period in a normal state of revolt in defence of their rights and privileges, and to resist the incessant demands of the royal exchequer. Private jealousy, as was said, from the intimacy of Louis of Orleans with the Duchess of Burgundy, inflamed in the breast of the Duke the spirit of public rivalry to deadly animosity, until urged, as he himself avowed, by the promptings of the Evil One, he caused his rival to be assassinated, with

circumstances of great ferocity, shortly after a reconciliation had been effected between them, in token of which they had taken the Sacrament together, and sworn to love and fraternity. From that period until the murder of John himself at the famous interview with the Dauphin on the bridge of Montereau, France was a theatre of horrors which have hardly their parallel in the whole course of history. The inhuman warfare of the Burgundians and Armagnacs literally converted the most fertile tracts of France into deserts. Roads disappeared—arable land was overgrown with brambles and forests. None dared to live except within walled towns. Wolves feasted in the streets of Paris, and the desolation of the capital exceeded that denounced on the doomed cities of Holy Writ.* To such calamities were added, through the instrumentality of John the Fearless, those of the English invasion. Azincourt was the Cannæ of the nobility of France, and John the Fearless was as fatal in his death as he had been in life to his country. Through the death-wound in his skull, it was said, the English entered the gates of Paris.

That sanguinary deed of vengeance and treachery was, indeed, more advantageous to the English than many victories. Philip the new Duke, in revenge of his father's murder, formed a close alliance with Henry V., and accepted without scruple the very conditions which the English monarch had been unable to impose upon John the Fearless. During the two following years till the time of the death of Henry V. in 1422, Philip was actively engaged on the English side; and one of the last injunctions of the King was to preserve the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy. It was not long, however, before causes of misunderstanding arose.

Philip was apprehensive of the establishment of a foreign power in the country, powerful enough to be independent of his support; he had endured much slighting treatment, and a great breach of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance was caused by the death of Anne of Burgundy, his sister, the wife of the great Duke of Bedford, who so worthily succeeded his royal brother in the regency of France. The enthusiasm of Joan of Arc, the purest incarnation of sanctity and heroism which it was ever given to any nation to exhibit, changed the current of English victory. To the Duke himself Joan appealed in a pathetic letter *à mains jointes*, to have pity upon France,

* Many of our readers will doubtless call to mind the very powerful picture of this revolting period of French history drawn by Mr. Henry Taylor in his last tragedy 'St. Clement's Eve.'

immediately after the warrior maiden had led her king triumphantly to his coronation at Reims. Philip, however, was about this time celebrating at Bruges his third marriage with Isabella of Portugal, the mother of Charles the Bold; in whose honour he gave feasts and tournaments of the noted Burgundian magnificence, and instituted the celebrated order of the *Toison d'Or.* And it was not until four years after Joan had been betrayed to martyrdom by an ungrateful king and envious favourites, that Philip, weary of the war and the immense expenditure which it entailed, concluded the Treaty of Arras in 1435 with Charles VII., and dictated terms to his sovereign as a conqueror. While the arrangements were proceeding for this treaty, news were received of the death of the Duke of Bedford. Notwithstanding, however, the loss of that great support of the English power and the defection of Philip, eighteen long years ensued before the invasion came to an end in France, with the surrender of Bordeaux and the death of the brave Talbot, who for forty years had made war upon French soil.

No sooner were the English removed, than France and royalty found themselves face to face with Burgundy and feudalism. Subjects of dispute could not long be wanting between two powers not unequally matched, whose respective positions were so ill defined, and whose relations were so inextricably intermingled. Even when the news arrived at the Burgundian court of the descent of Talbot upon Guienne, one of the Duke's nearest confidants exclaimed, 'Would that the English were 'now in Rouen and in all Normandy!' For Philip at that very time was engaged in arms against his city of Ghent, which had appealed to the King as sovereign and protector of her privileges, and had at this very time his ambassadors within her walls. During the long period, however, which intervened between the Treaty of Arras and the death of Charles VII., the rivalry of the two were confined to the limits of jealous diplomacy and remonstrance. The policy of Philip was on the whole a policy of peace, and his dominions enjoyed a state of prosperity surpassing that of every other principality of Europe. In his reign of nearly fifty years, the splendour, power, and wealth of the House of Burgundy reached its apogee of grandeur, and the province of Flanders its greatest felicity.

The incongruous relations, however, of the courts of France and Burgundy became still more complicated by the refuge afforded by Duke Philip to the Dauphin, who, after having taken up arms against his father at eighteen, in the faction of the *Praguerie*, remained ever afterwards at variance with the King. This

strange character lived or affected to live in constant suspicion of the designs of Charles VII. and his counsellors against himself; he believed that the King entertained a project of settling the descent of the crown upon his brother the Duc de Berri—and declared that he stood in fear of secret assassination or perpetual imprisonment,—a fear which had some colour of justification, inasmuch as he was himself suspected of having poisoned Agnes Sorel, his father's mistress. Louis having obtained leave of absence from the court for four months, had, as Charles complained, stayed away for ten years. Of late he had entrenched himself in his government of Dauphiny, and found vent for his ceaseless activity in the independent administration of his province. He had married the daughter of the Duke of Savoy in defiance of the objections of his father, and he scouted the royal mandates when the Dauphinois appealed to the latter against the arbitrary rule of their governor; at length when the patience of Charles was exhausted, an army was sent against him. Louis then fled and sought the protection of Philip at Brussels; writing to the King, that at the request of the Holy Father, he was gone to join 'his fair uncle of Bur-'gundy, who was about to make war upon the Turks for the 'defence of the Catholic faith.' Charles VII., on hearing of the hospitable reception of his son by his vassal, said, 'He has 'received a fox who will eat up his chickens.'

It was indeed a strange caprice of destiny which thus placed the prince, who was the incarnation of all that was anti-feudal and anti-chivalrous, at the very court which was regarded as the fountain-head of all the feudalism and chivalry of the time. It was, as Michelet observes, a new episode of the fable of Renard and Isengrin. The Dauphin, humble, repentant, submissive, patient, amiable in excess, was in the house of his enemy, ingratiating himself with his ministers, playing the peace-maker in family differences, observant of court intrigues, watching quietly everything and everybody, and, above all, making himself thoroughly acquainted with the character of his sombre and tragic cousin, the Count of Charolais, the Heir of Burgundy, the great rival of his life. The Dauphin was now thirty-three years of age, while the Count of Charolais was ten years younger—and this disparity of years is of itself deeply significant. Louis, whose mission it was to supplant the old rule of tumultuous violence by modern state-craft and organisation, required more time for his faculties and judgment to ripen, to acquire that knowledge of things, men, and policy necessary to the accomplishment of his schemes. While his adversary, who was to represent the old reign, could best carry out his

schemes with the vigour and passion of early youth. The one, moreover, was the son of adversity, the other of prosperity. The Dauphin was born at the time that his father was styled with ridicule by his enemies 'the monarch of Bourges,' and dined with his captains as sparely as any respectable citizen; as a youth his pension had been but ten crowns a month, and early acquaintance with hardship and misfortune had quickened his intelligence and subdued all passions but those coincident with his policy.

The six years which Louis spent in exile in the court of Burgundy passed peacefully away. The two aged princes made war upon each other solely by embassy—both having intractable sons, against whom it gave them full occupation to be on their guard. But even in revolt against paternal authority the two heirs-apparent displayed their essentially different natures. Louis remained entirely aloof from his parent, and treated his remonstrances with a mock deference and protestations of filial affection which showed that he had no heart at all. While the Count of Charolais's disputes with his father arose from a stubborn will and a violent temper, aroused by jealousy of the Croys, the Duke's favourites and ministers, and always admitted of reconciliation. Louis in these family difficulties kept friends with both parties; and generally the part he played both with princes and with courtiers was that of excessive good fellowship and condescension,—riding, hunting, hawking with all; telling and hearing broad tales and jests, and even borrowing money here and there, on note of hand. But the time arrived at which it was to be seen what reality there was behind this supple and insinuating character. Charles VII. died, and the old Duke of Burgundy escorted his guest to his coronation at Reims with all the pomp and splendour of the Burgundian court. Indeed, so vast was the state of the Duke, so dazzling the blaze of diamonds and jewellery not only on his person but on the bridle and trappings of his steed, which swept the very ground, that he looked like an emperor by the side of the King, in spite of his white steed and his suit of crimson and satin. All the magnificence which surrounded him, both at Reims and at Paris—the gorgeous nobles, archers, and men-at-arms, the very plate of his coronation banquet—was provided by Philip; and the King took a malicious pleasure in humouring the vanity and love of ostentation of the old prince to its very extremity. Though the heir of the throne of France was by custom a *chevalier* from his baptism, he insisted at the coronation on being knighted by his vassal, and after making a few knights himself, handed the sword to Philip, on pretence that the fatigue was

too much for him. But in spite of his effusive expressions of gratitude and humility, he took every opportunity of turning all this display into ridicule. At the coronation banquet he took his crown off as though too heavy for him, and placed it by his side; and instead of conversing with the great noblemen about him, talked familiarly with one Philippe Pot, who stood behind his chair, a gentleman of Burgundy, a *subtil et joyeux confrère.* Stranger still was the trick he played at the splendid tournament given by the Duke during his stay at Paris. After the Count of Charolais and all the great *seigneurs* had well jousted and displayed their elaborate armour, blazing jewellery, and gorgeous plumes before the astounded populace, a champion of uncouth aspect entered the lists, himself and steed grotesquely accoutred in rough skins: this bold spearsman attacked one after another the noble jousters, so that nothing stood before him.* He was in fact a man-at-arms, hired by the King, who enjoyed the discomfiture of this holiday chivalry from behind a window in company with certain ladies of Paris, and thus anticipated in effigy his treatment of the spurious feudalism of the age.

Before, however, the Duke had withdrawn his Burgundian pomp from the Hôtel d'Artois and the wondering eyes of the populace of Paris, Louis had doffed his coronation suit and put on that mean apparel to which he adhered his whole life long,—a sort of pilgrim garb, of grey fustian with a short cape of the same material and travelling boots, a shabby hat with a leaden image of the Virgin attached to it, and a rosary of wooden beads round his neck. It seemed that he had laid out his life to be one of business and travel, and this was his working suit. No state, no gaiety, was to be found in the melancholy habitations in which he fixed his residence in the various parts of France. The tradition of the gay and brilliant court of the Valois, and the contrast of the voluptuous pageantry of Brussels, made such a monotonous existence almost intolerable to his own wife and sister.

Louis began, notwithstanding the value he set upon dissimulation as a method of state-craft, by showing his cards too openly. His two great faults, besides an entire lack of morality, which he probably did not consider a fault, were impatient eagerness and a malicious love of waggery and irony, even before it was safe to indulge in them. These failings, however, he managed

* This incident, which is to be found in Chastellain, is strangely omitted by Mr. Kirk, who is usually so prolix in his narrative, and yet it is one of the most striking in the whole history of Louis XI.

to correct with experience, and of experience he was destined to have no deficiency. Such, however, was the disposition of offices and such the first measures of the new reign, that the princes of the blood and the other great nobles immediately divined the object of the King's policy,—the destruction of the oligarchy of princes and the concentration of all power in the hands of the Sovereign: they understood from the ministers by whom he surrounded himself, as Comines says, that Louis '*étoit* '*naturellement ami des gens de moyen état, et ennemi de tous* '*grans qui pouvoient se passer de lui.*'

The first successful stroke of policy of the King was the recovery from the House of Burgundy of the possession of the towns of the Somme, which had been mortgaged to Philip by the Treaty of Arras for 400,000 gold crowns, and of which he had taken possession. The story of this, the first and earliest advantage gained by Louis against the House of Burgundy, is hardly told by Mr. Kirk with sufficient clearness and prominence. The transaction is most illustrative of the insinuating craft and dexterous management of Louis in taking advantage of the discord existing between the Count of Charolais and the Croys, the rivalry between the latter and the Count of St. Pol, and the disputes of the Duke with the city of Ghent. The recovery of these towns on the Somme was the object of the most eager policy of Louis from the very moment of his accession. France without them was at the mercy of the Duke of Burgundy. In possession of Péronne, Amiens, and Abbeville, of Picardy and Artois, he might introduce the English through Calais in two days into the heart of France. By incessant application of every diplomatic *ruse* to wear out the resistance of the Duke, and widen the breach existing between him and his son, he got the old man to consent to give up the towns on condition of the money being paid. When he signed the agreement Philip had no thought that so large a sum of money could be found within the stipulated time. But no sooner was compliance extorted than the astonished prince found 200,000 gold crowns in his hands, and the rest was not long in forthcoming. The ministers of Louis also considered it impossible to find so large a sum on the instant. But their master would admit of no objections. He sent one here, another there, with such precipitation that, as they said, they had scarcely time to draw on their boots. He begged, implored, insisted, threatened on all sides. The money must be found, he said: 10,000 francs here, 35,000 there, and so on, it seemed to him, were to be got *en ung pas d'âne;* and, to complete the sum, the impatient monarch made no scruple of dragging up the deposits from the crypts of Notre Dame, which

were in trust of the parliament, and the property of orphans, widows, and suitors.

If the Count of Charolais, then at variance with and separated from his father, had no suspicions before, he now fully understood that nothing but implacable hostility could exist between himself and the new King; he took his measures accordingly, and began to enter into alliance with the Duke of Brittany, a measure peculiarly calculated to excite the suspicion of Louis. The affair of Rubemprè, however, brought matters to an open rupture. This adventurer, a relative of the Croys, was suspected of being employed in a scheme for kidnapping the Count of Charolais, while staying at his castle of Gorcum, on the coast of Holland, and was taken prisoner on the spot. Rumour, supported by some proof, said that he was employed by the King. An angry interchange of complaints took place between the two courts, and the result turned wholly against Louis. The Count became reconciled to his father, and assumed thenceforth a larger share of the government than he had ever before been able to obtain. The Croys, who had been bought over by Louis, were dismissed, and the Count sent a message to the King that he should repent of his proceedings before a year was out. Indeed, after one more scene of violence between the Duke and his son, on account of the Croys, the old prince felt that his energy was exhausted, and that it was time to succumb to the influence of his son; the real reign of Charles the Bold then commenced. Philip, his father, had still sufficient love and attachment to France left in him to make him desire peace and refuse to join her enemies; but Charles, with no such associations, was eager to seize upon the first opportunity of humbling Louis XI. The princes of the blood and the great vassals, with the Duc de Berri, the King's brother, as their nominal head, addressed a proclamation to the Duke of Burgundy enumerating their various grievances, and announcing their resolution to take the field '*pour le bien de la chose publique.*' The Duc de Berri, a poor, weak-minded, young prince, seems to have been driven merely by *ennui* and the monotonous life of his brother's court to join the coalition. And the young nobles, who had heard tales of the brilliant court life of the Valois, or beheld the magnificent state of Burgundy, rushed to arms from similar reasons of discontent. Even the wife and sister of Louis, after a visit to Burgundy, declared that one day of the festivities of Hesdin or Brussels was worth a whole existence at the Court of France. But in addition to the crime of keeping a dull court, Louis also commenced to utter edicts against the private right of hunting—measures which he had formerly

carried out in Dauphiny, and which, if adopted in France, would have rendered the life of the noble more intolerable in the country than it already was at court.*

The King saw the gathering of the storm and endeavoured to make head against it; he made what alliances he could to strengthen himself abroad, especially with Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, the object of his constant admiration; but within the boundaries of France, he stood alone against the great feudatories, the chief of whom, besides his own brother and the Count of Charolais, were the Duke of Brittany, who, alone of his order, proudly styled himself Duke by the Grace of God, the Duke of Bourbon, whom Louis had deprived of the government of Guienne, the Duke of Calabria of the House of Anjou, and the heads of the House of Armagnac. The campaign was a brief one. After the indecisive battle of Montlhéry, the allies blockaded Paris, and then the King, placing more faith in his talent for diplomacy than his capacity as a general, and taking the advice of Sforza, who told him to try every scheme in order to divide his enemies, determined to make peace with his foes upon their own terms, and to trust to his own ingenuity and that inevitable discord which must accompany the division of spoil among the victors, to be enabled to repay himself for his present sacrifices. These, however, were enormous. The King gave up the towns of the Somme to Charles for life, without demanding restitution of the 400,000 crowns. The Count of St. Pol, the chief vassal of Burgundy, and commander of the hostile forces, was made constable of France. The King's brother was invested with Normandy under an hereditary title, on conditions which made him more independent even than the Duke of Burgundy, thus reviving the fatal system of *apanage* in its most dangerous form. An infinite number of lordships, immunities, and pensions were distributed among the lesser nobles. All present claims were thus satisfied, and one only point was overlooked, *le bien public*, the ostensible cause of taking arms, for which extremely slender provisions were thought necessary.

But the honour of the King, if such a term can be applied to Louis XI., received a greater attaint by his desertion of his ally, the town of Liége, than by the immense concessions which he thought himself obliged to make to his enemies. The episcopal principality of Liége, spread along the course of the Meuse as it

* Mr. Kirk omits to take notice of this strange attempt of Louis XI. to interfere with the sporting privileges of the nobility, which they guarded with the most jealous care.

emerges out of the picturesque forest of Ardennes, from extraction, language and position, had always remained strongly attached to France. While the rest of Flanders conquered the ground it stood upon, as well as its riches, from the sea and foreign commerce, Liége and her sister cities extracted their fortunes from the bowels of the earth. Their mines of iron, copper, and coal were the sources of industrial manufacture on such a scale as the world had never yet seen. They were the Birmingham and the Sheffield not only of Flanders but of France. The copper manufacture of Dinant was especially celebrated, so that household utensils of that description passed by the name of *Dinanderie.* The government of Liége was the most democratic among that of any of the franchised towns of the Netherlands. The State, indeed, was ecclesiastical. The chapter of the Cathedral of Saint Lambert—with the bishop as its representative head—held the sovereign power, but this power was limited by strictly constitutional checks. In no part of Europe were the privileges of the nobles so scanty and their authority so small. Ecclesiastics zealous in maintaining the dignity of the order, and a people influenced with the warmest passion for freedom, had made common cause against them. Equality was carried to a length unknown in any of the other Flemish cities. Every citizen above the age of fifteen had the right of suffrage and was eligible to office. There was not even a burgher aristocracy, as at Bruges, Ghent, Louvain, and Brussels. The small guilds were on the same footing as the great; the apprentice with his master. The nobles themselves were obliged to become members of a guild in order to be capable of election. The lesser and dependent towns—Dinant, Huy, Tongres, Saint Trond, were not kept, like those of the proud cities of Flanders, in humiliating subservience, but associated in the councils of administration and justice. The stranger was readily admitted to rights of citizenship: hence from all parts workmen flocked to this great centre of labour and enterprise. Based on such free institutions, animated by the active industry of the city, and the boisterous athletic character of its people, the public life of Liége was one of vigorous energy and joyous movement, in which the vicissitudes of the labour market, ecclesiastical state and ceremonies, civic rivalry, factions, seditions, and battles formed the changing incidents. Since the sovereign power was vested in the bishop and his chapter, it had escaped the fate of its neighbours, of being absorbed into the possessions of the House of Burgundy; yet the latter, by its encroaching policy, and by the annexation of Namur, Luxembourg, and Brabant, began to coil itself around

this vivacious commonwealth in menacing folds. Up to the end of the thirteenth century the bishop relied for support in the exercise of his authority on the terrors of the Papal interdict, and the suspension of all courts of justice within the city, which he could cause by simply retiring to a neighbouring city and carrying with him the staff of justice. But at the beginning of the fourteenth century the power of the Dukes of Burgundy began to exercise a fatal influence on the destinies of the small and vigorous people.

In 1408, the reigning bishop being 'in debate' with his subjects, John the Fearless came to his assistance, and inflicted on the Liégois a disastrous defeat, in which they lost twenty-six thousand slain, and concluded the first humiliating peace with the House of Burgundy. Since that period the power of the Dukes had been continually in the ascendant; and although Philip the Good was not himself able to mount the episcopal throne of Liége, he was, nevertheless, able to exercise his influence with the Pope and obtain the nomination on a vacancy of a favourite or younger member of his family. In 1456 he thus extorted by threats the resignation of the bishop, John of Heinsberg, an easy-tempered prelate of winning and popular manners, and procured the nomination of his nephew, Louis of Bourbon, a boy of eighteen, and still a student at Louvain. Though not yet admitted to holy orders, the youth obtained a dispensation to enable him to exercise the temporal functions of his office; and with a troop of Burgundian and Brabant cavaliers entered and took possession of his city. The disorders and misgovernment of this youth and his companions increased so much the discontent of the Liégois at falling into a state of vassalage to the Duke of Burgundy, that they broke out into open revolt, and their boy-bishop left the town to lead a life of sensuality and debauch at Huy, while inflicting on the disobedient city all the terrible consequences of the Papal interdict. During the various phases of revolution the people appealed from the interdict to the Archbishop of Cologne, from the Archbishop to the Papal Legate, from the Legate to the Pope, and from the 'Pope 'ill-informed to the Pope better-informed,' but without effect; for the Pope confirmed the interdict with the usual anathemas in case its provisions were not complied with, and invited the princes to the aid of the Church to reduce its rebellious vassals, and especially entrusted the task to the Duke of Burgundy.

At this crisis the War of the Public Weal broke out, and the politic Louis saw at once the advantage of securing an ally in

Liége, in the very heart of the Burgundian dominions. The agents of Louis appeared at Liége prodigal of money and promises, and inviting the towns of the principality to enter into a league with the French monarch. A treaty was signed binding the parties to wage common war against Philip, and to make no peace in which both were not included. No sooner was this treaty produced at the *Perron*—the column at which all solemn acts of state were read—than the alarm-bell was rung, the guilds assembled, displayed their banners, and marched out of the city. They crossed the frontiers of Brabant, and began to devastate the Burgundian territory. Indeed, the spirit of the people had become exasperated to the highest pitch of recklessness. They had for many years been cut off from the chief markets of their industry; the city and its trade had become unusually impoverished; they had been compelled to live without the security of law or the sanctity of religion, dependent upon casual and irregularly constituted authorities for the commonest offices of justice and the daily need of the rites of the Church. Their first outbreak was soon repressed; but speedily upon this two knights spurred into the town with a despatch of Louis from the field of Montlhéry, according to which the Burgundian army was entirely destroyed. The excitement of the people now knew no bounds, and, urged onwards by the agents of Louis, they solemnly defied Philip to war. The little town of Dinant was, however, raised to still greater audacity of insult by the false report from Montlhéry, only the insult was not so much directed against the House of Burgundy as against its rival Bouvignes, which was Burgundian. The towns were situate but at a bow-shot's distance, one on either side the Meuse, and competition in the manufacture of copper had exasperated the animosity arising from political differences. The rivalry of the two places had lasted for centuries; and from time to time in mutual exasperation they cannonaded each other across the river. In such manner and by frequent sallies from either town to cut off the traders and traffickers of its antagonist, and constant skirmishing between apprentices, they kept up interminable petty warfare. On this occasion a rabble of idle boys and apprentices crossed the river from Dinant, and planted under the walls of Bouvignes a figure stuffed with hay, with a cow-bell round its neck, and a tattered mantle with a cross of St. Andrew painted upon it. Ringing the bell they cried, 'You rascally thieves, don't you hear your M. de 'Charolais calling you? There he is, the false traitor.' Amid jests and jeers of a gross character, they hung the figure up, as they said, his master also had been served by the King of France,

riddled it with arrows, and so left it. The people of Bouvignes returned the insult by throwing a rival figure of Louis XI. out of a bombard over into the town of Dinant. While the Liégois were in this frenzied state of exultation, news arrived of the blockade of Paris by the princes, and, finally, the King sent them word that he was about to conclude a peace, in which they would be comprised. In the final treaty, however, no mention was made of Liége; and it is difficult to acquit Louis not only of perfidy towards his allies in thus deserting them, but of the double perfidy of not wishing to include them in the treaties, and of having incited them to the extremities of revolt by false intelligence, in order that the Count might find sufficient occupation with the disorders of his own dominions, to prevent him from interfering with his own plan of immediate operations.

For close after the termination of the agreement of Conflans, ratified by the Treaty of St. Maur, the scheming brain of the French King set to work to follow scrupulously the advice of Sforza, and draw off one by one the princes from the league against him. Having effected this, he proceeded, with the aid of the Duke of Bourbon, the most able among them, to recover possession of Normandy from his brother. The Duke of Burgundy, as he foresaw, was too much occupied with the affairs of Flanders to offer any opposition. Charles, with 28,000 mounted men-at-arms, had marched upon Liége. After some parley, Liége submitted. The deputies of Liége concluded the peace known by the name of the 'Piteous Peace.' The terms of the peace annihilated all the most cherished privileges of the city, imposed an enormous fine, established the Duke as protector of the city, exacted public profession of repentance, and even an expiatory chapel in remembrance thereof. But the most galling condition of all was that Dinant was excepted from the advantages of the peace, and reserved for vengeance. When the treaty was read for the first time to the people of Liége, they were possessed with a fury of indignation. A cry arose of 'Traitors, sellers of Christian blood!' The leader of the embassy was seized, and his head cut off; and though the treaty was formally read on the morrow, the Liégois declared they would have no peace in which Dinant was not included.

But the ruin of Dinant as an example had been implacably resolved on. The jeers and taunts of the apprentices had been carried by their rival of Bouvignes to the ears of the Duke and Duchess. The latter was roused to the highest pitch of feminine vengeance by rude jests in which suspicion had been thrown upon the legitimacy of her son; and left the convent in which she had

of late lived in seclusion to demand the punishment of Dinant. Retribution was, however, reserved for the following year. The Duke himself, now seventy-three years of age, fell into such a paroxysm of anger at some delay in the preparations, that a stroke of paralysis ensued, which brought him to the verge of the grave. On his recovery, amid his shattered faculties one only idea survived—that of taking vengeance on the unfortunate city. Dinant, aware of the approaching storm, and unable to avert it by prayers and submission, looked on all sides for help. The Liégois had indeed, immediately after the proclamation of the 'Piteous Peace,' repented again of the abandonment of their sister city; but from France no hope was to be expected: the King was too deeply involved in alliance with the Bourbons to attempt to atone for his late perfidy by support of the rebel subjects of the Bourbon bishop. Philip and his son Charles, and the Burgundian host, arrived before Dinant in the middle of August, 1460. The town at first attempted a brave defence: confident in the strength of its thick walls and strong towers, and the protection of the deep and rapid Meuse which runs below them. But its defenders were ignorant of the destructive force which the progress of artillery already lent to a besieging army. Moreover, the Burgundian batteries had been newly formed in imitation of those of France, the most advanced of the time. A terrible fire was opened upon the place, and continued day and night. In a few days a breach was opened; and after some debate, the town surrendered to the Duke's mercy. His mercy was the destruction of the town, with the ferocity and completeness of a Mongol conqueror. The city was given up to pillage. Eight hundred of those supposed to be the most forward in the revolt were tied two and two together and thrown into the river. After nine days of havoc, the burning of Dinant was fixed for the 30th of August. An accident advanced the fate of the place by twenty-four hours: and Charles, to make sure there should be no misconception as to the cause of its destruction, ordered the town to be set on fire on all sides. After the conflagration, the remaining walls were levelled with the ground, so that at four days from its commencement it could be said, as Charles boasted, *Ci fut Dinant.* The people of Liége, who had been on the point of marching to the assistance of Dinant, were terrified again into abject submission, and renewed the treaty of the 'Piteous Peace.'

The people of Flanders trembled when they beheld the fate of Dinant and Liége, for the Good Duke Philip was then on the brink of the grave, and they had had sufficient experience of

Charles to know what his reign was likely to be. Ever since his ascendancy had prevailed over the mind of the failing Duke, pride, violence, and obstinacy had predominated in the Burgundian council,—increase of taxes and increase of feudal fines had been unceasingly called for. Thus when Philip died, his subjects mourned deeply for him, and looked regretfully back at the magnificent state with which he had surrounded himself at Bruges. Under his reign they had known peace and prospered; and if his habits and tastes were extravagant beyond that of any sovereign in Europe, the wealthiest district in the known world saw its own prosperity reflected in the pomp of its sovereign, while the coming reign seemed to offer a future only of interminable bloodshed and disquiet. Louis XI. and Charles of Burgundy now, for the first time, stood before each other as the unshackled and pitiless champions of irreconcilable ambitions. The old Duke Philip was proud of his French descent and his traditionary associations with the state of the Valois; but his son, the inheritor of Lancastrian blood by the side of his mother the Princess of Portugal, boasted in moments of pride and anger that he was more English or Portuguese than a Frenchman. Both parties, animated by the intense antipathy which resulted not only from opposite interests and mutual hatred, but from mutual contempt, now looked about for allies in the inevitable struggle; and Louis began again to tamper with the unhappy inhabitants of Liége in order to keep the Duke from interfering with his own projects in Normandy.

Immediately on his accession, Charles met with demonstrations from the towns of his hereditary states of Flanders which led him to fear that internal disorders might prevent him from employing the whole of his forces in schemes of aggrandisement abroad. The great manufacturing city of Ghent was the first to set the example of disaffection. Trusting to the goodwill which the city had shown him whilst he was at variance with his father, and to the inquiries which he made of the magistrates, he had made the 'Joyous Entry' customary on a new accession without due precautions. The authorities gave him a magnificent reception; the streets were hung with tapestry, the chimes rang forth from every steeple, as he with his young princess—robed in velvet and blazing with the richest jewellery and ornaments which his father had left behind him—followed by a gorgeous suite, wended their way to the Church of St. Peter and took the usual oaths to maintain the privileges of the country, and, in token of his assumption of sovereignty, sounded the bell of the city. But it so happened that the time of his entry coincided with the anniversary of the pro-

cession of Saint Liévin, the guardian saint of the town—one of those religious pilgrimages still observed in many Catholic countries, displaying a strange medley of superstitious observance and excessive license. After passing two nights and a day in riot at a village outside the town, the 'Fools of 'Saint Liévin,' as the procession was called, returned to the city on the day succeeding the ceremony of the Duke's accession. Inflamed with drink, and reckless with the effects of an orgy of two days' continuance, the 'Fools of Saint Liévin,' in their passage up a narrow street, were stopped by a house in which the *cueillotte*, a tax similar to the octroi, was collected. The *cueillotte* was especially odious to the people of Ghent as a sign of their humiliation in 1453, when it was established by Duke Philip after their defeat at Gavre. The unruly mob with axes and crowbars demolished and overthrew the house of the tax-collectors. The sedition spread; the other grievances and loss of privileges, which for fifteen years had been the subject of public discontent, agitated anew men's minds, and the whole city was in an uproar. At the news of the disturbance Charles mounted his horse in a storm of wrath, and rode to the Hôtel de Ville: facing the crowd with angry exclamations, he rode at and struck with his *baton* one whom he supposed to be a ring-leader; but the man placed himself in his path, and dared him to repeat the blow. Charles, yielding to solicitations, withdrew and addressed the crowd from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville; and a scene ensued most characteristic of the free and turbulent, but withal generous spirit of the people. The Duke, with his young daughter and the priceless treasures of jewellery which he had been rash enough to bring with him, was, in fact, at their mercy, and before he could depart in safety he was constrained to consent to the abolition of the *cueillotte*, as well as to the restoration of the privileges of the town taken away by the treaty of Gavre.

The other towns of Flanders and Brabant followed the example of Ghent, and claimed restoration of their privileges; and Charles found it prudent to make concessions, reserving for himself the satisfaction of inflicting signal punishment on the incorrigible principality of Liége. The burdens of the 'Piteous Peace' pressed heavily upon that city; the 600,000 florins of fine, imposed by the last treaty, were more than the inhabitants were able to pay now that its trade was ruined by the isolation in which it was placed. The bishop still continued to live at Huy, and the town was given over to disorder. Pressed by the Duke's agents periodically for payment of the fine, they called upon their fellow-towns to pay a portion, and on the

refusal of Huy, marched against it. A force of the Duke of Burgundy, placed there to protect the bishop, was obliged to retire; and the Duke, in defence of what he styled his honour, caused his herald to declare war against Liége formally by 'torch 'and sword.' The King of France, who had continued to encourage the people with promises of assistance, made some efforts by mediation to avert their fate, but ineffectually. The Duke of Brittany and his brother Charles having again joined their interests for the recovery of Normandy, and made a treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, Louis was naturally anxious to preserve so powerful an ally as Liége. But in the course of the negotiations which he set on foot for this purpose, he showed plainly how little regard for treaties, and for Liége, influenced him; he made an offer of an exchange of perfidy—to leave the Duke free to act against Liége if the Duke would promise not to interfere with his movements against Brittany. The Duke rejected the proffer with disdain, and terminated an interview with the Comte St. Pol, the ambassador of Louis, by saying as he mounted his horse, 'The Liégois are assembled, and within 'three days I shall have battle. If I lose it, you will do as you 'like; if I win, you will leave the Bretons in peace.' Had the King been capable of a warlike interference, he would have yielded to the advice of his general Dammartin, who was posted with a strong force on the frontiers, and have marched to the assistance of Liége; but he was as distrustful of fortune as of all the world, and thought the risk too great. The people of Liége, thus abandoned to themselves, attempted an energetic defence with a force of about twenty thousand men armed with pikes and arquebusses; they fought and lost the battle of Brusten. The internal disorders of the town, the despair into which they fell at finding themselves abandoned by Louis, and the terror inspired by the memory of Dinant, incapacitated them from making further defence. The town was formally surrendered by three hundred and forty citizens, kneeling in their shirts with heads and feet uncovered, to deliver up the keys, with supplications for pardon. The gates of the city were thrown down, and the Duke entered over them like a conqueror with drawn sword; the people, with heads uncovered, were ranged on one side of the street, and the clergy bearing tapers on the other. In less than a week afterwards the bell of the people sounded for the last time, and the people assembled before the palace to hear their sentence. The terms of his mercy, if less cruel than those of Dinant, were far harder than those of the 'Piteous Peace.' Every institution of the town, its customs, laws, magistracies, even its guilds, were abolished. Charters

which had cost the lives of thousands of patriots, venerable with centuries of antiquity, were annihilated. The walls of the city were to be demolished, so that it should be open as a village. All elections were forbidden; the magistrates were to be named by the bishop, and judged by the civil law. A further fine of 115,000 louis d'ors was imposed, and twelve hostages demanded, of whom nine were decapitated; and, as a perpetual memorial, the *Perron*, the symbol of the liberty and autocracy of the town, was taken away and set up at Bruges.

Mr. Kirk finds clemency and a rigorous show of justice in the dealings of Charles with Liége; it is difficult to see on what grounds. The Duke had no right whatever over Liége: the suzerain over the city was the Emperor. The only excuse for his interference was his relationship to Louis of Bourbon; his only semblance of real authority was given previously to the 'Piteous Peace' by the Papal interdict; but that was withdrawn when the Papal Court, better informed of the character of the bishop, and learning the atrocity of the punishment of Dinant and Liége, was seized with compassion and dismay at hearing their sentence thus ruthlessly executed, and sent a legate, a prelate of illustrious birth and benevolent character, to reconcile the people and their prince, and intercede in behalf of the unhappy Liégois. The legate's intercession was, however, treated with Charles by contempt, and he continued in the same implacable spirit towards the devoted city, which he wished, it would seem, to render a terrible example, to overawe the disaffected throughout his dominions. The story of his relations with Liége is the leading and significant portion of his history—as the violence and ruthlessness of his spirit were so developed in a relentless course of vengeance, that the most friendly beholders began already to have forebodings of his tragic end. '*J'entrai en imagination*,' writes the Burgundian chronicler. '*Je m'attends à tout. . . . La fin fera le jugement.*' By a singular coincidence, too, while the blood and tears of Liége can be shown to have wrought out their own vengeance on its destroyer, its betrayer was destined before its walls to make the most humiliating expiation which any monarch has ever undergone.

For Louis still continued to feed the unhappy city with treacherous hopes, and the people, in their utter destitution, still continued to place reliance on his engagements. The French King had been prevented by the menaces of the Duke from interfering in the West. Thus even while Charles of Burgundy was overwhelming the people of Liége, the troops of the Duke of Brittany were overrunning Normandy, and were already masters of Caen, Bayeux, and the Cotentin. As the princes were now

again all leagued together, and both the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy entering in alliance with Edward IV. for the reintroduction of English troops into the country, Louis determined to convoke the States-General and appeal to the nation against the princes, as Philip the Fair had before appealed to it against the Pope.* The answer of the deputies assembled at Tours to the appeal was as might be anticipated. Louis had long, with that prescience of the modern spirit which distinguished him, watched the growth of public opinion, and had used every art to cajole and win the *bourgeoisie* of Paris and of the chief towns over to his side. The States-General declared that the King was unable to separate the duchy of Normandy from the crown; that the edict of Charles V. must be observed; expressed the deepest indignation at the princes for trafficking with the English, and offered their lives and goods to the King for the defence of the kingdom. A deputation was appointed, at the head of which was the Constable St. Pol, to make known these resolutions to the Duke of Burgundy; but he received their embassy contemptuously; the marriage which he had concluded with the sister of Edward IV., and his apparently obstinate determination to introduce the English again into France, raised a strong feeling against him throughout the country; a feeling increased by the severe method of his administration, the exorbitant and unjustifiable increase of his exactions as feudal superior, and by the changes he contemplated in the feudal laws and customs of his states, while the motto which he now assumed—*Je l'ai emprins*—announced without reserve his ambition to the world.

The King had one advantage over the Duke in the possession of a standing army, which was ever ready to take the field, while the ponderous feudal levies of Flanders and Burgundy were always a long time in assembling. Of this superiority he made use in reconquering Normandy for the second time, while the Burgundian forces were being slowly amassed at Péronne. Francis of Brittany, with his usual vacillation, was so impressed by this display of activity, that, persuaded by the Sire de Lescun, whose talents as an intriguer had been recognised by the King and bought over at considerable sacrifice, he entered into treaty with Louis, renounced all other alliance, and submitted the matter of the apanage of 'Monsieur Charles' to the judgment of the Duke of Calabria and another.

* Mr. Kirk commits an error in saying that this was the first occasion on which a French monarch had of his free will summoned the States-General.

The Duke of Burgundy was so enraged at the news of this treaty that he threatened to hang the herald who brought him the intelligence. Louis had so managed as to leave Charles alone to make head against all the forces of the crown, which under Dammartin came to confront him at Péronne. Had he possessed any capacity for prompt and vigorous action, he would undoubtedly have taken the offensive. His forces were superior to those of Charles. Behind and around him he had a well-affected country, the towns of which had shown great readiness to make sacrifices in his behalf; while the Duke of Burgundy, unpopular with all classes of his subjects, had in his rear a country only loyal under the restraint of fear, powerful cities ready to break into revolt at the slightest encouragement, and especially Liége, once more on the point of insurrection. Louis might probably on this occasion, by prompt and bold measures, have overwhelmed the Duke and added Flanders to the French crown for ever; but his love of negotiation was so great that, while a chance for it remained, he never could be persuaded to run the risk of a battle; and on the present occasion it was very nearly his complete ruin. Trusting to a safe conduct written by the hand of Charles himself, and attested by his chief nobility, he ventured to place himself within the walls of Péronne, in order himself to negotiate a peace. Many reasons conspired to make him take this step: his ancient familiarity with the Duke, his belief in Charles's knightly word, his trust in his own powers of diplomacy, his fear of an English invasion, and his intense desire to work out his schemes in peace; but even all these reasons will doubtless not account for so perilous a step in such an age of treachery, unless we consider that the most artful of men are sometimes, when their interests require it, the most credulous and confiding. Louis remembered the interview after the battle of Montlhéry, when Charles unwittingly, in company with himself, walked within the French lines, and he had omitted to take advantage of the opportunity. He doubtless believed that he who had pledged his written word—*in spite of any accident which might arise*—that the magnificent chief of the order of the *Toison d'Or*, who piqued himself upon being the real representative of the feudalism and chivalry of old times, one of whose first duties was to respect the person of the *seigneur*, and especially of royalty, would not be less observant of good faith. Neither can we imagine that Louis was so simple as to leave the condition of Liége out of the question when he made the venture, or that the Duke was really impelled by anger at its outbreak to violate his promise. Louis and Charles both were aware that the people of Liége had been again in open

revolt for a month before the interview was proposed, and that an outbreak of the kind which did happen might be expected from day to day; and a simple comparison of dates proves sufficiently that the anger of the Duke was, if not altogether simulated, yet created by a willing self-deception, for there was plenty of time for intelligence to arrive from Liége, to correct the first false report (which might, after all, have been an invention) of the murder of the bishop, before he constrained Louis to sign the treaty of Péronne.* The account of the disturbed and sleepless nights of Charles, and the terrible conflict that was going on within him, cannot be read in Comines without believing that he was meditating still worse treachery than that of which he was guilty. He spared the King his life at the last; but while he did so, he imagined he had hit upon a course which would annihilate his influence, by making him the most contemptible among sovereigns—that of being present in person under the banners of Burgundy, while executing himself the sacrifice which his perfidy and his impotence had brought upon those who had trusted him.

For now, as before, all the evil consequences, both of the King's perfidy and of this unfortunate stroke of policy, fell without delay on the unhappy people of Liége. The unfortunate town still continued in the lowest state of prostration and despair. Many thousands of its former inhabitants were living as outcasts and as mere savages in the wilds of the Ardennes. Humbercourt, the Burgundian officer left there, governed the town in the ruthless spirit of his master, with confiscations of the property of the fugitives, with incessant executions and imprisonments. The streets were comparatively deserted and the churches empty and ruined—the very women were stripped of their personal ornaments to pay the instalments of the enormous fine imposed on the city as they became due. When the news arrived that the King of France had taken the field again against the Duke of Burgundy, the exiles ventured to return to the city. The unhappy outcasts entered crying, '*Vive le Roi*,' armed with clubs, sticks, and stones, with naked bodies and unshorn matted hair. Any fate, they said, were better at home, than to live like beasts of prey in the woods. The legate was seized with compassion for the wretched people, and departed to seek their bishop, to bring him back and endeavour to establish order once more in the city. He had partly succeeded, and was on his way back, when the bishop fell in with Humbercourt, who

* The treaty of Péronne was signed on the 14th of October, the outbreak of Liége happened on the night of the 8th and 9th.

easily persuaded him again to rely on the arms of the Duke of Burgundy alone for protection, and the bishop fixed his residence with Humbercourt at Tongres. This news aroused desperation once more in the hearts of the Liégois: there was to be no end to their miseries; even the intervention of the Pope was to avail them nothing. Under the frenzied excitement of popular feeling it was resolved to make an attack on Tongres, to take possession of the bishop and bring him back to Liége to carry out the plan of the legate. The night attack was successful. A few of the bishop's attendants were cut down, but the bishop himself was treated with all respect. Humbercourt was treated with the courtesies of war, and even supplied with an opportunity to escape. These occurrences took place the very night of the King's arrival at Péronne, and they afforded the Duke a pretext for violating the safe conduct which he had granted.

Nothing now but a destruction of Liége even more ferocious than that of Dinant would satisfy the Duke, and he determined that Louis should appear by his side as his accomplice in the deed. The King made some slight effort to escape from this humiliation. But he found he was approaching the brink of ruin, and accordingly entered into his part and played it out with a gaiety of manner which must have cost him a fearful struggle to assume. There may have existed princes who would have accepted life at the price of this frightful humiliation, but we doubt if any ever lived beside Louis who could have appeared in so shameful a character, and not only have concealed all show of mortification, but appeared as if he took a real pleasure in it up to the very last.* The King, with 300 archers of his Scottish guard, and wearing the Cross of St. Andrew, marched with the Duke and his forces, amounting to 40,000 men, against Liége. The city, with its walls thrown down on every side, had little chance of escape against such an armament. Nevertheless it made a valiant but hopeless resistance, which gave time for all the weak and infirm, and great part of the women, and such as had no wish for fighting, to escape with what they could save to the woods. The Duke, moreover, and his forced ally nearly paid with their lives for the fate they were bringing upon the city. Six hundred mountaineers of Franchemont resolved to penetrate by night, by a circuitous and precipitous path, into the quarter of the camp where the princes were lodged, and to kill them or die in the struggle. They failed by a few moments, which gave time for the guards,

* His favourite maxim was, *Quand orgueil chevauche devant, honte et dommage suivent de près.*

who were asleep, to rush to the spot. This brave body were slain nearly to a man, after having committed slaughter on their enemies and done a deed equal in patriotism and daring to any in antiquity.

Charles, enraged at so audacious an attempt, gave orders for immediate assault. The King advised him to wait a little longer, but the Duke contemptuously rejected his advice in full council, and said, 'If the King is afraid, let him go to Namur.' Louis then threw himself with passion into his part. While the Liégois whom he hired to instigate revolt wore the white Cross of France, he advanced against them wearing the Cross of Burgundy; to their cries of '*Vive France*' he replied '*Vive Bourgogne.*' The army entered the town—banners displayed, trumpets sounding—to the cries of *Ville gaignée.* When it was clear no further resistance was to be apprehended, the town was parcelled out among the troops for plunder and massacre. Many of the inhabitants had escaped, but a large portion still remained; most of them had taken refuge in the churches—of which Liége possessed four hundred—which for wealth and beauty, as well as in number, equalled those of Rome. It was Sunday, and the rites of the Church were still proceeding when the work of spoliation commenced. But no asylum was sacred in the infernal tumult which ensued. The Duke by his personal efforts preserved the cathedral of Saint Lambert, but all the others were stripped of ornaments, images, reliquaries, everything that could be removed. The consecrated chalice was snatched out of the priest's hands. The convents were forced, the nuns violated and slain. Neither age, nor sex, nor condition met with mercy except upon hope of ransom. The King, amid the horrible uproar of the place, dined joyously, as though it were a festival, praising the good fortune and valour of the Duke beyond measure. '*Après disner,*' says Comines, '*le dict duc et luy se veirent en grant chière; et si le Roy avoit loué fort ses œuvres en derrière, encores le loua il mieulx en sa présence et y prenoit le dict duc plaisir.*'

The King kept up this atrocious farce to the very last. When consulted by the Duke as to what should now be done with the city, he smiled and told a tale in the manner of an Oriental apologue, which suggested absolute destruction. He appeared to be in no hurry to go. Two or three days after the capture he began, nevertheless, to sound the Duke by means of friends about his departure; then spoke himself, '*en saige sorte,*' Comines says: 'If his fair cousin had any more need of him, 'not to spare him; but if nothing more remained to be done, 'he was desirous of going to Paris and getting their treaty

'registered in the parlement.' He hoped to pass the next summer with him in Burgundy—*faisans bonne chière.* At last the Duke agreed to let him go—*toujours ung petit murmurant*—caused the treaty, however, to be read before him; asked him if he repented of anything; and then, perhaps with some qualms of conscience, made slight excuses for having brought him there. The King, nevertheless, ratified the treaty of Péronne, to which he had been obliged to swear upon the true Cross of St. Laud, the object of his most superstitious veneration. But his address was shown at the moment of parting. The great difficulty had been in settling the apanage for his brother Charles, which was always in the hands of the princes a pretext for a league against the King. The Duke had consented to let Champagne be substituted for Normandy. But the King saw the immense advantage which his rival would derive from having the large open territory interposed between Flanders and Burgundy Proper in his power through his influence over his weak-minded brother, and thus enabling him to overlap all the north and half the west of France. Therefore at parting, after the Duke had conveyed him back half a league, the King said suddenly, 'If perchance my brother, 'who is in Brittany, should not be content with the settle-'ment which I make for him, for love of you, what shall I 'do?' The Duke replied hastily, 'Do what will content 'him. I leave the matter to be settled between you.' These were precious words, which Louis carefully treasured up; they released him from the terrible penalties which ensued from a violation of an oath sworn on the Cross of St. Laud, if he did not give Champagne to his brother. He then went hastily on his way, wondering to find himself safe, and when he reached the border of his own dominions dismounted, and pressed his lips to the soil, devoutly thanking God for deliverance from so great a peril.

The vengeance of the Duke remained to be completed, which was as terrible as the destruction of a city as large and as rich as Florence or Milan could make it: with the exception of the churches and about three hundred houses, the whole was burned to the ground. The executions, drownings, and massacres extended over months. It is impossible to estimate the number of the slain—Charles would have effaced the very sign of its existence from the earth, and this he would have effected but for the churches, which he dared not utterly destroy; beneath their walls the wretched inhabitants again in the course of time found refuge, and the city was beginning to rise again out of its ashes when retribution overtook their ferocious destroyer. After

leaving orders for the ruin of Liége, he proceeded to execute his wrath with fire and sword upon the surrounding country. Wherever he turned he left ashes, ruin, and havoc behind him. He devastated Franchemont, hunted unhappy fugitives like wild beasts through the forests, burnt villages, farms, mills, and all instruments of labour. It was now November, frost had set in with frightful intensity, and thousands escaped from the sword and fire of the pursuer, only to perish miserably of cold and hunger in the snowy recesses and frost-bound caves of the Ardennes. Such were the deeds by which he earned for himself the title of Charles the Terrible.

The fate of Liége spread terror throughout the cities of Flanders, and soon afterwards a deputation from Ghent waited upon the Duke in his palace at Brussels, to know what judgment he was pleased to pass upon them for their riotous conduct at the 'Joyous Entry.' Hitherto their supplications and excuses had remained without reply. The Duke, after making the burghers wait in the deep snow in the courtyard for an hour and a half, caused them to be admitted. They advanced to the dais, where Charles sate in all the state of Burgundy, surrounded by princes, nobles, ambassadors, and the knights of the *Toison d'Or.* They laid the banners of their guilds on the floor, and kneeling, simultaneously asked for 'mercy.' The Duke's mercy was the annulment of their charter granted by Philip the Fair in 1301, which his chancellor slit before them with a knife, and the abrogation of all the concessions which he had made at the Joyous Entry. At the same time a new line of policy now distinctly presented itself to his ambitious mind. Among the ambassadors who were present at his court at Brussels was one from George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, the ablest of the German Electoral Princes, with an offer to promote the election of Charles to the dignity of 'King of the Romans.' The fame of his wealth and power filled Europe, of which still more convincing testimony is offered by the advances of Sigismund, Duke of Austria, who had just been obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace with his hereditary enemies the Swiss, by which he bound himself to pay them a large sum of money. In the hope of securing the permanent assistance of so powerful a champion as Charles against his neighbours, Sigismund came to an agreement to mortgage the possession of Alsace to Charles,—the commencement of a connexion and of dreams of ambition which lured the impetuous prince to his destruction.

Four years, however, intervened before he became convinced that his schemes of aggrandisement might be more easily realised through Germany, than by direct attempts to undermine the

monarchy of France. It is not our purpose to attempt to unravel the tangled skein of intrigue and diplomacy which runs through this period—in which the threads of the destinies of France and England find themselves strangely intermingled. This portion of Mr. Kirk's narrative is perhaps the most satisfactory in his volumes, and he has been enabled to recover from obscurity some of the hidden features of this little understood period of English history—filled up with the wars of the Roses—by viewing it through the medium of the French and Burgundian chroniclers. That the intrigues and factions of France and England should be thus mixed together was a necessary consequence of the past history and present condition of the two countries. The House of Lancaster had secured the allegiance of the nation to the sovereignty which it had usurped by the superior abilities of its first two monarchs and the brilliant achievements with which the popular craving for French conquest had been satisfied. The fortunes of that House had fallen with the decay of the English dominion in France; and the young monarch of York who thrust the imbecile Henry from the throne, saw that the surest road to English popularity would be by opening again the career of victory in France. He was naturally therefore the enemy of Louis, whom he treated as a usurper, and who had endeavoured in vain to enter into relations with him. The commercial interests of Flanders and of England being closely interwoven, and the object of enmity of Edward and the Duke being identical, it was hardly possible but that the latter, in spite of his Lancastrian descent, should be drawn into alliance with the English reigning monarch. Similarly, when Warwick broke away in disgust from the king whom he had made, and began with his powerful arm and intriguing brain to pull to pieces the fabric he had set up, Louis, on his side, rushed eagerly to his assistance, with the hope of establishing any other dynasty than that of York, and thus preventing England and Burgundy from being again united in arms for the conquest of France. Thus Warwick and Edward were by turns fugitives, the one in France the other in Flanders, and the revenues of both countries were strained to supply the requirements of the contending parties. No brain, possibly, but that of Louis could have conceived, and no art but his have brought about, the unnatural alliance of Warwick, steeped in the blood of the Lancastrians, with the high-souled Margaret and her unhappy son. It was he who prepared the short-lived triumph of the Red Rose, and caused again for a few moments the pale and aged figure of Henry to appear like a ghost upon the throne; and

when the star of the great earl set for ever at Barnet, and the last branch of the White Rose was cut down on the bloody field of Tewkesbury, none sorrowed more than Louis, or felt more exultation than Charles of Burgundy.

The battle of Tewkesbury was a severe blow to the French King, and his position then became extremely critical; but it was the last great reverse which he experienced, and from that time his fortune was ever on the ascendant. The lowest point, however, of his career was Péronne; and even in the two years which intervened between that period and the battle of Tewkesbury, he had contrived to recover a great deal of lost ground. Waiting patiently at first for the memory of his humiliation to fade away, he took advantage of the parting words of the Duke to induce his weak-minded and unstable brother to accept the apanage of Guienne in lieu of Champagne, and by adroit management he had completely for a time recovered his confidence and affection. By similar treatment he likewise detached the Duke of Brittany from the League. He called together at Tours an assembly of notables, who declared the treaty of Péronne to have been extorted by treason and violence and to be of no effect; and the parliament sent a summons to the Duke by an usher to appear to answer the charge of *lèse majesté*. By these and other measures he completely isolated Charles, and while he was still in the full flow of exultation at the news of Warwick's successful invasion, he had once more got possession of the coveted towns of the Somme, which he had lost by the treaty of Conflans, but which he never again ceased to hold. Then came a counter-tide of ill success: the Lancastrian cause was lost; his fickle-minded brother was again lured over to the side of his enemies; the Duke of Brittany followed him; the Armagnacs and the Foix, and the nobles of the south of France, all once more joined Charles of Burgundy in a solid league against Louis, who for the last time stood alone against his vassals arming and in arms. The belief was now universal that he was on the brink of ruin. His own sister, the Duchess of Savoy, deserted him and sought the protection of his rival. Nicolas, Duke of Lorraine, who was affianced to his daughter, broke off the engagement and joined the throng of suitors for the hand of the heiress of Burgundy; while foreign Powers took occasion to show the slight value they put upon the friendship of the French monarch. The confederates once more employed the hypocritical pretence of the Public Weal—a pretence which Charles, however, now disdained to employ. 'Do you think,' he

said to Comines, then his chamberlain, 'that if I lead my army 'into France, it will be for the good of the kingdom?' Comines smiled in reply; and he added sarcastically, 'I love France 'better than they imagine; for instead of one king, I would 'give them six.' The leaguers boasted that 'English, Bur- 'gundians, Bretons, would all now hunt down the fox; and that 'they would put so many dogs on his track that he could not 'possibly escape.' Louis in his extremity, though hard beset, never lost heart, and redoubled his activity: every intrigue which his fertile and ingenious mind could suggest was still employed to divide his enemies. With his brother, with the Duke, with one and all, he did what could be done by negotiation; he reinforced his army, and, above all, he issued an *ordonnance,* praying *son bon populaire* that henceforward in every town when the bell struck midday, every one should kneel and say three *Ave Marias* for the peace of the kingdom,—the origin, it is said, of the *Angelus,* continued in every Catholic country to the present day.

His negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy were significant of the times and of the men. A truce existed between the parties: Louis proposed to turn it into a peace, and offered to give up the precious towns on the Somme, if the Duke would abandon his allies, the Dukes of Brittany and Guienne. The Duke agreed, but at the same time sent to the princes to tell them that whatever engagement he entered into, they should have no fear—it was but a trick to get the towns. Thus during the whole of the winter and spring of 1471 ensued a contest of diplomacy between the King and Duke, the Duke refusing to sign the treaty or to perform any of the remaining articles in it until the towns were in his possession. At last he gave in, and agreed to sign the treaty. But it was then too late: the King refused. His brother, who had been the chief pretext of the revolt of his rebellious vassals, had died suddenly—a piece of good fortune so opportune that Louis was accused, apparently without reason, of having had him poisoned. Charles, furious at being baulked in his game of duplicity, threw himself headlong into the career of violence which is associated with his name. He waged war against France: such a war as he had waged against Dinant and against Liége—a war of 'fire and blood,' of havoc and extermination. Bursting through the French boundaries, he fell first upon Nesle, a small and defenceless town. The troops on entering made an indiscriminate massacre of all whom they met—dragged all the town-folk they could find from their hiding-places and hanged them—took the archers, lopped off their right hands at the wrist, and let them go. The churches, as usual, being the chief

places of refuge, were heaped with dead. The Duke rode into the principal church without dismounting from his horse, who stepped in blood to the fetlocks, and as he looked on the scattered bodies of men, women, and children, he crossed himself and said: 'Saint George! here is a fair sight! I see I have good 'butchers with me!' Plundering, burning, and slaying on every side, the great army arrived before Beauvais. But the story of the atrocities of Nesle gave courage even to the weakest, and an heroic defence was made. The women took part in the conflict; and the courage of one, a girl, has placed her name next on the list of French heroines to that of Joan of Arc. In the first assault, unarmed, she wrested the Burgundian standard from the hands of the soldiers who had planted it on the wall, and the trophy is still treasured in the Hôtel de Ville of the town she assisted to defend.

After some days of siege, the Duke, who disdained to invest the place regularly, hurled his troops in a wild assault against the walls. But he had here to do with no unprotected city like Dinant or Liége. The assailants were driven shamefully back with a loss of 1,200 killed and wounded. The town was reinforced, and Dammartin, with the King's troops, began manœuvring on his flanks. After raging in impotence for some time in the neighbourhood of the town, and declaring 'that 'it was easy to have taken the town had he chosen, but that he 'wanted to join his brother of Brittany,' he retired in the night, '*sans trompettes*,' and took his way across Normandy, plundering and burning every defenceless place on his route. He effected nothing, however, by this ruthless campaign. Louis, with his usual skill, partly by pressure and partly by cajolery, had drawn off the Duke of Brittany, and induced him to enter into a separate accommodation. Charles then signed a truce which, though terminable for a year, was renewed from time to time; and there were no more direct hostilities between the King and his formidable vassal. Louis, who was well instructed of the schemes and complications into which the Duke's insatiable ambition was now drawing him on the side of Germany, joyfully yielded him every opportunity of turning his furious force in another direction; and the ungovernable violence and imperious obstinacy of the feudal chieftain, free from all obstacles on the side of France, rushed onwards up the valley of the Rhone to dash itself to pieces finally against the granite buttresses of the Alps.

Charles was now in fact under the fascination of dreams of empire which lured him to his end. Of their precise nature at various times, in absence of evidence, we are left much to

conjecture. At one time he meditated a kingdom of the Rhine, at another the acquisition of the Imperial Crown of Germany, at another, apparently, the resuscitation of the ancient kingdom of the Burgundian Goths. Such visionary aims were necessarily confined to his own solitary ruminations, as from time to time he withdrew in sombre abstraction from the splendid and public life of his court, and shut himself up in the privacy of his own apartments. For what glimpses we can get of them, we must trust to some chance document recovered from the dusty archives of Dijon or Brussels, which treasured up a few fleeting words from his lips, or to such indications of his policy as chroniclers who were not in his confidence can afford us. He has been styled, extravagantly, the Napoleon of the middle ages; but little real similarity can be found between them; his blundering and doubtful victory at Montlhéry, and the sack of defenceless towns, being the only successful military achievements of his wild career. Yet he possessed some of the virtues as well as all the vices of a conqueror: he was chaste, temperate, and indefatigably industrious both in the cabinet and in the field, although he was merciless, unscrupulous, and inexorable—qualities which marked him out to be the scourge of humanity without any of the compensating advantages with which successful conquest is sometimes attended.

The later chapters of Mr. Kirk's volumes are not so satisfactory as the portion of his work which we have now traversed: he has yielded too much to the temptation of appearing as an apologist, and the ambition of attempting to reverse one of the most unanimous judgments of history has operated unfavourably, not only on the spirit, but also on the composition of his history. Unseasonable political disquisitions, loose in argument and unsound and unphilosophic in applications of fact, break the course of events; while he has destroyed the impression which should be conveyed of the headlong violence and restless aggressions of Charles, and of the panics and apprehensions of the rest of Europe, which were their consequences, by a straggling method of narration which fails to show occurrences in their close and natural sequence. The chief cause of the Duke's wild career and ultimate ruin was his anomalous position, and the anachronism, so to speak, of his very existence. Charles inherited enormous power, whilst the duties attached to it were so multitudinous, so heterogeneous, and in many cases so conflicting, that no fixed lines of conduct were apparent for his guidance. By a culminating caprice of destiny, he was the greatest feudal chief since feudalism had existed, and this when the spirit of the institution had

departed, and feudalism for all beneficial purposes was dead. The medley of states whose immense resources he wielded were assembled under his dominion by hereditary chance or by the accident of marriage. Beneath him were a diversity of tongues, dialects, laws, customs, and interests. Seated at once upon the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Saône, no unity of purpose or policy was to be discovered amid the Babel of voices, French, Burgundian, Flemish, and Walloon, who addressed him as their sovereign.

To increase his confusion he himself was of no distinct nationality, but a mixture of French, English, Portuguese, and Bavarian; and with greater power at his command than that possessed by any monarch of the time, he was at once a vassal of France and a vassal of the Empire. It was perhaps not impossible to have moulded an Empire out of such incongruous elements; but it required a more comprehensive and politic genius than his to achieve it, as it certainly demanded a wiser and gentler nature not to be exalted by the possession of such vast and undefined prerogatives to arrogance advancing to the verge of madness. Another characteristic, too, of his career, which Mr. Kirk has omitted to censure, is the impetuosity with which he dashed at one scheme of ambition after another, without bringing his former project to any conclusion, or taking precautions against the hostile feelings which he had excited.

The events of the last four years of his life hurried onwards with frightful rapidity, until they precipitated him to destruction. In 1473, immediately on the cessation of hostilities with France, he completed the usurpation of Gueldres, and thus added a fifth duchy to the Burgundian dominions. The history of the acquisition of Gueldres was strongly characteristic of the scandalous wickedness of the age. Weary of waiting for the decease of Arnold Duke of Gueldres, his son Adolphus had the old man seized at the ducal palace of Nimeguen in bed, in the middle of a pitiless winter night, dragged, with scanty clothing and bare feet, across the frozen waters of the Waal, and confined in a small and wretched subterranean dungeon in the castle of Buren. The aged Duke lay there for five years in horrible captivity, uttering groans and lamentations which reached the ears of all who approached the spot. The Duke of Burgundy, at the requisition of the Pope and Emperor, interfered, liberated Arnold from prison by a body of Burgundian troops, and summoned Adolphus to appear before him. Adolphus refused all accommodation short of being allowed to retain the whole ducal sovereignty, and Arnold, before the Burgundian court, threw down his gage and defied his son

to mortal combat. Adolphus was arrested, tried before the Court of the Golden Fleece, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment; while Charles took occasion to seize the Duchy of Gueldres for himself, although Adolphus had left an innocent son, in defence of whose rights the inhabitants of the duchy flew to arms. Their revolt, however, was suppressed by Charles, who entered Gueldres with an army, took possession of it in August 1473, and kept the young Duke a captive. Immediately after this exploit, he proceeded up the Rhine to hold an interview with the Emperor of Germany, in order to bring to conclusion the weightiest negotiation of his life, and one which had been agitated backwards and forwards for the last four years,—the permanent alliance of Burgundy and Austria; a project which, though abortive at the time, was carried into effect after his decease, and had a portentous influence on the subsequent events of European history.

This alliance had originally been conceived by Sigismund, the Duke of Austria, when he came to negotiate the surrender of Alsace, and became ocular witness of the pomp and power of Burgundy at Bruges in 1468. Seeing that the great Duke of the Occident had but one daughter, who would probably inherit all the splendour and power which dazzled his imagination, it naturally occurred to him that her marriage with Maximilian, son of the reigning Emperor and his cousin-german, would greatly advance the prospects of the House of Hapsburg. The Princess Mary of Burgundy had up to this time been a powerful magnet in the hands of the Duke, who had promised her successively to various suitors to gain them over to his side, without any intention of keeping his faith. He said to his confidants that 'he would sooner make himself a 'monk than give himself a son-in-law.' An alliance, however, of his daughter with the son of the Emperor seemed to open a way for himself to the Imperial throne. After much negotiation, spread over four or five years, it was at length agreed that a betrothal should take place, and that Charles should receive the title of King of the Burgundian States, and the appointment of 'Vicar-General of the whole Empire,' irrevocably and for life, with a pledge from the electors of his elevation to the throne when vacated by Frederick's death. A personal conference was then arranged, the ostensible object of which was the investiture of Charles with his recent conquest, the imperial fiefs of Gueldres and Zutphen. To carry this negotiation through, in spite of the susceptible pride of the weak Frederick and the suspicions of the electors of Germany, required the most delicate management; but

Charles, with his usual contempt of such considerations, marched to Metz, the place appointed for the interview, with 14,000 men and 400 pieces of artillery. Before entering the town, he required possession of a gate, and that the greater part of his force should be admitted within the walls. The free city not only had cause to fear the formidable character of its proposed guest, but its suspicions were still further increased by a late attempt which had been made to get possession of the town by Nicolas of Lorraine with the connivance of Charles: it refused to give up the keys of the town, or to admit more than 500 men. The Emperor then changed the place of interview for Trêves. The conference lasted eight weeks, and during this time Charles, who chose to play the host rather than the guest as in reality he was, exhibited in sumptuous entertainments at the Abbey of Saint Maximin all the vaunted Burgundian magnificence. But the Germans looked on all this overbearing display with no favourable eyes, while the Burgundian nobles despised the Germans as mean, poor, and dirty. Much folly is it, says Comines, for two great princes to hold interviews in person: it always breeds envy and ill-will. Nevertheless, the negotiations still proceeded in secret between Charles and the Emperor. The ceremony of the investiture of Gueldres took place in the public square. The Duke, on horseback and in armour, but bareheaded, rode three times round the Emperor, seated in state on a lofty platform; then ascended the steps, preceded by a herald-at-arms bearing his escutcheon, and knelt to do homage. The day on which he was to be invested with the sovereignty of Burgundy and named Vicar-General of the Empire was finally appointed for the 25th of November 1473. Crown and sceptre were already prepared, when, at the last moment, the more powerful of the electors persuaded the Emperor to abandon the arrangement; and as the forces of the Duke were in possession of the town, the Emperor, to avoid all chance of opposition, on the night of the 24th embarked by stealth in a boat and floated down the Moselle.

Baulked thus on the eve of accomplishing a great design, Charles nevertheless took two steps in the same year in advance towards the dominion of the Rhineland. He caused himself, in November, to be named Protector of the Electorate of Cologne; and in December, by intriguing with the nobles of Lorraine, he secured four of the strongest frontier towns, and made his entry into Nancy by the side of the young Duke, whom he had completely overawed into insignificance. These three advantages were gained in less than six months, and, under the prestige of their success, he advanced, on the 21st of December,

with his dreaded banner through the defiles of the Vosges and descended upon Alsace.

It was now five years since Sigismund, Duke of Austria, finding himself worsted in one of the interminable series of hostilities between his House and the Swiss Confederacy, had mortgaged to Charles, for 50,000 florins, the landgraviate of Alsace, the county of Ferette, Breisach, and the four 'Forest Towns,' Rheinfeldt, Seckingen, Lauffenberg, and Waldshut. Charles, under this instrument, was to enter into possession of the territory, engaging himself at the same time to protect Sigismund against the aggressions of the Swiss, and use all his influence to bring about an amicable settlement of the differences between them. In consequence of this convention, Charles possessed himself of Alsace, and appointed Peter von Hagenbach landvoght or bailiff over the district. Hagenbach was himself a native of the Sundgau in Alsace, one of the small robber nobles, who knew no law but that of force, who were the terror of industry and commerce, and continually at war with the free towns, whose vessels and caravans they unceasingly plundered. As a needy adventurer, he had become a soldier of fortune under the Burgundian banners; he had risen to be distinguished by the eye of his master—had in fact directed the bombardment of Dinant, and been employed in the correspondence between the Duke and the Court of Vienna. His conduct in Alsace did not belie his origin. His government was a government of terror, and united the most opposite interests, divided by enmities of ancient date, in unanimous execration. The nobles united with the towns and the Swiss in demanding redress for his cruelty, rapine, and extortion. Mr. Kirk attempts, in the most impassioned manner, and with a very extravagant allusion to Cromwell, to enlist the reader's sympathies in favour of Hagenbach; but we are unable to discover one particle of new evidence which he has brought forward in his favour. If any historic testimony is to be believed at all, he was a petty tyrant of the most revolting character, who, besides his merciless and wanton cruelty, practised the most disgusting profligacy, cynicism, and impiety. He treated with the coarsest mockery and ribaldry every institution, moral and religious, and trampled upon every right and every privilege. In spite of express stipulations and traditionary exemptions, he established imposts on the necessities and commodities of life, and put to death the deputies sent to remonstrate with him. Not content with oppressing those under his rule, he began vexatious aggressions on the neighbouring free towns—Colmar, Basle, Strasbourg; and Mülhausen, an imperial city, received into an alliance with the Swiss Con-

federacy, was placed in a state of rigorous blockade. The Swiss, who were wont to travel and trade among the towns of Alsace, complained of the injuries committed against their merchants and allies, but they received an insulting reply. They appealed to the Duke, who gave answer that he had appointed a governor to please himself, and not his subjects or neighbours. Hagenbach and his creatures now knew no limits; one of the latter took prisoner a whole convoy of Swiss traders, and demanded a high ransom; in consequence of which the Swiss Confederacy entered into a strict league with the free towns of Alsace.

After three years of these vexations and cruelties, the terror-stricken people heard that the implacable Charles, the destroyer of Dinant and Liége, was coming down amongst them, led by Hagenbach, at the head of 8,000 troops, among whom were 2,000 cavalry, Lombard mercenaries, whose reputation for brutal and unbridled license was spread throughout Europe. Reports, moreover, had transpired of the proceedings of Trêves, which induced both Swiss and Alsatians to believe that they themselves were to be the first victims to Charles's ambition of a Burgundian kingdom. A universal panic spread through the country. Many of the inhabitants fled from the face of the destroyer and took refuge in Switzerland. The peasants shut themselves up with their cattle in the castles and cities, the towns closed their gates as in time of siege. At the first village where the Duke passed the night the inhabitants entrenched themselves in the cemetery. Colmar refused to admit him with more than two hundred horse. Basle put the city in a state of defence, and, to avoid surprise, illuminated every night the bridge over the Rhine. Berne took as much precaution as though actual war was declared. But Mülhausen, which had most raised the anger of Hagenbach, despaired of its safety. Women rushed wildly through the streets; the relics were carried in procession; litanies were sung in the churches; the children wept; and preparations were made for a siege. Charles, however, did not tarry in the country. He received the oaths of some of the towns, and heard coldly the complaints of the inhabitants and those of the city of Berne, but supported Hagenbach in all he had done. Then, with his soldiers plundering and offering violence on all sides like a conquering army, he marched on to Besançon and Dijon, which latter city he entered on the 23rd January 1474, for the first time since the death of his father, and displayed anew, in a triumphal entry, the gorgeous state which had excited the envy of the Germans at Trêves. At the conclusion of a banquet, given in

the ancient capital of his duchy to the estates of the two Burgundies, he made a speech well calculated to excite the jealousy and suspicions of his neighbours. He talked of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, which the kings of France had usurped and turned into a duchy; and then said, ominously, that he had thoughts in his mind which he would trust to none but himself. His discourse at Dijon excited anew all the fears and distrust to which the former part of his career had given rise. All his acts and thoughts now indicated the establishment of a great independent power. He set up a parliament at Malines in imitation of that of Paris, called upon the reluctant states of Flanders to provide means for establishing a permanent army, and caused researches to be made as to the limits and traditions of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. Such manifestations, viewed in conjunction with the usurpation of Gueldres, his protectorate over Cologne, his military occupation of Lorraine and his proceedings in Alsace, and his abortive projects upon Germany, necessarily kept the attention of all Europe in suspense.

Louis XI., the *universelle arraignée*, as Chastellain calls him, had not been inactive in taking advantage of the common suspicions entertained of the designs of Charles, and the formation of the Swiss League is considered by Comines the masterpiece of the King's political conceptions. Even as Dauphin, he had, in his expedition against the Swiss, an opportunity of forming a judgment of the formidable strength of the Swiss infantry. At the battle of St. Jacques, a body of ten thousand had crossed a river in the front of a large army, and fought with a desperate stubbornness which testified to their inordinate obstinacy and valour. From that time he had seized every opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Swiss. The memory of Morgarten and Sempach was yet fresh, and their victories over the feudal levies of Austria held a conspicuous place in the recollections of the great adversary of feudalism. The same offer of Alsace had been made by Sigismund to Louis as was afterwards accepted by Charles; but he had carefully avoided any engagement likely to bring him into collision with the Swiss, and had joyfully seen the dangerous position assumed by his adversary. When he received intelligence of the discontent of Sigismund, and of the indignation which the rule of Hagenbach had excited both among Alsatians and Swiss, he entered heart and soul into the scheme of uniting all the discontented parties in a league against the Duke—a league which should be a counterpoise to that which existed between Edward and Charles for the invasion of France, and

which was ratified by a treaty the following year. After a good deal of intrigue and negotiation, the treaty of Constance, on the 30th of March 1474, was signed by the representatives of France, Austria, and the Swiss Cantons, by which it was agreed that perpetual peace should exist thenceforward between Austria and the Swiss Confederacy, and that, under the guarantee of the French King, the free towns would advance the money for the recovery of Alsace, which was to be redeemed by Sigismund, according to the terms of the mortgage. On the 17th of April the Duke received intelligence of the treaty, and he was informed that the mortgage money, amounting, together with sums allowed for expenditure, to 80,000 florins, was deposited at Basle, and Sigismund demanded the restitution of Alsace. But meanwhile the Alsatians, among whom greater enormities had been committed after the departure of the Duke, broke out into revolt, took Hagenbach, and after an open trial, on the 9th of May, before twenty-seven commissioners deputed from the free towns of Alsace and from Basle and Berne, he was publicly executed. The Duke was at that moment engaged with the affairs of Cologne, but, as a temporary measure, he despatched a body of seven or eight thousand men, under Stephen von Hagenbach, brother of Peter, to execute preliminary vengeance.

This was effected with a cruelty worthy of Charles himself. The invaders made war upon the defenceless inhabitants in his own fashion—plundering, burning, slaying without mercy or distinction, wherever they passed, and carrying off the children to be sold and enslaved. These horrors, and further solicitations from the French King, aroused anew the Swiss Confederacy to a sense of their own danger, and they declared war against the Duke on the 9th of October. The embassy despatched to carry the fatal missive found him engaged in the siege of Neuss, in the electorate of Cologne, against which principality the Duke was now making war on precisely the same pretext as had served him for the subjugation of Liége—the defence of the authority of the archbishop, against his chapter and people in revolt. With his usual headlong impetuosity, it seemed easy for him to overwhelm Cologne and then march to re-establish his dominion on the Upper Rhine. The small town of Neuss, however, made an obstinate defence, which utterly disconcerted his schemes, did much to destroy the terrible prestige of his name, and was one of the most powerful as well as unforeseen causes of his exemplary ruin.

Mr. Kirk's two volumes leave Charles involved in the operations of his unsuccessful siege of Neuss; the events of the two

concluding years of his hero's life remain for a third volume. The execution of the portion of the work before us is extremely unequal. It exhibits, it is true, many of the best qualities which we look for in historic composition, but its demerits are many, and of a kind which will go far to destroy its permanent success. Mr. Kirk deserves great credit for the careful and copious collection of materials he has brought together; but he is not equally skilful in the use of them. His narrative is frequently disfigured by an excessive desire to produce effect, and so captious and argumentative are his political disquisitions, that he drags us through two and a half pages of successive interrogations which take our breath away before we get half through them. In judgment, which is one of the chief qualities we look for in an elaborate history, he appears to us remarkably deficient. Carried away by the desire of obtaining the *rehabilitation* of Charles the Bold, he has gone at great length into the causes of the Swiss war, and throws upon the Swiss the whole blame of the rupture. He has examined the question with great industry, but elicited no new important fact, and certainly nothing which will reverse the judgment of history. It was well known that the Swiss—a poor nation of herdsmen and mountaineers—received money from the French King to enable them to carry on hostilities; but there was nothing extravagant in the measure of such assistance, nor has it ever been considered a reproach for a nation to be subsidised in this way, if the war be a just one. The question is whether, being urged by Louis to declare war against Charles at that particular crisis, it was a prudent and patriotic step for them then to take; or whether it would have been better for them to wait until Charles had secured Alsace and the dominions of the Rhine, and could bring all the troops of Flanders, Holland, the Rhenish Provinces, Lorraine and Burgundy, besides mercenaries, against them. It appears to us that in this case they were justified by the result, and there was a sigh of relief throughout Europe when this terrible monster fell, whose course was marked with ruin and massacre, and who was marching on, breathing fire and vengeance, and meditating no one knew what plans of subjugation. Had he been allowed time for the consolidation of his power, it is impossible to divine how many years of universal havoc he had yet in store for his neighbours. But it is in the case of Hagenbach that Mr. Kirk is most carried away by the passion of the advocate. In his defence he is as earnest and impassioned as an Old Bailey counsel; yet neither here, nor in the case of his hero Charles, is Mr. Kirk the first to put forward these views, for both Schreiber and the baron

Gingins La Sarraz have advocated the same opinions with considerable industry. Defects and merits are mingled in Mr. Kirk's style in much the same proportion as in his matter. He is often brilliant, vigorous, and full of animation; indeed, his manner of description, if chastened by a severer taste, would be excellent. But of the value of simplicity he seems entirely ignorant: he appears to be always striving to dazzle and to overwhelm, or to deafen with a cataract of speech. Sometimes he sinks below the level of a housewife's proverb, and sometimes he strains himself to the most inflated grandiloquence. His metaphors are showered about with a reckless hand, and they are too often far-fetched, absurd, involved, and untrue, and sometimes even approach the vulgarity of a pun. A throne is a 'shuttlecock,' rivers are 'bulwarks,' treaties 'radiate and dazzle,' the Swiss Confederacy is a 'battery.' We read of 'Cæsar and his *mis*-fortunes,' and of the 'musket '*hanging fire* for half a century.' So carelessly redundant, moreover, is his verbiage, that in the course of three pages (pp. 175–177) the same sentence occurs twice in almost identical words. The work, in short, stands greatly in need of careful revision and rigorous condensation; the three volumes with which we are threatened might with advantage be reduced to two; and much superfluous matter omitted. If Mr. Kirk can be induced to adopt any of these suggestions, we shall be indebted to him for a book of considerable interest and power, which may bear comparison with the best historical productions of his countrymen.

ART. IX.—1. *Vie de Jésus.* Par ERNEST RÉNAN, Membre de l'Institut. Cinquième édition. Paris: 1863.

2. *Études Critiques sur l'Évangile de Saint Matthieu.* Par M. ALBERT RÉVILLE, Pasteur de l'Église Wallonne de Rotterdam. Leyden: 1862.

3. *Les Évangiles.* Par GUSTAVE D'EICHTHAL. Première partie. Paris: 1863.

'IT is related of Angelico of Fiesole that he never painted the head of the Virgin or of Christ but on bended knee. 'It would be well if critics did the same, and shrank from the 'radiance of certain Forms before which successive ages have 'bowed down, until they had first adored them. The first 'duty of the philosopher is to mingle his voice with the grand 'chorus of humanity in its worship of moral goodness and 'moral beauty, as manifested in noble characters and lofty 'symbols. The second is the indefatigable search after truth, 'and the firm conviction that if the sacrifice of our selfish 'instincts is pleasing to the Deity, equally so must be the 'sacrifice of our scientific instincts.' These are striking words. They teach, as well as any words can teach, the true spirit in which a man of religion and humility should enter upon a study so delicate and perilous to other souls besides his own, as that of sacred criticism. And—what is more to our present purpose—they are the words of M. Rénan himself,—placed at the beginning of an essay, published by him some years ago, on 'The 'Critical Historians of Jesus.' How far he has adhered to these principles in the work now under review, we shall, perhaps, be able to judge after a detailed examination of its contents.

And no one can possibly deny that this is a book which deserves the trouble of a detailed examination. M. Rénan has long ago amply proved his possession of qualities which constitute literary excellence: a rare subtlety, abundant learning, a full and commanding survey of the field of inquiry, a brilliant imagination, and a fascinating style. What counter-spell of mere robust common sense is sufficient to ensure us against such a master of the magiç arts of writing as this! When these great powers are brought to bear upon a subject of all others the most deeply and universally interesting,—a subject, too, around which such uncouth heaps of material have been piling for years by the ceaseless coralline

industry of innumerable German professors,—who can resist a feeling of relief, that one has arisen at last whose mental grasp is wide enough to take in the whole question at once, and whose imagination is powerful enough to produce shape and beauty—although, we are firmly persuaded, not the true shape, or the highest beauty—out of the chaotic products of modern Biblical criticism?

Accordingly, M. Rénan's volume has obtained a wide circulation and a vast popularity on the continent; not altogether due, as we would fain believe, to its destructive tendencies, but due also to the fact that he has presented a clear and definite conception of the person of Christ to thousands of readers in France and Germany, who were perhaps very imperfectly acquainted with the inimitable truth and beauty of the Gospels. It were better for a man to become acquainted with the life of Christ through the pages of M. Rénan, than not to become acquainted with it at all.

But when we have said this, we have said the utmost we are able to say in praise of the book. Its immediate effects are likely to be deplorable. The French mind, in particular, is so easily dazzled by brilliancy, and so readily captivated by dramatic finish and vivid portraiture, that we fear many of M. Rénan's own countrymen are likely to find 'rest for their 'souls' in this feeble and distorted version of the Gospel of Christ, and to accept his criterion that truth is attained, 'if one 'has succeeded in combining the texts in a manner to constitute 'a logical and probable narrative, where nothing jars or is 'out of tune' (p. lv.). We in England shall probably be of a different opinion. Englishmen have not so much faith in the laws of dramatic unity, or in the irrefragibility of logic, —whether it be 'the logic of facts' or any other. It seems to them—and herein is their safeguard from many kinds of error—that a thing may easily be too complete to be trustworthy, and too logical to be true. They have an obstinate faith in the existence of an outer world, wherein God works, and wherein the narrow world of human thought and human action lies embraced, as some little solar system lies floating in the teeming spaces of the sky, or some little busy ant-hill forms part of a great country whose policy is dominating the globe. Hence our dislike of centralisation, our craving for free scope, our suspicion of over-completeness,—and our safety (it may be confidently predicted) from any risk of a shaken faith or shattered hopes by means of M. Rénan's 'fifth' and humanitarian 'gopsel.'

But it is time that we introduce our readers to the book itself, and to give them an opportunity of judging whether the strictures that we feel compelled to make both upon M. Rénan's first principles, upon his method of working up the data presented in his texts, and upon the conclusions that he ultimately draws from them, are justified or not.

We gather from a passage which occurs in the Preface (p. liv.) that the idea of writing an account of the origin of Christianity—'une histoire des origines du Christianisme'—did not for the first time occur to him when he conceived the plan of the present work. It is significant both of the degree to which he had previously surrendered his heart to blank unbelief, and also (as we cordially rejoice to think) of a certain subsequent return in the direction of Christianity, that he at that time intended to complete his task as a pure history of doctrines, wherein 'the name of Jesus would hardly have been 'mentioned;' as if—to use his own words when criticising Strauss—'the religious revolution which bears the name of 'Christ could have happened without Christ.'* But it appears that in the year 1860 the French Government, whose troops were then in Syria to protect their co-religionists against the Druses, proposed to M. Rénan a mission to that country for the purpose of examining the scanty remains of Phœnician antiquity, and bringing home any fragments of art or inscription that might serve to throw light upon its obscure history. This task was no doubt exactly to the taste of the young member of the 'Académie des Inscriptions,' already distinguished for his prize essays on philological subjects in 1847 and 1848 (one of which was afterwards expanded into his celebrated 'Histoire comparée des langues Sémi-'tiques'), and for his contributions to the 'Revue des deux-'Mondes' and other periodicals, the choicest of which were collected in 1857 into the volume which we have quoted above, the 'Études d'Histoire Religieuse.' He set out, accompanied by his favourite sister Henriette, and spent a year in Syria, conducting his explorations by the aid of French soldiers chiefly in the neighbourhood of the world-famed sites of Tyre and Sidon. But in the meantime there was another history than that of Phœnicia, and another classic ground than that of Hiram and Dido, which must through all these months have been exercising a strange fascination on this worshipper of science—once in his simple Breton home and by the counsels

* Études d'Histoire Religieuse, p. 165.

of this very sister by his side—a destined Christian priest. The attraction proved too great to be resisted. And—unlike Napoleon, who is said to have replied on a similar occasion, 'Jérusalem n'entre pas dans la ligne de mes opérations'—M. Rénan traversed the whole of Palestine as far south as Hebron, and paid repeated visits to the most interesting and most classic ground of all—Galilee. It was there that (to use his own words), 'all that history which, while I was at a distance, seemed 'always to float in some unreal cloud-land, assumed a body and 'a solidity which astonished me. The striking agreement of 'locality with text, the marvellous harmony of the evangelic 'ideal with the landscape which served it for a frame, were for 'me like a new revelation. I seemed to have before my eyes a 'fifth gospel, torn, yet still legible; and henceforth, amid the 'narratives of Matthew and of Mark, instead of an abstract 'Being who one would say had never really existed, I saw an 'admirable human form actually live and move' (p. liii.). In other words, the tide of M. Rénan's unbelief had turned; the spell of the Straussian hypothesis had been broken; the very stones of the Holy Land had cried out; and what we in England are accustomed to call 'the evidences of Christianity' had begun to assert their power over a mind of some delicacy and candour, clouded indeed from youth up by the sophistries of Romanism, but never surely meant to end in scepticism, or to make final shipwreck of its faith in a senseless and immoral Pantheism. So the plan was formed, and the work begun, of fixing the impressions of that summer spent in the immediate neighbourhood of Galilee, in the shape of an extended biography of Him whose footsteps lent to Galilee all its interest—the effulgence of whose presence still lighted up to M. Rénan's imagination the dreariest rocks and most melancholy wastes of Judæa. The rough sketch of the book was nearly completed, when brother and sister were together prostrated by an attack of fever. The brother awoke from a period of insensibility to find his sister passed away; and he returned to France alone, to finish as a monument to her memory the book which he had written with her encouragement amid the scenes where she had found a grave.

But whatever might be the pathetic circumstances amid which the book received its final touches, let no one suppose that it is not—with all its pretensions to grace and beauty—armed at all points with an *apparatus criticus* of a formidable kind. The page bristles with references—and references frequently to the most inaccessible labyrinths of the Talmud.

The Gospels have apparently been sifted and resifted, till their fragments fall without coherence in showers at the foot of each successive page. And a critical Introduction of no less than fifty-nine pages forms the portal to a volume of moderate dimensions.

To this Introduction we propose now to direct our readers' attention. It is, though not the most interesting, by far the most important part of the book; for it contains the principles upon which the book is composed. It is not M. Rénan's highly-coloured descriptions of Galilæan scenery, or the sentimental portraiture of Christ as a 'charming teacher' and a 'delightful moralist,' no—nor even the far more serious and shocking offences against good sense and good taste which darken all the latter chapters of the volume, that are likely to inflict any dangerous wound upon orthodox Christianity. It is his principles which are incompatible with belief, in the ordinary sense of the word. It is the premisses which are responsible for the conclusion. And to grapple with the conclusion, without noticing the premisses, could hardly be considered an effective way of demolishing the argument.

The main principles set forth in this Introduction are three in number. The *first* is a remarkable specimen of pure scientific dogmatism, viz. *that there neither is, nor can be, any such thing as a miracle.* Whence it immediately follows that the Gospel-histories, with which miracle is so abundantly interwoven, must needs be legendary. The *second* is an equally remarkable specimen of scientific scepticism, viz. *that no history whatever, sacred or profane, is strictly true;* that a true general impression is all that is really attainable; and that, therefore, in working up unhistorical materials into the form of history M. Rénan is acting the part of a true historian. The *third* is the arbitrary maxim to which we have already had occasion to refer, viz. *that the test of a true representation is its coherence and consistency.* But Mr. Kingsley's 'Hypatia' or Sir Walter Scott's 'Ivanhoe' present exceedingly coherent and consistent pictures of the times with which they deal, without being other than romances; and if logical coherence is so important and history so defective a record of past experience, we should be somewhat hasty in rejecting at the bidding of historical experience a superhuman Christ, without whom our whole conception of the Past falls to pieces, like an arch without its keystone.

But we must go deeper into these questions before deep answers can be given to them, and must follow where M. Rénan leads if we are to show that he would lead us wrong.

On opening, then, his Introduction, some light is at once thrown on the object and meaning of the book by the discovery that it is, after all, but the first instalment of a larger scheme. It is not Jesus for his own sake, but the broad, unique, and prolific fact called Christianity (p. lv.), that interests M. Rénan and sets his pen in motion. The 'Life of Jesus' is but 'the 'fact which served as the point of departure for the new 'religion.' And accordingly the present work is to be followed by three other volumes, carrying out the 'History of the Origin 'of Christianity,' and tracing the gradual growth of Christian ideas down to Constantine's reign, when the Church was launched upon that unhappy sea of controversy upon which it has ever since been tossed. In the composition of this first volume, M. Rénan candidly acknowledges his obligations to six students who have preceded him in the field of inquiry, and have amassed materials of which he freely avails himself. Three of these writers are well known in England, viz. M. Reuss of Strasburg, M. Nicolas, and F. D. Strauss. A fourth is M. Réville, a Protestant pastor at Rotterdam, and a contributor to the 'Revue Germanique,' who has himself written the ablest criticism on M. Rénan's book that has come under our notice, and—though from a friendly point of view—pointed out with a masterly hand some of its weakest parts. And a fifth is M. Eichthal, author of a work of enormous industry, but whose critical merit—slight as that appears to us to be—is absolutely cancelled by a recklessness of method and an unscrupulousness of language, only equalled by the worst school of English Deism in the seventeenth century. Of these authorities, however, there is only one who is really of supreme importance as being the Socrates to this accomplished Plato, the Lardner to this fluent and persuasive Paley—and that is, of course, the celebrated Strauss.

Years ago M. Rénan had closely studied Strauss, and published the results of his studies in a lengthened criticism of the 'Historiens Critiques de Jésus.'* He affects, indeed, to disagree with Strauss; prefers the word 'légende' to 'mythe;' and speaks of his master as 'deficient in historical feeling;' and even good-naturedly reminds him that he is in the estimation of many 'un théologien timide.' But for all that, it is impossible not to recognise in Strauss's 'Leben Jesu' the quarry whence the 'Vie de Jésus' was hewn, and in Strauss's theory of 'myth founded upon facts' only a less dramatic form of M. Rénan's theory of 'legend founded upon facts.' In fact,

* Since reprinted in the 'Études d'Histoire Religieuse.'

the criticism above mentioned contains a passage, in which there can be little doubt that we have the germ of the present book: 'If France—a country better gifted than Germany with 'a feeling for practical life, and less prone than Germany to 'see in history ideas rather than passions and individual charac- 'ters at work—had undertaken to write a life of Christ . . . 'she would doubtless have made a much nearer approach to the 'truth.'*

Myth then or legend—call it by which name you please—here is the magic word with which both master and pupil propose to unlock the mysterious secret which has so long baffled all inquirers—whether knocking furiously, like Bruno Bauer and Strauss, or 'doucement,' like M. Rénan and Mr. Francis Newman. As to our present author, his view of the case is as follows. In enumerating the original sources from which a trustworthy account of Jesus and His times is to be obtained, first in importance, after the New Testament, comes Philo. He was contemporary with our Lord, and survived him ten years at least; and, being preserved by distance and Greek culture from the narrow pedantry of the Jerusalem schools, he affords invaluable insight into the general state of the Jewish mind at that time. Next stands Josephus—useful rather for presenting the external features of the age and delineating for us as living and intelligible personages Pilate, the Herods, Annas, Caiaphas, and the rest. Then, the Old Testament Apocrypha, and especially that singular apocalyptic literature which, beginning with the Book of Daniel and including the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Sibylline verses, and the Book of Enoch†, gradually gave rise to those ideas about the 'Son of 'Man' and his second advent which prevailed among the contemporaries of Jesus, and formed the 'envelope fabuleuse' by which His more spiritual doctrines gained entrance into the hearts of men (p. 282). Last, but not least in utility (thinks M. Rénan) as a source of information about the Jewish ideas of the first century, is the Talmud, that vast collection (as he well

* Études, p. 169.

† P. xi. It forms a suspicious circumstance, that at so early a page we light upon a startling piece of arbitrary criticism, and an almost entirely unwarranted statement. A famous passage in Josephus, Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν κ.τ.λ., is held to be authentic, but for ἦν 'il y avait 'sûrement ελεγετο.' And the statement is hazarded, that 'le livre 'd'Hénoch était fort lu dans l'entourage de Jésus;' but the only passage to which we are referred is the well-known quotation in Jude 14.

explains it) of lecture-room notes from the Jewish schools, transmitted orally till after A.D. 200, and then written down. By that time Jewish hostility to Christianity was too pronounced to render the suspicion of any dependence on Christian records reasonable.

The examination of all these sources of information may safely be left to the industry of M. Rénan and of his Israelitish friend, M. Neubauer. In another department of the materials for composing a 'Life of Jesus,' we do not feel equally safe in his hands; and into that quarter we must follow his footsteps more carefully, and scrutinise his proceedings more narrowly. That department, of course, is the Gospels of the New Testament. Before M. Rénan can establish any claim to our confidence or respect, he must be prepared to show that in rejecting the received and direct meaning of the Gospel narrative, he is prepared to substitute for it a system more coherent, more intelligible, more credible. Tried by this test he utterly fails. In spite of the violence and distortion he never scruples to apply to the sacred text, we confidently affirm that his 'History of Jesus' is not only incredible, but impossible; and that the thing he would substitute for evangelical history and truth, would not pass current as the production of a second-hand writer of fiction.

M. Rénan is not a writer who is much troubled with scruples. He is not a parish priest. He has never had to ask with dismay the very homely question which was frequently asked during our own 'Essays and Reviews' controversy—'How, if 'all this be true, is the practical teaching of the Church to be 'carried on?' In this respect he bears a strong resemblance to one of the very few English theologians who have obtained a continental reputation, and the remarks of M. Réville would with equal justice apply to either of the two:—'Il a bien 'l'habitude des luttes de la pensée théorique, mais non celle 'des combats quotidiens, corps à corps, face à face, des prédi-'cateurs populaires ayant une mission à remplir au milieu de 'gens indifférents ou prévenus.'* Such a freedom from the trammels which a more vivid conception of real life and its demands imposes upon ordinary writers, however favourable to unbounded excursiveness of speculation, is not (in our opinion) favourable to the attainment of truth. Truth, especially in religious matters, is not to be attained by merely hard thinking.

* La 'Vie de Jésus' de M. Rénan, devant les Orthodoxies et devant la Critique, p. 24.

Force often fails to open a hampered lock, when delicacy of touch succeeds. And so it is with the problems of theology, whose successful manipulation depends, not only on a general sensitiveness of mind and conscience, but still more on a particular sensitiveness to the limits of the practicable and the impracticable—to where the penumbra of mystery begins and where the broad light of reason ends. All this, no doubt, M. Rénan would in words allow. He often talks of a *feeling* for shades of meaning. He tells us that 'c'est le sentiment de la 'nuance qui fait l'homme poli et modéré' (p. 325); that in the selection of his materials he has taken for his guide a certain 'sentiment d'un organisme vivant' (p. lvi.); that in the interpretation of texts 'il faut les solliciter *doucement*' (p. lvi.); that in a celebrated passage of Josephus 'on *sent* qu'une 'main chrétienne a retouché le morceau' (p. x.); that St. Matthew 'mérite *évidemment* une confiance hors ligne pour 'les discours' (p. xxxviii.); and yet that in all the evangelists 'on *sent* à chaque ligne un discours d'une beauté divine fixé 'par des redacteurs qui ne le comprennent pas, et qui substi-'tuent leur propres idées à celles qu'ils ne saisissent qu'à demi' (p. 450). These are large claims to make upon our confidence in M. Rénan's *feeling*. We do not deny that there is some truth in these remarks: we only deny that their author has put into practice his own maxims.

When, for instance, M. Rénan broaches his theory of the first two Gospels, and accounts for their well-known coincidences and divergencies by supposing that St. Matthew wrote originally a collection of discourses and St. Mark a narrative of events, and that each happy possessor of either Gospel, 'wishing to have a complete text,' copied on his margin the requisite additions from the other (p. xx.), not only do we fail to understand how by this process only two, instead of two thousand, authorised Gospels should be obtained, but we also fail to see here any delicacy of touch, or any feeling for the wonderful harmony with which, in all the Gospels alike, narration and discourse are interwoven with each other. It appears to us an instance of 'forte violence.'* Still more is this the

* We happened lately to meet with a curious illustration of the way in which the Gospels, at any rate, *might* have been written. On opening a little book lately published in London, entitled 'The true 'Spiritual Conferences of St. Francis de Sales,' we find, in a sort of prefatory address by the nuns of Annecy to the sisterhood at large, the following passage: 'These are the true conferences which our 'blessed father held with us at various times and on different occa-

case when the phenomena of the third Gospel have to be explained. St. Luke—according to our author—'is a writer of 'the first century, a divine artist who, independently of the 'narratives which he has drawn from still earlier sources, dis- 'plays to us the character of the Founder with a happiness of 'touch, an inspiration of effect, and a boldness of relief, that 'the other two synoptics do not possess.' (p. xlii.) But how has this 'divine artist' been able to produce so admirable a result? His work

'is a document at second-hand. The narrative seems mellowed by time. The words of Jesus are more like after-thoughts, more artificial. Some of His sayings are pushed to an extreme and have a wrong turn given to them. . . . Details are skimmed over to try and bring about an agreement between discordant accounts. Passages are softened down which had become embarrassing in view of a more exalted idea of Jesus' divinity. The author exaggerates the marvellous, commits errors of chronology, is totally ignorant of Hebrew. . . . He is a very precise devotee, holds that Jesus fulfilled all the Jewish rites, he is a democrat and a strong Ebionite—that is to say, much opposed to private property, and persuaded that the turn of the poor will come. . . . He admits, in his earlier pages, legends about the infancy of Jesus. . . . Lastly, he has, in his account of the closing events, some circumstances full of a tender sentiment and certain words of Jesus of a delicious beauty, which are not found in more authentic narratives, and in which one feels that legend has been at work. Luke probably borrowed them from a more recent collection, of which the aim was to excite sentiments of piety.'* (P. xxxix.)

'sions. We used to recollect them carefully, and to write them 'down after he had finished them; and as they were then fresh in 'our memory, and each of our sisters related her part, we endea- 'voured, in putting together the fragments, to arrange them in the 'best way we could, so as to form a whole. We confess, neverthe- 'less, that in spite of all our care and diligence, we have not been 'able to make this collection so exactly as to avoid losing many ex- 'cellent things. However, we may be permitted to say with all 'truth, that a great part of the lessons which he gave us are here so 'simply and so faithfully related, that any one who has had the happi- 'ness of hearing him, or who is versed in his writings, will at once 'recognise his spirit.' The similarity becomes almost startling when, a few pages further on, the editors say they have been urged to their task by 'our neighbour' having put forth a bad and hurried edition, consisting of fragments picked up here and there, as various sisters had copied and recopied his sayings.

* It is well worth while to examine the manner in which M. Rénan supports this string of charges against St. Luke. (α) A wrong turn, &c. This is founded on xiv. 26.: 'If a man hate not,' &c., and on chap. x., the discourse on sending out the seventy. But

In short, 'many circumstances, especially in Luke, have been '*invented* in order to bring out more vividly certain traits in 'the physiognomy of Jesus' (p. xlv.). If this is 'solliciter 'doucement les textes,' we are very much at a loss to conceive what 'fortes violences' can mean. If this is to be the result of 'divination et conjecture,' pour 'faire revivre les hautes ames 'du passé' (p. lv.), we can only say that we do not congratulate St. Luke on his having been made to live again; and confess that we can see little difference between 'se laissant 'uniquement guider par le sentiment du sujet' (p. xxxiii.), and surrendering oneself to the absolute hap-hazard of an unparalleled historical scepticism.

But if this is our author's method of dealing with St. Luke, what are we to say of his treatment of St. John? On the subject of the fourth Gospel M. Rénan has not really much that is new to offer; and what is new is certainly not true. We have been accustomed these many years to see a (confessedly) very difficult problem pulled this way and that, with little regard for our feelings. On the one hand, we have had the authenticity of the Gospel denied, and its authorship attributed to Apollos, and we know not whom. On the other, we have had its general authenticity maintained, but the truth either of its narratives or of its discourses denied. M. Rénan attaches himself to the latter hypothesis, and strongly asserts the authenticity of the Gospel, as a whole; but he then proceeds with unswerving hand to dissect its curiously interwoven parts, and throws aside the discourses as 'tirades prétentieuses,

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precisely similar passages occur in the Λογια (Matt. x.). (β) Details are skimmed over, &c.; one specimen only is given, iv. 16., the events in the synagogue at Nazareth. But the fact is that St. Luke gives the story in full detail, in fifteen verses, while St. Matthew relates it in four, and St. Mark in six verses. (γ) Passages are softened, &c. This serious charge rests on one circumstance. After xxi. 33. [misprinted iii. 23.] M. Rénan expected St. Luke to add the verse in St. Matt. xxiv. 36.: 'of that day and hour,' &c. But he does not do so. (δ) He exaggerates the marvellous. We are referred to two passages, iv. 14.: 'And Jesus returned in the power of the spirit into 'Galilee.' [The very previous verse having *omitted* the touch given in Matt. iv. 11.: 'And angels came and ministered unto him.'] And xxii. 43.: 'And there appeared an angel strengthening him,'—a passage which the two best MSS. (viz. A and B.) omit. (ε) He is a precise devotee—proved by one text, xxiii. 56.: 'And they returned 'and prepared spices and ointments, and rested the Sabbath-day, 'according to the commandment.'

We have given enough, we think, *at least* to set our readers on their guard.

'lourdes, mal écrites, disant peu de choses au sens moral' (p. xxx.), and, in short, as 'of no historical value, but pieces 'composed with the express purpose of covering with the 'authority of Jesus certain favourite doctrines of the writer' (p. xxxi.); and which, therefore, 'must be regarded as docu-'ments throwing light on the history of the apostles, and not 'as materials for the Life of Jesus' (p. 76). Shocking as all this is, it is not original. The master whom M. Rénan follows, and whose theory he simply turns upside down, is a certain Weisse who wrote a 'Criticism of the Gospel History' in 1838. His theory is, that the narrative of St. John is worthless and by later hands; but that the discourses are mainly due to him. Yet of these discourses this critic allows himself to speak as 'insipid, 'fanciful, ridiculous, obscure, affected, and bordering on absolute 'nonsense.'* In what follows, however, M. Rénan attains to an originality of coarseness and pettiness of conception, unsurpassed except by himself on a far more sacred subject further on. He maintains that St. John was actuated in writing his Gospel by a contemptible personal vanity, being 'froissé de 'voir qu'on ne lui accordait pas dans l'histoire du Christ une 'assez grande place' (p. xxviii.), by 'une certaine rivalité avec 'Pierre' (pp. xxvii. and 159); and a 'haine contre Judas' (pp. xxvii. and 381). For an appreciation of the good taste of these passages we must leave M. Rénan to the 'sentiments de la 'nuance possessed by all polished and moderate men;' but for their correspondence with facts, we will be content to judge him by his own book and the references at the foot of his own page. For St. John's hatred against Judas we are referred to four passages†, not one of which proves the point, but rather corroborates the judgment of a far better guide than M. Rénan as to 'the earnest, yet at the same time tender behaviour of 'our Lord to the betrayer,'‡ which this Gospel takes pains to portray. For his petty jealousy of St. Peter we are sent to five passages§, and bidden to compare two of them with corresponding passages in the synoptical Gospels. Yet these two add the information that St. John brought Peter in to the scene of his fall, and that he ran with him to the sepulchre, 'yet went he not in;' while of the other three passages,

* Cf. Tholuck über Johannes, p. 35.

† Matt. vi. 65. foll., xii. 6., xiii. 2., and 21. foll.

‡ Tholuck, p. 19. It is remarkable, also, that St. John passes over in silence the suicide of Judas.

§ John xviii. 15. (cf. Matt. xxvi. 58.); xx. 2. (cf. Mark xvi. 7.); xiii. 24.; xix. 26. See pp. xxix. xxxiii. 159.

one simply describes the affecting scene at Calvary when the dying Saviour committed His mother to St. John, another makes Peter influence his fellow-disciple about asking the question at supper, and the last is from a chapter which represents Jesus as devoting almost His entire attention to St. Peter; and which, moreover, a few pages further on, M. Rénan speaks of as intended 'to do honour to St. Peter,' and as probably written by other hands with a view to objections that might have been raised from the *death* of St. John. These passages, we think, fail to substantiate the charges which they are employed to support; and considering that the remaining charge of personal vanity* is grounded on the same five passages, we think we do M. Rénan no injustice if we say that his case against St. John falls hopelessly to the ground.

Meanwhile, let it not be understood that, because we utterly repudiate these low views of the Apostle's character, and these unworthy and vulgar methods of accounting for the difficulties in the Gospels, that we mean to extenuate those difficulties or to deny (in particular) the gravity and deep interest of the problem which arises on a double comparison of our Lord's discourses in the synoptical Gospels with those reported by St. John; and of these latter again with St. John's own Epistles and with the discourses attributed to the Baptist. For more than half a century this question has been earnestly debated among theologians. Stronck, a Dutch divine, in 1797, maintained the view which has since found many adherents,—that St. John's youthful and loving mind had become imbued with our Lord's very manner and diction. This, however, only disposes of half the difficulty; leaving the comparison with the synoptics unattempted. The latter task, accordingly, was undertaken by Bertholdt, a German, in 1804. But he saw no way to save the fourth Gospel except by sacrificing the other three, and his remedy therefore only aggravated the complaint. Sixteen years later Bretschneider sounded the first note of that 'Tendenz-critik' (or criticism founded on a supposed discovery of the *animus* of doubtful writings) which has since swelled to a chorus in the celebrated 'Tübingen School,' under the able

* Many people will think the opinion of Ewald worthy of at least as much consideration as that of M. Rénan. 'The Apostle would not 'even name himself as the author of his work; and all the opportu-'nities he might easily have had for bringing forward himself and 'his relations to Christ and the other apostles, or for glorifying and 'recommending himself, he disdains entirely to make use of.' (*Die Johanneischen Schriften*, vol. i. p. 51.)

leadership of Baur; and his conclusion was adverse to the authenticity of St. John's Gospel, which he attributed to some strong maintainers of the Divinity of Christ in the second century. Thus, neither are the questions new, nor the trenchant methods of settling them, which we have heard so much about of late, quite so unprecedented as many earnest champions of popular theories seem to suppose. Nor, indeed, is it at all clear what is gained by attributing either novelty or antiquity to the various theories which biblical criticism, like every other living science, is perpetually bringing to light. The only possible test for proving or disproving their truth, is to bring them into the fresh and healthy atmosphere of free discussion. Childish nicknames can do little more than display the ignorance or betray the cowardice of those who employ them. And the true and earnest student of Holy Scripture, will find support under the inevitable difficulties of his work, neither in using nor in greatly shrinking from such things, but rather in thoughts like those of Professor Lücke: 'It is my firm conviction that 'the course which later criticism has taken with regard to 'St. John's Gospel has been, on the whole, thoroughly neces-'sary and (in spite of the pain it has caused) truly healthful. 'It has been the natural transition from childish faith which 'knows not, or fears the approach of, doubt and strife, to a 'manly faith which bravely meets and overcomes them both.'* This has, assuredly, been the case. So long ago as 1840, Dr. Arnold wrote that 'criticism has established the authenticity 'of St. John's Gospel against all questionings.'† And since that time what immense advances have been made! How full of interest is it to watch the growth of the manly mind from childlike cries of admiration, like those of the pious Holsteiner‡, 'My favourite reading is St. John: there is in him 'something so altogether wonderful: he is like a soft evening 'cloud, behind which is the great full moon:' to the calm and weighty words of one of the greatest and boldest living German critics: 'No writer can be possessed of a more earnest 'determination to impart nothing but the strictest historical 'truth, and no one has ever carried out his purpose with a 'firmer hand, than St. John in the composition of his Gospel.'§ There is, indeed, nothing that prevents us at the present day from entering 'with full assurance of faith' and as men 'of

* Lücke, Comm. über das Evang. des Joh., i. p. 5.
† Life, vol. ii. p. 193. (1st edit.).
‡ Claudius (b. 1743), in Tholuck, Comm. zum Evang. Joh., p. 20.
§ Ewald, Die. Joh. Schriften, vol. i. p. 2.

'full age'* into our rightful possession of all these interesting fields of theological inquiry, except the perfectly childish timidity of some who 'ought to be teachers,' but who reverse the Apostle's noble maxim, 'in malice be ye children, but in under-'standing be men' (1 Cor. xiv. 20.). The fact is, however, that whatever hard words be used, all thinking men of whatever party are now pretty well agreed on the facts of the problem before us; and the names which they give to the theories whereby they explain these facts cover conceptions which are fundamentally alike. Thus, for instance, Dr. Wordsworth in his Greek Testament tells us, 'that the Gospel of 'St. John is to be regarded as a systematic summary of the 'truths of Christianity,' and employs several pages in drawing out the ideal sequence of its contents.† He also quotes this striking passage from St. Augustine: 'The main thing for us 'is to ascertain the *meaning*, to which the *words* are minis-'terial; and we are not to imagine that the sacred writers 'deceive us, because they do not give us the precise words of 'Him whose meaning they desire to express. Otherwise we 'shall be like mere miserable catchers at syllables, who imagine 'that the truth is tied to the points of letters: whereas not in 'words only, but in all other symbols of the mind, it is the 'mind itself which is to be sought for.'‡ We quite agree with Dr. Wordsworth that this golden passage is much to 'be 'commended to the reader's consideration;' and we also thank him for referring us§ to 'one of the most celebrated among 'modern critics, Dr. Friedrich Lücke,' who thus writes:—

'It lies in the very nature of language that words are to a certain extent a matter of indifference, provided the thought be expressed (gleichgültig gegen den Gedanken). A thought variously expressed, more fully or less fully, remains still essentially the same. It is true that there arises hereby the most difficult of all tasks for Theology—the task of discriminating with clearness and certainty (by means of minute comparisons between the Gospels), the essential from the unessential, the spirit from the letter, the original word of Christ from the apostolic relation of it. But never has Theology prospered by indolence, security, or an anxious timidity.'‖

The same view is substantially held by all those who are best worth hearing on the subject. Thus the venerable Ewald,

* Cf. Heb. v. 4.

† Wordsworth, Greek Testament, vol. i. p. 263.

‡ Augustine, De Consensu Evang., vol. ii. p. 67. (in Wordsworth, vol. i. p. xlvii.).

§ Wordsworth, vol. i. p. 267. ‖ Lücke, vol. i. p. 233.

after describing the artificial structure of St. John's Gospel (a phenomenon recognised, as we have seen above, by Dr. Wordsworth), writes:—

'Thus that apostle, who, above all others, celebrates the Light and the Life that came into the world, is himself, in the arrangement and execution of his great work, a striking example of light and life; . . . and that, if possible, more beautifully and more completely in those parts where our Lord's discourses are the prominent feature. Yes, one might here almost seem to be turning the pages of some Old Testament prophet, of an Isaiah or a Micah; so wonderful is the articulation and equable division of the materials. . . . So that in *these* portions, too, the hand and the art of the Apostle himself are visible.'*

Similarly the truly Evangelical Tholuck:—

'Absolute verbal exactness is at the outset impossible, because the discourses are translated into Greek from the Aramaic original. And even in the synoptical Gospels a difference in relating the same discourse sometimes goes so far as to become an apparent contradiction. . . . But let us only allow that the form into which they have been recast belongs to the Apostle, while the thoughts which lie at the bottom belong to Christ, and the most important difficulty vanishes. . . . For whosoever believes that Christ has, in accomplishment of His Divine purposes, appeared in human history as the Redeemer, believes therewith by implication in the *essential* truth of the narratives which have brought down to us His words and deeds.'†

So too, though with some hesitation, Dean Alford:—

'That such a report should be characterised in some measure by the individual mind which has furnished it, was to be expected, on any view of spiritual guidance.'‡

And Mr. Westcott:—

'The synoptic Gospels and that of St. John alike are consciously based on the same great facts; but yet it is possible, in a more limited sense, to describe the first as historical and the last as ideal. . . It is, in fact, the divine Hebrew epic. . . There is, indeed, something of characteristic difference both in the conception and in the expression of the same truths; but such that the difference contributes to the completeness of the final idea.'§

And still more cautiously Bishop Ellicott:—

'In the first Gospel we have narrative, in the second memoirs, in the third history, in the fourth dramatic portraiture.'‖

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* Ewald, I. p. 33. † Tholuck, p. 31.
‡ Alford, Greek Testament, vol. i. Proleg. p. 49.
§ Wescott, 'Introd. to the Gospels,' pp. 231. 253. 372.
‖ Ellicott, 'The Life of our Lord,' p. 34, note.

Thus we see how thoughtful men agree at the present day in attributing, to a greater or less extent, an artificial character to St. John's Gospel,—in warning us (with St. Augustine) that 'in words, as in all other symbols of the mind, it is the mind 'itself which is to be sought for,'—at the same time that they repudiate with disgust the coarse and mechanical dissections of a Rénan, a Strauss, or a Bruno Bauer. The latest criticism herein seems to echo the very earliest. 'The crown of all the 'Gospels (says Origen) is that according to St. John. And 'into the spirit of this no man can enter, who has not himself 'leant upon Jesus' breast.'* 'There are men' (says Ebrard) 'to whom no one could demonstrate the genuineness of the 'New Testament writings. He who *will* not believe in a Risen 'One, will seek with unwearied diligence for loopholes of escape. '. . . But the only obstacles to the recognition of the Gospel 'History are dogmatical' [i.e. *à priori* notions] 'and not histo-'rical—and even they lie in the path of the natural man 'alone.'†

Obstacles of this nature exist to the highest degree in those principles which we have already indicated as the bases of M. Rénan's inquiry. For example, there is one false ἀρχη, one 'dogmatical' *à priori* notion, which—like a cataract upon the eye—obscures the whole field of M. Rénan's view; and that is, the unproved and unprovable presumption *that there cannot possibly be any such thing as a miracle.* We are not misled by his apparent hesitation in one passage, where he writes, 'we do 'not affirm that miracles are impossible, we only affirm that 'hitherto none have been proven' (p. li.). He has shown his colours too clearly in other passages, and in other writings, for us to doubt what are his real feelings on the subject. For instance, at p. xv. we read, 'That the Gospels are partly legendary 'is *evident*, because they are full of miracles;' again, at p. 41, 'The notion of the supernatural, with its impossibilities;' at p. 92, without so-called miracles, Jesus 'would have been 'greater in the sight of God, but been ignored by men;' and still more clearly at p. 258: 'modern criticism finds in these 'historical phenomena no sort of embarrassment;' and in the Études, p. vii.: 'Criticism, whose first principle is that miracle 'has no more place in the tissue of human affairs than in the 'series of physical facts;' 'Reflection is too advanced, Imagi-'nation has grown too cold, to permit any longer these magni-'ficent aberrations' (p. 175). For, in short, 'it is not from

* Origen, On St. John, p. 6. Huet.

† Ebrard, 'The Gospel History' (Clarke's trans.), p. 600.

'reasoning, but from the *tout-ensemble* of the modern sciences, 'that this immense result issues—there is no such thing as the 'supernatural' (p. 206).

Here, of course, argument is at an end. If M. Rénan will not allow us to reason, but only to appeal to his general impression of the results of modern science,—in other words, once more to his 'sentiment du sujet,'—we can only, with profound courtesy, take leave to differ, and to state that the impression made upon the majority of cultivated men in England seems to us to be precisely the reverse. Without denying for a moment the strong impression of order, regularity, and continuance that the study of nature, the more deeply it is prosecuted, makes upon the mind, we maintain that there are yet *higher* truths than these to which its earnest prosecution leads us. It leads, first, to a conception of a unity of government in some way pervading all space:—the law of gravitation, e.g. pulls Saturn's moons towards him precisely in the same manner as the reader's book is being pulled towards the earth. It gives, next, a conception of progress and plan, working out some problem through all time:—the gradual awakening of consciousness, e.g. in organised matter, proceeds from the crystal and the moss and the zoophyte, up to the human brain. And it proves, still farther, the existence in nature of certain powers which we call Intelligence and Will; for here they are—present in a certain class of organised creatures, the human species. And then when science proceeds to ask whether these last two phenomena are not—like the breaking wave, the falling acorn, the mountain slip—examples of forces belonging, in the same manner, to a cosmical sphere which transcends all our puny powers of observation, the necessarily affirmative reply leads us infallibly to the idea of God,—that is, to an absolute Being in whom all these relative and partial phenomena find their explanation, as the Nile is explained by its broad still fountain-lake. And when science has arrived there,—when soaring upwards it has touched this throne of God,—there in infinity the point of transition has been overstepped between the two parallel and apparently irreconcilable lines of scientific and religious thought; and so science may descend to earth once more to find miracles no longer impossible, and the living will which suspends gravitation in human nerve and muscle no longer inconceivable on that larger scale which transcends the cerebral power of an almost microscopic animal like Man, either to grasp in its extent, or to follow in its hour-hand movements.

An excellent instance of such an ascent 'through Nature 'up to Nature's God,' may be found in a work of M. Rénan's

own countryman, M. Quatrefages. He thus describes his 'Rambles of a Naturalist' on the shores of Brittany:—

'My forceps, needles, and compressor secured the objects of my research; my microscope and lenses revealed an infinite world to my eyes; my pencil and brushes enabled me to secure rough illustrations of these treasures. . . . I saw one fact linking itself to other facts; I felt one thought awaken other thoughts; and this mutual reaction between observation and intelligence was the source of unspeakable enjoyment. . . . When, ascending to the Origin of all these harmonies, I found that the Eternal Power was the source whence this admirable order sprang—when, through marvel to marvel, my thoughts rose from creation to the Creator,—it was from the very depths of my soul that I adored Him in His works, and united with Geoffry de St. Hilaire in the cry of "Glory to God."'

As an instance of the converse process, the descent from God once found down to a belief in His possibly miraculous interference in man's behalf, we may cite perhaps the very greatest thinker of modern times,—to whose merits Europe is now beginning tardily to do justice,—'the Aristotle of 'modern times,'*—Kant. This man (as is well known), towards the end of the last century, undertook the gigantic task of 'taking stock,' as it were, of the whole acquirements of the human mind since Bacon had done the same thing, and of critically examining the validity of all human knowledge. His report was, that in all departments, except one, we are bound up within the narrow walls of sense and experience; and that that one is the Moral department,—wherein the fixed and stable pole-star of conscience gives us (as it were) a πού στῶ apart from the fluctuating world of phenomena, and suggests almost immediately the two great cognate truths of God and immortality. And these truths once established, he is enabled, by a reverse but parallel course to 'rebuild again the things that he had 'destroyed,' down even to a Divine interference in the world and miracles; for he says, 'The moral laws are universally 'regarded as *commands*, which they could not be, did they 'not connect adequate consequences with their dictates, and 'thus carry with them promises and threats. But this, again, 'they could not do, did they not reside in a necessary Being as 'the Supreme God.'† And subsequently, in his 'Theory of 'Religion' (p. 103): 'Concerning miracles, sensible people 'refuse absolutely to deny them. . . . . It is quite con-'sistent with the common opinions of mankind to hold, that 'when a religion of mere rites and ceremonies is to be abolished

* Rénan, Essais de Morale, &c., p. iv.
† Critic of Pure Reason, p. 491.

'and one in the spirit and truth of moral sentiment is to be 'introduced in its stead, the historical introduction of this last 'may be accompanied and adorned with miracles.'*

How, then, can thinkers, in many respects so clear-headed and able as M. Rénan and the late Mr. Baden Powell, commit themselves to the enunciation of a scientific dogma—for such, we repeat, it is—capable of refutation on so easy an hypothesis as that of a Divine Free Agent? The explanation—we are bold to say—is to be found in the narrowness of their horizon of thought. With the latter writer we have nothing to do in the present article. Bishop Thirlwall has, in his late admirable Charge, convincingly shown the nebulous character of Mr. Powell's favourite maxim, viz., that even a physical miracle has nothing to do with physical science; that the one belongs to the province of Faith, the other to Reason. And in such able hands we may safely leave that question. But with the former author we have to do; and, if we would really understand M. Rénan's present work, we shall do well to delay for a few minutes, in order to define precisely his theological position.

Is M. Rénan a believer in a personal God? At first sight one would unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. There are numerous passages scattered up and down, not only the book before us, but also his other works, which seem inexplicable on any other hypothesis. For instance, he asserts the very obvious truth that 'God had revealed Himself before Jesus, and will 'reveal Himself again after Jesus' (p. lix.). 'God conceived 'immediately as a Father; there you have the whole theology 'of Jesus' (p. 76); and 'no one either has transcended, or will 'transcend, the essential idea that Jesus has created' (p. 446). 'He believed himself separated from God by an infinite dis-'tance' (p. 243). Numerous passages such as these are simple nonsense except on the supposition of a Personal God. Nay more, there are places where M. Rénan seems expressly to repudiate Pantheism: 'Pantheism, in suppressing the Divine per-'sonality, is as remote as possible from the living God of the 'ancient religions. The men who have in the highest degree 'comprehended God, Çakyamouni, Plato, St. Paul, St. Francis, 'St. Augustine, at certain moments of his changeful life,—were 'they Deists or Pantheists? Such a question has no meaning' (p. 75). Nay, farther still, it would not be difficult to show, and perhaps it is worth while showing, that M. Rénan is (with

* This is not very clearly expressed; but the context shows that his meaning is similar to that of Paley's famous dictum: 'Once 'believe in a God, and miracles are not impossible.'

the sole exception and obstacle of a prejudice against miracles) not entirely adverse to orthodox Christianity, veiling under philosophical mystifications just those grand and simple truths that the Catholic Church has ever taught, explicitly to the mature Christian (ἐν τοῖς τελείοις)*, and implicitly in her creeds and catechisms by the agency of 'cottage dames.' †

Let us examine this point. We have seen above, that M. Rénan appears to accept the idea of a Personal God, standing in the paternal relation to His human sons, as the highest and ultimate conception it is possible to arrive at. So far, of course, he is a Christian; and the more so, inasmuch as he expressly repudiates, and has excited a vigorous hostility from, Deism. ‡ For if he held to a mere dry and abstract Monotheism, of course he would fall short of the great Christian doctrine of multiplicity in unity. From such an error, however, he withholds all sympathy (p. 248). He fully believes that in God 'we live and move and have our being,' and that 'He is in 'us and we in Him;' though (as the Bible also teaches) there is a progress going on, which shall ultimately bring the reign of mediatorial agencies to an end, when 'God shall be 'all in all.' And then, he believes (in accordance with the New Testament) that the paradox of a ministry of Deity on earth, while yet He 'is in heaven,'—and of a Spirit indwelling in man, which yet is but the 'first fruits' of the infinite Spirit, held (so to say) in reserve in heaven, till the Church 'which is 'His body,' be gradually brought to completion,—that all this shall terminate in some changeless state of glory, when all men shall live again. These grand truths, however, M. Rénan takes pleasure in expressing with less simplicity than the Church has been in the habit of employing. He states them thus: 'God 'is *in fieri;* He is on the way to make Himself. But to stop 'there would be a very incomplete theology. God is more than 'total existence; He is at the same time the absolute. He is 'the place of the ideal, the living principle of the good, the 'beautiful and the true. Thus viewed, God unreservedly *is*; 'He is eternal and immutable, without progress or becoming.'

Next, as to the Second Person of the Trinity and the Incarnation. M. Rénan tells us that 'il y eût une année, peutêtre, où 'Dieu habita vraiment sur la terre' (p. 80): that Jesus regarded Himself as 'the Son of God, the intimate of the Father, 'the executor of his wishes' (p. 118), and thus in the spirit of 'infinite love, passed at a bound the abyss, impassable for the

* Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 6. † Christian Year, 'Catechism.'
‡ P. 74. Cf. Réville, p. 6.

'most part, that the mediocrity of the human faculties traces 'between man and God' (p. 247); and though in Gethsemane He was shaken for a moment by His lower human feelings, yet that 'his divine nature soon recovered the upper hand' (p. 379); so that having merited, by founding the absolute and final religion of humanity, 'the divine rank which had 'been attributed to Him' (p. 90), He now 'beholds from 'the bosom of His Father His work bearing fruit upon 'earth' (p. 121), and henceforth 'gives His presence (as-'siste) from the lofty heights of Divine peace, at the in-'finite consequences of His acts on earth' (p. 426). Meanwhile, for the arrival of this wonderful personage upon the world's stage, a long course of preparation had been going on; and He arrived precisely 'in the fulness of times.' They were 'circonstances extraordinaires où il vivait' (p. 130); 'c'était vraiment une de ces heures divines, où le grand se pro-'duit par la conspiration de mille forces cachées' (p. 456). 'No time of day was more proper for developing the hidden 'forces of human nature' (p. 45), none for preaching such admirable doctrines as 'Render to Cæsar,' &c., than just that point where the ancient republics were merging in the great unity of the Roman empire' (p. 122). And not only in the world's visible stage did Roman, Greek, and Jew conspire unconsciously to bring about circumstances and 'a people prepared for the 'Lord,' but also in the world of thought it appears that a vehicle was being prepared beforehand whereby the claims of the great Teacher, when He came, might be made intelligible. M. Rénan is at great pains to make us understand that two entirely separate trains of thought and nomenclature converged upon the person of our Lord; on the one hand, growing up gradually from roots implanted deep in Old Testament times, at this critical moment 'le Messianisme faisait travailler toutes 'les têtes' (p. 62); on the other, a set of ideas—owing their fecundity and logical consistency, if not their existence, to the infiltration of Greek thought at Alexandria and elsewhere—had gradually forced its way into the texture of Jewish speculation, and introduced the nomenclature which was, on later reflection, expressly applied to Christ by St. John and St. Paul and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Not that our Lord had not Himself distinctly paved the way for such an application: 'On ne nie pas qu'il y eût dans ces affirmations 'de Jésus le germe de la doctrine qui devait plus tard faire de 'Lui une hypostase divine, en l'indentifiant avec le Verbe,' &c. (p. 247): but He did no more than pave the way; and—a remarkable testimony to St. John's scrupulous veracity—the

expression 'the Word' is never put in the fourth Gospel into the mouth of Christ Himself (p. 249).

Lastly, as to the results, the success really achieved by the brief ministry of this wonderful Person, thus wonderfully prepared for by a 'dessein profond' which went so far (it seems) as to hide in obscurity even the topographical as well as historical circumstances of his earthly life (p. 142): —

'The world has been regenerated and, in a sense, regenerated just as Jesus intended. . . That true kingdom of God, that kingdom of the spirit, which makes each man a king and priest,—that kingdom, which from a grain of mustard-seed has become a tree overshadowing the world—that kingdom was conceived, was willed, was founded by Jesus. Side by side with the hard, false, impossible idea of a Return with triumphant pageantry (un avénement de parade), He conceived the true "City of God," the true "restoration of all things," the Sermon on the Mount, the deification of weakness, love for the common people, attraction towards the poor, and the restoration of all that is humble, genuine, and simple to its true place in human estimation. And this restoration He has accomplished with inimitable art, in traits that will remain for ever. It is to Him that each one of us owes whatever worth he has.' (P. 282.)

So that the best of men henceforth cry out, 'Yet not I, but 'Christ liveth in me.' And this truly amazing result of so small a seed was not fortuitous but intentional—'Il se *proposa* 'de créer un état nouveau de l'humanité' (p. 283); and it was not effected by preaching a philosophy but a Person—'Il ne 'prêchait pas ses opinions, il se prêchait lui-même' (p. 76): 'son type moral et l'impression qu'il avait laissée, furent ce qui 'resta de lui. Jésus n'est pas un fondateur de dogmes, un 'faiseur de symboles; c'est l'initiateur du monde à un esprit 'nouveau' (p. 444). And as to the future, 'Jésus ne sera pas 'surpassé. Son culte se rajeunira sans cesse' (p. 459). 'Tout ce qu'on fera en dehors de cette grande et bonne tra-'dition chrétienne sera stérile. Jésus a fondé la religion dans 'l humanité' (p. 446); and 'son perfectionnement consistera à 'r evenir à Jésus' (p. 455).

What, we ask with wonder and amazement, is there—in full view of such concessions as these—to prevent this man, and all who agree with him, from enrolling themselves in the ranks of the Christian Church? His desire to be a Christian is something positively touching: 'If Jesus should return among us' (he soliloquises), 'He would recognise as His disciples not those 'who pretend to enclose Him within the phrases of a catechism, 'but those who try to continue His work' (p. 447): and he speaks of 'our days, troublous days, when Jesus has none

'more genuine followers than those who seem to repudiate 'Him' (p. 287). Nay, in another work he seems to put forth still more pressingly his claims to be a Christian both in theory and practice:—

'The philosopher,' (he says) 'as well as the theologian, ought then to recognise in Jesus the two natures, to separate the human from the divine, and not to confound in his adoration the real and the ideal in his hero. He ought without hesitation to adore the Christ, that is to say the character drawn in the Gospel; for all that is sublime participates in the Divine, and the Christ of the Gospels is the most lovely incarnation of God in the most lovely of forms, that is, in moral humanity. He is really the son of God and the son of man, God in man.' (*Études*, p. 213.)

And again, still more beautifully:—

'It is much easier for the philosopher to come to an understanding with the man of simple heart, than with the half-educated man, who carries into religious questions a sort of awkward reflectiveness. How charming to see in cottages and lowly dwellings of the poor, where a crushing utilitarianism is predominant, certain ideal figures—forms that recall not the real but the imaginative! How refreshing for the man bowed down beneath his six days' toil, to place himself upon his knees at last, to contemplate lofty columns, arches, groinings,—to hear sweet chants, to listen to discourses of instruction and consolation! The mental food that the man of education draws from science, art, and the exercise of all his reasoning powers,—that food the poor man draws from Religion, and Religion alone. A simple faith is the true faith; and I avow that I should be inconsolable, did I think that my writings should ever be the cause of offence to any of those simple souls who adore so well in spirit.' (*Ibid.* p. xvi.)

There is a figure in the Gospels which it is surprising that no painter has ever drawn—a most touching and melancholy figure, of the young ruler, whom 'Jesus beholding him loved,' yet who turned away at last—temporarily, we would fain believe—because he could not forego one thing; and it is difficult to imagine the character of any man of modern times, who more nearly recalls that figure, than the writer of these words. The *one thing* in his case, we are fully convinced, is the senseless and narrow piece of dogmatism, whose mischievous and distorting effect it is (to use the author's own words) to 'render all 'controversy between persons who believe in the supernatural 'and those who believe not, smitten with sterility.' (*Études*, p. 206.) It is this which, like an hallucination in some lovely form, makes every grace and every beauty awaken shuddering rather than admiration, and exaggerates into wild and even vulgar contortions the balanced easy gestures of health. Read the following passage—sentimental, it is true, but beautiful and

a fair specimen of the author's style—and then ask oneself how he could possibly have appended to it the concluding sentence. The reply is, that here (as on every other page) he was *determined* to leave the mark of human prejudice and error, and to blot at all hazards to his own critical reputation the fair picture he had drawn.

'He thus traversed Galilee in the midst of a perpetual *fête*. He rode upon a mule—an animal in the East well-adapted for riding and sure-footed; and whose large dark eye, shadowed with long lashes, is full of mildness. His disciples sometimes gave vent to their enthusiasm by attempting a sort of rustic Triumph. Their own garments took the place of drapery. They cast them upon the mule that bore Him. They spread them upon the ground where He had to tread. And wherever He dismounted, His arrival was held to be a joy and a blessing to that house. He stayed chiefly in the villages and at the large farms, where He met with an eager welcome. Any house, in the East, at which a stranger has arrived, becomes at once a public place. The whole village assembles there; the children wait for no invitation to press in; they are often unceremoniously chased out by the servants, but they pertinaciously return. Jesus, however, would not suffer these simple auditors to be molested. He calls them to him: He embraces them. The mothers, touched by such affability, brought to Him their infants, that He might touch them. Women came to pour unguents on His head, and perfumes on His feet. Sometimes they were repulsed by the disciples as intruders; but Jesus, who loved such ancient usages, and anything that indicated simplicity of heart, made amends for the hurt inflicted by his over-zealous friends. He protected those who wished to do Him honour; and so the women and the children adored him. Indeed, the charge of withdrawing from their homes these tender beings, ever prone to be led away, formed one of the most frequent reproaches of His enemies.' (P. 189.)

Our recollection fails us in the endeavour to recall these 'frequent reproaches of His enemies;' and we look anxiously to the foot of the page for passages on which these words are founded. Will it be believed that the *only* reference with which we are favoured in support of so grave a charge is a reference to six words from an apocryphal and heretical Gospel by Marcion; and—what is more—that those very words do not appear in the ordinary copies of that apooryphal Gospel that have come down to us, but have to be supplied out of a quotation by one of the most rash and uncritical of all the ancient Fathers, Epiphanius; and—what is more still—that even if the passage be no interpolation but really the genuine words of Marcion, the refutation of Epiphanius appended to it states that the heretic founded his worthless addition to St. Luke simply on our Lord's words in a previous chapter, 'if any man hate

'not his father and mother and wife and children and brethren 'and sister, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my dis- 'ciple' (Luke xiv. 26).* No one, we think, would have believed this, except those who, like ourselves, had found out long before reaching chap. xi., the little value of M. Rénan's criticisms and the especial worthlessness of his references to the New Testament. But when once a very slight examination has displayed that our author not only builds up his critical conclusions on totally insufficient premisses, but after they are obtained fails to use them with fairness and consistency—led away, it would seem, by the strong temptation to round off his work as an artist, reckless of the chips into which his valuable material is hewn to waste—then our surprise is concentrated upon the strange delusion which can so far have mastered a man of genius that he carves a Cupid out of the Apollo Belvedere, and proclaims it to be the original 'sentiment du sujet.'

That these charges are not made at random, will (we think) easily be proved by the following instances of M. Rénan's off-hand way of dealing with his materials. He argues that St. Matthew wrote a collection of discourses and St. Mark a narrative of events, from two expressions of Papias. But the word λόγια occurs thrice in the New Testament†, and always with a more general meaning: and why λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα should include 'events' and exclude 'discourses,' we are at a loss to understand. However, let that pass; let St. Matthew 'mérite une confiance hors ligne pour les discours;' and St. Mark, as the mouthpiece of St. Peter (p. xxi.), for the events: How does our author employ this conclusion? In the very face of our Lord's words in Matt. x. 28: 'Fear not them 'which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul,' he boldly states 'that Jesus has not the slightest idea of a soul 'separate from the body' (p. 128). In face of 'Give to him that 'asketh of thee' (Matt. v. 42), 'I was naked and ye clothed 'me' (Matt. xxv. 36), and the narrative about the ointment in St. Mark xiv. 7, he writes 'pure Ebionitism—that is to say, 'the doctrine that the poor alone will be saved—was the doc- 'trine of Jesus' (p. 179); 'Private property was forbidden' (p. 307). And when St. Matthew in three separate discourses‡ makes our Lord speak of heathens and Samaritans in a way

* The passage is as follows: 'τοῦτον εὕρομεν κωλύοντα Καίσαρι 'φόρους διδόναι, [καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα].' See Thilo, Cod. Apoc. p. 477.

† Acts vii. 38.; Rom. iii. 2.; Heb. v. 12.

‡ Matt. v., x., xviii.

that M. Rénan does not think conformable to His character, we are bidden to remember that the disciples 'may easily have 'twisted the instructions of their Master into a sense more in 'accordance with their own ideas' (pp. 229, 231).

Let us try if we fare any better with the other two Evangelists. Page xxxviii. informs us that St. Luke contains many legends, and especially chapters i. and ii.; but at page 106 it becomes important to prove that the Baptist was of the same age as Jesus, and it is proved unhesitatingly from chapter i. On St. John, as we have seen above, implicit reliance is to be placed for the narrative, and especially for the narrative of the closing scenes (p. xxxiii.). But the affecting scene at the Cross, where the dying Redeemer commits His mother to St. John, is (will it be believed?) represented as *invented* by the Apostle, in order to give himself importance (p. 423); and of 'the water and the 'blood'—so expressly testified to by the Evangelist—we are told that 'John *claims* (prétend) to have seen it' (p. 428).

This is enough. Such work may suit French taste; but we are quite sure that in England a Fifth Gospel, however sentimental and dramatic, composed in this way, will be absolutely powerless for harm, and will only affix upon its author the stigma which he has vainly endeavoured to fix upon St. Luke—that he is, indeed, an 'artiste divin,' but that 'les mots 'de Jésus y sont composées, quelques sentences sont poussées 'à l'excès et fausseés: l'auteur émousse les details pour tâcher 'd'amener une concordance entre les différents récits; il adoucit 'les passages qui étaient devenus embarrassants: On sent 'l'écrivain qui compile, qui travaille sur les textes et se permet 'de fortes violences pour les mettre d'accord' (p. xxxix.).

But when all this has been said, we have yet one far more serious charge to bring against M. Rénan than anything that has yet been advanced; and it is a charge that is concerned with the very essence and most vital point of the whole Christian religion. It is pardonable that he should feel difficulties about miracles, when the Church to which he once belonged receives almost all alleged miracles in an indistinguishable heap. It is conceivable that he should make a cento of texts in support of his theological opinions, for many great Christian divines have done the same. But it is not conceivable how, as a man of ability and candour, he can allow a mere *à priori* dogma about the supernatural to blind his reason to the enormous evidence that exists to the fact of our Lord's Resurrection: and it is not pardonable, it is not reconcilable with that delicacy of moral perception to which he lays such frequent claim, that he should —rather than give up his favourite dogma—hazard the fearful

charge of connivance at imposture upon One whom he himself places, at the very least, 'at the very highest pinnacle of human 'greatness' (p. 449).

With regard to the former of these points, let us remind the reader of the exact state of the case, even on M. Rénan's own showing. There are four epistles in the New Testament of whose genuineness not even the most extravagant Tendenz-critik of the most keenly suspicious school of German theology has ever been able to frame a doubt: and these are Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians. Now from these it is quite incontestable that St. Paul—a man of Greek training, of sense and of wide knowledge of the world—firmly believed in Christ's Resurrection, and staked his life upon it. In Galatians i. and ii. he, with his own pen, describes to us two journeys to Jerusalem where he saw and consulted with Peter, John, and James the Less—not about this momentous question, but about a mere practical matter, senseless and utterly vain in his estimation unless Christ's Resurrection were presupposed. Now St. Peter (even in M. Rénan's opinion) is the virtual author of St. Mark's Gospel (p. xxi.); and St. John is the actual author of the Gospel which bears his name. In both of these the Resurrection is narrated with great distinctness and particularity. With these certain and incontrovertible facts before us, is it conceivable, on any rational estimate of human nature and human conduct, that so gross and senseless a delusion lay at the bottom and formed the moving spring of all these proceedings, as that described in the following words by M. Rénan?—

'On the Sunday morning the women, and foremost among them Mary Magdalene, came very early to the sepulchre. The stone had been removed from the entrance, and the body was no longer there. And meanwhile the strangest reports were spreading among the Christian community. The cry, "He is risen!" ran with electric speed throughout the disciples; and found everywhere the ready credulity of love. What then had really happened? This point we shall have to examine, when we come to treat of the apostolic history; and we shall then have to trace back the origin of the legends relating to the Resurrection. For the historian, the Life of Jesus ends with His last breath. But so deep was the impression that He had left upon the heart of His disciples, and of certain devoted female friends, that for weeks yet to come He was still to them their living friend and comforter. Had His body been stolen away? Or did enthusiasm, always credulous, give birth to the later collection of narratives by which it was attempted to establish a faith in the Resurrection? These questions, in the absence of all documentary evidence, we shall never be able to clear up. Thus much, however, we may say,—that

Mary Magdalene played the principal part in this scene. O divine power of love! O sacred moments, when the passion of a woman under hallucination (d'une hallucinée) gives to the world a God restored to life!' (P. 433.)

To turn to the other question—the charge of imposture, or connivance at it, brought against our Lord: here too it is well to be equally clear and equally brief. Let it be observed, in the first place, that it is only in cases of miracle—in cases, that is, where M. Rénan's darling dogma comes into grievous peril—that anything like such a charge is made. Remark next, that M. Rénan finds himself in common candour bound to admit the *facts* which Christians suppose to be miraculous: he admits inexplicable acts of healing, but throws out around them a cloud of ink with such words as 'qui oserait dire que le con-'tact d'une personne exquise ne vaut pas les ressources de la 'pharmacie?' (p. 260). He admits the feeding of the multitudes, but hugging his theory closer to his breast, takes refuge with the long-forgotten Dr. Paulus: 'Beaucoup de monde l'y 'suivit. Grâce à une extrême frugalité, la troupe sainte y vécut; 'on crut naturellement voir en cela un miracle' (p. 198). But at last he is fairly driven into a corner; and, after having in every page laid stress on the historical trustworthiness of St. John's Gospel, he is brought face to face with the inevitable and inexorable chapter that relates the raising of Lazarus. The crisis he feels is now come. He had before been content with reminding us that 'Jésus serait un phénomène unique 'dans l'histoire si, avec le rôle qu'il joua, il n'avait été bien vite 'transfiguré' (p. xlv.),—overlooking, it would seem, the *petitio principii* involved in such an observation. He had before only 'called the idiotcy of the times, which reasoned 'Le Messie 'doit faire telle chose;' or, 'Jésus est le Messie; donc Jésus a 'fait telle chose' (p. xlvi.),—forgetting, probably, the fact that he had himself in a previous work cut this branch from beneath his feet (cf. 'Études,' p. 168). But now something more than this is necessary; and he hazards, for his dogma's sake, the following account of the matter—an account, which not only leaves all the difficulties arising from the silence of the other Evangelists entirely unsolved, but suggests (as he must be well aware) to every Christian mind thoughts that are shocking to the last degree; and which ill indeed accords with the wish expressed above, that no writing of his might scandalise any simple and adoring soul:—

'At Bethany there happened an event, which seems to have exercised an important influence on the end of His career. Wearied out with the ill-success of the kingdom of God at the capital of the coun-

try, the friends of Jesus longed for some great miracle which should give a shock to its incredulity. And the resurrection of a person well known at Jerusalem seemed to be just what was wanted. Now we must remember that the first condition of a true criticism is to comprehend the differences that characterise different epochs, and to overcome the instinctive feelings of repugnance which are sure to arise in minds of a purely intellectual culture. We must remember also that, in this impure and oppressive atmosphere of Jerusalem, Jesus was no longer himself. His conscience, from the fault of others, and not his own, had lost something of its original transparent clearness. In despair,—driven (as it were) to bay,—he was no longer his own master. His mission pressed heavily upon him, and at length he gave way and floated down the stream. . . . We are, on the whole, inclined to believe that at Bethany some real event or other happened, which was regarded as a resurrection. Rumour had already attributed to Jesus two or three miracles of this kind. The family at Bethany may, without much reflection, have been induced to lend themselves to an act fraught with such eventful issues. Jesus was adored among them. Lazarus, it seems, had been sick; and it was a message from the anxious sisters which had brought Jesus back from Peræa. The joy of seeing him again may have restored Lazarus to life; or it may be that an eagerness to stop the mouths of cavillers against the divine mission of their friend, drove these warm temperaments beyond all bounds. And so perhaps, Lazarus—pale from the effects of his illness—allowed himself to be swathed like a corpse and placed in the family tomb. These tombs were extensive chambers hollowed out of the rock, and the squared entrance was closed by a huge stone. Martha and Mary went forth to meet Jesus; and, without entering the village, conducted him to the cavern. . . Jesus—we speak still under the hypothesis above suggested—desired once more to see him whom he had loved; and, the stone being rolled away, Lazarus issued forth, "bound with graveclothes, and his face "bound about with a napkin." The apparition would naturally be regarded by every one as a resurrection. For faith knows no law, in the interest of that which it holds for true.' (P. 361.)

We are here bidden to overcome our 'répugnances instinc-'tives,'—bidden to believe that the 'géant sombre' (p. 312) of those latter days, who terrified his disciples, who was 'pressant, 'impératif, ne souffrait aucune opposition' (p. 319), weakly became a party to a small womanly plot,—bidden to accept a death caused by good-natured imposture, and accompanied by feeble delusions, as the fitting crisis of 'l'événement capital de 'l'histoire du monde' (p. 1); bidden, in a word, to dethrone Him from our conscience whose 'luttes avec l'hypocrisie officielle 'étaient continues,' and who 'en général fait peu d'exégèse, 'c'est à la conscience qu'il appelle' (p. 331),—and all in order to save M. Rénan's favourite dogma, and to spare him the pain of being taught that, just as above and around the Material world

of number and measure there lies the Vital world with its strange phenomena suspending Material laws, so again above this vital world there lies a still stranger Spiritual world with its laws (if that word be preferred) breaking in among and suspending even the laws of life and death.

The existence of this spiritual world is the Christian's firm conviction, and its predominance over everything below it is one of the very elementary principles of his faith. Death is, practically to us all, the great standing mystery of mysteries, and appeals with irresistible fascination to the interests of humanity, down to its very lowest dregs. If the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from death were what M. Rénan supposes it to be—a hallucination of credulity or an invention of enthusiasm—not only is there an end of all faith in those narratives which culminate in this great event, but there is an end likewise of the supreme doctrine of Immortality and of Revelation itself. The attempt to deify a human being by the loftiest attributes of our own imperfect nature can never fill up the infinite chasm between the creature and the Creator. A revelation from above must be supernatural, if it be anything at all. But if the fact of the Resurrection of Christ rest on evidence as direct and conclusive as that which demonstrates any occurrence in history—if for that purpose the ordinary laws of life and death were suspended—then what matters it to contest to the Almighty the manner in which He may think fit to exercise his own omnipotence? We recommend those who may be perplexed or distressed by the perusal of this volume to fix their minds on one simple point—the Resurrection of Jesus: as long as they rest upon that signal event with entire faith and certain knowledge, they retain the key to the whole system of Christianity; for to apply the words of Bishop Butler on a precisely analogous occasion: 'If it be incredible on the anti-miraculous hypothesis 'that Jesus Christ should have risen from the dead, then the 'anti-miraculous hypothesis is not true; since the Resurrection 'of Jesus Christ is a well-authenticated historical fact.'*

* Bp. Butler, Analogy, vol. i. ch. vi. *sub fin.*

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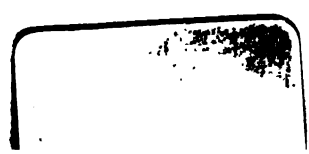
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